THE MEANING OF CAREER CHANGE IN RELATION TO FAMILY ROLES

by

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ABSTRACT

An intensive case study design was utilized, integrating data from the application of Q-technique and subject interviews, to examine the meaning of career change from a family perspective. Ten subjects, identified through an informal network of referrals, were selected as diverse examples of career changers (6 men, 4 women). Subjects Q-sorted 46 items drawn from Holland's (1966) typology of personalities for 19 to 23 Salient Role Figures identified from three domains of dramatic enactment: Family, Self, and Vocation. Q-sort results for each subject were developed into a correlation matrix, then submitted to a principal components analysis. Results were analyzed to identify shifts or maintenance of themes and role enactments as indications of lived-out dramas. The empirical findings and suggested themes were presented to each subject to stimulate subject elaboration. Quantitative and qualitative data were synthesized to develop portraits pointing to the meaning of career change for each subject.

Results support previous research that suggests individuals displace role enactments from family-of-origin onto the vocational arena. This study also provides support for the thesis that the phenomenon of role displacement from the family to vocational arenas occurs across differing vocational contexts. Additionally, while the meaning of
career change as reflected in patterns of dramatic enactment appears idiosyncratic, the shifts in role displacement from family-of-origin to vocational arena appear to virtually define the subject's sense of the meaning of the career change itself. Thus, when viewed in the context of the individual's life as it is lived out, there appears to be regularity in the meaning of career change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study examined career change from a family perspective, using throughout the concept of "drama" as an analytical framework. This dramaturgical model encompasses the perceptions and symbolic values that are lived out as dynamic patterns of an individual's experience and social interactions. In other words, the individual's career change is viewed within the web of his or her life as it is lived out. The dramaturgical model has been applied productively by sociologists (McCall and Simmons, 1978), philosophers of science (Harre, 1979), and psychologists (Harre and Secord, 1973; Cochran, 1986). In particular, the dramaturgical model was used here to represent "family" where family refers to the primary group of the individual's early childhood.

Consistent with McGregor's study (1983), family was used here as an evocative metaphor for examining career. It was assumed that family dramas provide the individual with a source of prototypes for dramatic enactments in the vocational arena. While McGregor provided support for the proposition that individuals appear to re-enact aspects of the family drama in the vocational arena, the present study examined the implications of this finding in instances where the adult individual has shifted vocational arenas.
The central question explored in this study is: what is the meaning of an individual's career change in terms of family roles? The importance of this as a research question is suggested through a review of the literature on career change (see Chapter II). Much of the research in this area is implicitly concerned with the relationship of career change to the meaning structures of the individual's life. More than one study directly suggests that career change and shifts in meaning structure are threads of the same tapestry; yet until now, there has been no direct examination of career change in relation to the individual's meaning structures. In providing a picture of career change within the context of the individual's life, the present enquiry opens up a wealth of material for further study.

Secondly, given that individuals appear to re-enact aspects of their family drama in the vocational arena (McGregor, 1983), what does a shift in vocational arenas indicate about the meaning structure of the individual's life, in terms of the prototypical family dramas? The literature review in Chapter II is structured to highlight the theoretical issue that underlies this question and that serves as the broader context for the study. Within the body of research on career change, there exists an undercurrent of debate as to whether adult career changes reflect a discontinuity of the meaning structures in the
individual's life, or a continuity of meaning where an expanded meaning framework has encompassed the earlier one.

The dramaturgical model applied in this study provides a broader framework within which to address career change as it relates to the issue of continuity and discontinuity of meaning in the individual's life. This broader perspective seems to encompass the polarities inherent in the discontinuity/continuity of meaning debate. In contrast to the existing division among theorists, this study suggests that career changes may reflect both discontinuities and continuities of meaning, where meaning structures are viewed as complex and multi-leveled. Thus, both in directly examining the meaning of career change, and in utilizing the dramaturgical model, this study attempts to broaden the scope of enquiry into the career change phenomenon.

Thirdly, the use of a family perspective adds a depth and unity to the enquiry that is otherwise often lacking in more narrowly delimited investigations. In effect, employing family as a metaphor seems to provide a common frame and language to clarify meaning across multiple instances of intensive observation. Thus, apparently idiosyncratic findings can more reasonably be attributed to lived-out individual differences rather than semantic differences. Furthermore, grounding the current exploration in the individual's prototypical family drama suggests the
contextual complexity of career change while simultaneously providing an avenue for exploring the phenomenon. The adoption of a family perspective towards career change might have particularly practical usefulness in the context of counselling practice. In this regard, the present study contributes to a research base supporting an increased integration between family counselling theory and practice, and vocational counselling theory and practice. In short, a key theme of the present study is the indication that role patterns from the family drama are re-enacted idiosyncratically across vocational arenas.

Given that the focus here is on the meaning of career change, no attempt was made to establish causality with regard to career change phenomenon. The inherent limits of the current study do not allow for an examination of the mechanisms of role displacement. Rather, this study is concerned with establishing that role displacement does appear to occur between family and multiple career arenas, and that there is regularity in the meaning of an individual's career change when viewed in this light.

The quantitative level of this study (see Chapters III and IV) was intended to establish regularities among self, family, and vocational roles that could be clarified in discussion with subjects. The qualitative level of this study (see Chapters III and V) was intended to provide a more detailed portrait of each subject and, by virtue of the
sensitivity of this aspect of the research, to expand or illuminate the meaning of the career change suggested by the quantitative results.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Explanations of terms listed here refer to their particular usage in this study.

Arena:

Refers to the three distinct life contexts in which the subject was or is currently meaningfully absorbed, and which were examined in this study. For each subject the three life contexts, or arenas, examined were:

1) family-of-origin,
2) particular employment context viewed by the subject as representative of Vocation 1, and
3) particular employment context viewed by the subject as representative of Vocation 2.

Each of these distinct life contexts may be viewed as different "arenas" of activity and expression for the subject.

Domain:

Refers to the pool of salient figures and/or role identities sampled as objects-of-judgement for Q-sorting. In this study the three domains sampled were:

1) Self: both those roles enacted by the subject, such as son and employee, and those which the subject utilizes as self-referents, such as "actual" or "ideal" self;
2) Primary Objects: Family-of-origin figures;
3) Secondary Objects: Figures from Vocational Arenas 1 and 2.

Drama:

A complete experience; an individual's lived-out sense based on a synthesis of the environmental, historical, social, and psychological (perceptual,
attitudinal, emotional) dimensions of a given life context. For example, in this study an instance of the "mother-son drama" refers to the subject's lived-out sense of the synthesis of the history of the interactive pattern between mother and himself-as-son, in the context of the total web of familial relationships, as influenced and coloured by the larger social, economic, and political context of the times, and as perceived, judged, and attributed with meaning by the subject.

Dramaturgical:

A model for examining and understanding life utilizing terms and concepts borrowed from the world of theatre, as a metaphor. The key concepts of this model (McCall and Simmons, 1978) are character, role, and audience. Here, "character" and "audience" are implicit background phenomena only, and considerable focus is given to "role." Role is understood as the individual's thematically unified enactment in a given social drama.

Family and Family-of-Origin:

Here "family" refers to the primary social matrix of the subject for most of his or her childhood years, and is not limited exclusively to biological relations or nuclear family.

Meaning Interview:

This refers to a specific procedure in the research methodology of this study. After thorough analysis of the data obtained from the Q-sorting accomplished by each subject, the researcher "fed back" these results to each subject in laymen's terms and in a way that stimulated the subject to explore and elaborate on the meaning of the findings as he or she viewed them.

Subjects-of-Judgement:

This term refers to all of those individuals and roles that were the focus of evaluative description in the Q-sorting accomplished by each subject; the term includes what are referred to in this study as "salient figures" from the family and vocational domains, as well as roles from the self-domain.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The aim of this chapter is to review the literature relevant to the question of what is the meaning of career change. In particular, the review is intended to indicate the need for studying the person in context in order to understand the meaning of career change as it is lived out. Much of the research on career change has focused on specific aspects of transition or associated phenomena; these studies may be valued for identifying specific aspects of career change. An underlying issue in nearly all of these studies is a concern with the meaning of the career change for the individual career changer, yet none appeared sufficiently broad to clarify the meaning of the change. In response to this gap in the research literature, the present study is intended as an approach to exploring and understanding career change where the behavioural aspects and role identity issues could be viewed in the larger context of the meaning they held for the individual.

First, theoretical orientations to career and career change are discussed. Second, two types of studies on career change are reviewed: those which indirectly describe the phenomenon and those which indirectly seek support for a given position on the meaning of career change. Thirdly,
the work of Roe (1956) and Bratcher (1982) is then discussed as this research points to the rationale for utilizing a family perspective in examining career phenomena. Next, two studies (Baas and Brown, 1973; McGregor, 1983) concerning role displacement are discussed in greater detail, since they provide empirical support for the theoretical assumptions of this study, as well as offering a paradigm for research. One of these studies (McGregor, 1983), in particular, provides support for the premise that familial roles are displaced onto the vocational domain. Finally, the single case study and Q-methodology are discussed.

Operational definitions of "career change" necessarily assume a particular concept of "career." Yet, there appeared to be little consistency regarding this concept in the literature. For instance, a number of studies, including those of Gottfredson (1977), Vaitenas and Weiner (1977), and Perosa and Perosa (1983, 1984), relied on Holland's (1973) occupational classification to identify the nature of a subject's vocation, thus focusing on the individual's field of vocational activity. Typically, these studies defined career change as instances where the subject had changed positions from one vocational classification to another. This approach did not appear to consider the role identity of the individual, which may remain constant across vocational fields (e.g., an individual whose role is that of a teacher may be in one vocational category when in the
field of public education in the school system, and re-classified when he or she transfers these skills and role identity to teaching in the business world, perhaps as a staff trainer in banking).

On the other end of the range of conceptual frameworks, Louis (1980) defined career as "an accumulation of role related experiences over time." This view assumes the individual's career is reflected consistently across life arenas, both inside and outside the work context, or across fields of vocational activity. In a related vein, Krause (1971) maintained "the concept of career loses its meaning as one goes downward in the occupational hierarchy." The implication here is that, like Louis, Krause viewed "career" as referring to a pervasive life orientation, rather than a set of nine-to-five activities. Similarly, Neopolitan (1980) limited his study of career change to people leaving "upper-stratum" occupations. In their theoretical work Tiedeman and Miller-Tiedeman (1985) develop a similar but more extreme view than the one put forth by Louis. Their definition of career reflects a holistic and phenomenological orientation that virtually holds the notion of "life path" and career as synonymous. Within this framework there can be no "career change" as such. Rather, individuals' various expressions of purpose constitute a single career along their unique "life path."
Thus, "career" has been variously defined in the research and theoretical literature as referring to fields of vocational activity, personal goals and role identities acted upon in the work arena, or life path. This fundamental conceptual inconsistency appears throughout the literature. Consequently, meaningful comparisons between studies is fairly limited, particularly for the purposes of establishing practical applications to the fields of vocational guidance, career counselling, and adult developmental counselling.

For purposes of the present review, two broad orientations in the research were identified in terms of the nature of the research issue being examined. The larger thrust in the literature was an indirect description of the phenomenon of adult career change and, in some instances, involved the classification of associated phenomena or traits, (Hiestand, 1971; Sheppard, 1971; Clopton, 1972; Thomas et al, 1976; Gottfredson, 1977; Vaitenas and Weiner, 1977; Weiner and Vaitenas, 1977; Snyder, Hammer and Howard, 1978; Thomas, 1980; Armstrong, 1981; Hill and Miller, 1981; Perosa and Perosa, 1983, 1984).

The smaller thrust in the literature adopted a more idiographic orientation. Anne Roe (1956) was one of the earlier theorists and researchers in the area of vocational psychology to point out the importance of the relationship between personality, as influenced by family, and
occupational choice. However, here attention was given to those studies that examined the individual person and career within the totality of his or her life structure. These studies implicitly address career, and hence career change, as an expression or reflection of personal meaning, (Robbins et al, 1978; Thomas, 1977 and 1979; Levinson et al, 1978; Thomas and Robbins, 1978; Lawrence, 1980; Neopolitan, 1980; Osherson, 1980; Perosa and Persosa, 1983).

Trait Correlations and Typologies

Weiner and Vaitenas (1977; 1977) conducted two studies in which they compared multiple measures of personality traits, obtained through standardized testing, of "career changers," with "vocationally stable" individuals. The results indicated that "career changers" are characterized by personality "incongruity." However, when the sample selection method was taken into account, the findings suggested that it may actually be individuals engaged in career counselling that are characterized by "incongruity." Additionally, there was an implicit assumption in this study that individuals who express the desire to change careers, in fact, do so. In actuality, these studies examined individuals who expressed the intent to change careers, which may represent a different population than individuals who do change careers.
This latter problem was inherent in the study by Sheppard (1971) as well. His definition of a "second career candidate" drew on a similar assumption: that subjects' thoughts about career change have a clear relationship to actual career behaviour. In his analysis of 210 interviews, Sheppard differentiated between "second-career candidates" and "non-candidates" using three variables. The results suggested that "second-career candidates" rate higher on achievement values and aspiration-achievement discrepancy, and lower on autonomy-on-the-job, than "non-candidates."

Consistent with Sheppard's conception of career-change candidates, Perosa and Perosa (1984) found no difference on measures of autonomy, achievement, and endurance in their sample of 134 individuals composed of three groups: those who had changed careers, those in the process of changing careers through a return to school, and those who had expressed a desire to change careers but as yet persisted in their present occupations. Perosa and Perosa attempted to integrate career development theory with adult developmental theory through a research design that utilized both quantitative and qualitative data. The complexity of the design in this regard afforded a richness of results not typically found in studies in this area based only on statistically derived trait comparisons. The researchers compared the three groups noted above on measures of identity achievement status and vocational
maturity. Additionally, they compared measures on several personality traits such as needs for autonomy, achievement, endurance, nurturance, order, and affiliation. Finally, structured interviews were used as a means to establish subjects' early identity status in addition to his or her current rating. The major findings included the observation that individuals in the 'already changed careers' group scored significantly higher than the other groups on identity achievement and affiliation, but not on self-concept (in terms of self-esteem). There was, however, a significant positive correlation between identity achievement and self-concept. The evidence indicated that those who had changed careers were not more likely to have been identity-achieved as youths than the other groups. This finding suggested that identity formation is on-going in adult life stages.

Thomas's (1976) trait-based typology of mid-life career changes was not based on a comparison with non-changers or "persisters" as in the previously cited studies. Rather, through interviews with ten men, four "types" of career changers were identified, reflecting differences in motivation and behavioural strategy. The general conclusion, that there is variety in individual orientations among a group of "corporate drop-outs," was appropriate to the pilot nature of the study.
Decision Criteria

In this group of studies, decision criteria, or reasons for changing careers, were seen as central factors in influencing career change behaviour. An underlying dichotomy appeared to exist between those studies which assumed or concluded that, like traits, decision criteria represent intrinsic motivational factors, and those that addressed the impact of extrinsic factors.

Hiestand (1971) and Clopton (1972) are the most frequently cited researchers in this area, possibly because they were among the first to examine adult career change. These studies acknowledged the influence of both intrinsic and extrinsic decision criteria factors. Like Hiestand, Armstrong (1981) defined career change as a return to full-time study as an adult. The subjects' decision-making approach, determined through interviewing, was viewed with respect to "success in creating a new career situation." A typology of career changers was formed along these two dimensions. Thomas (1980) later developed yet another typology of career changers, postulating a relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic influences on career change behaviour. He identified four motivations or "types" of changers, who responded both to external pressures and personal goals.
A more methodologically sophisticated study suggested that career change may be a function both of intrinsic factors, such as values, and of the perception of the potentials of both one's present career and an alternate career role. The researchers (Snyder, Howard, and Hammer, 1978) studied the motivation of professors who were leaving teaching/research roles to become administrators. Analyses of data obtained from scaled questionnaires suggested that professors who had become, or who intended to become, administrators were attracted by the perception of power and formal authority vested in the administrator's role. On the other hand, professors with no intention of leaving teaching/research did not value power highly; they were attracted to the perception of autonomy in their present roles. The two groups were not differentiated along other dimensions.

The influence of individuals' perceptions of an alternate career role was further examined by Hill and Miller (1981). Drawing from an analysis of Likert-scale survey data, they identified "career-oriented" factors influencing career change. Summarized, these factors included perceptions of opportunity for increased responsibility, recognition, promotion potential, and professional development.
In a more recent two-part study, Perosa and Perosa (1983) examined subjects' perception of "threat to themselves" (psychological risk) in relation to career change, and their perception of the realistic viability of career change in terms of options and time frames. These issues were conceived of as factors influencing decisions to change careers. Based on a comparison of three groups, those who had changed careers, those who were in the midst of changing, and those who expressed a desire to change but persisted in first careers, the researchers observed that "persisters" tended to assess the psychological risks of changing as greater than those who had changed careers, or sought to change careers. Of a total sample of 134, 63% of the changers (those who had changed and those in process) foresaw "serious psychological risk" to themselves if they remained, while 54% of persisters indicated that there were not serious risks to themselves if they remained in their present occupation. Persisters also tended to have "no hope of finding a better position." The second major part of this study utilized structured interviews to explore the usefulness of a model of grieving to understand the psychological experience of career changers. This will be discussed in a later section of this literature review, together with other studies that more directly address the meaning of career change.
Frequency of Career Change

Gottfredson's study (1977) of career stability and frequency of change within a population is one of the clearest examples of studies using Holland's occupational classification system to distinguish between major and minor career changes based upon the extent of the categorical shift. Essentially, data drawn from the U.S. Bureau of Census records for 1965 and 1970 were compared, using occupational titles in Holland's structure. Of adults employed in both of the years sampled, only about 10-14% made categorical shifts; categorical stability increased with age.

Meaning of Career Change

Among those studies which implicitly assumed that career change reflects or expresses personal meaning, two otherwise distinct positions were found. One position suggested that significant career change represents a radical discontinuity in meaning for the individual (Thomas, 1977; Levinson, 1977; Levinson et al, 1978; Osherson, 1980; Perosa and Perosa, 1984). The contrasting position suggested that career change represents a continual expansion of meaning (Robbins et al, 1978; Thomas and Robbins, 1979; Thomas, 1979; Lawrence, 1980; Neopolitan, 1980; Perosa and Perosa, 1983). The issue here is the
motivation, purpose, or goal of career change behaviour. The underlying debate appears to hinge on whether individuals' meaning structures are viewed as relatively inconsistent and discontinuous, or consistent and continuous, across time and context.

In the first position, where discontinuity of person/meaning was perceived, the inherent assumption is that significant personal change represents a directional movement away from, and structurally different from, previous life patterns. By contrast, the perception of continuity of person/meaning assumes that significant change represents a qualitative extension of the existing life pattern. While assumptions regarding the continuity or discontinuity of meaning appeared fundamental to the two research perspectives discussed in the literature, nowhere was the nature or source of meaning directly examined as it related to career movement in general, and adult career change in particular.

The most popularized perspective on career change (Sheehy, 1975; Krantz, 1978) draws upon research which suggested that career change reflects an actual or attempted resolution of a developmental crisis of self-definition. Thomas (1977) was among the first to make overt the identification of a close relationship between career change and "lifestyle change." In a theoretical paper, he distinguished between individuals who change in response to
external factors and those who change to align their work-related roles with a reorientation of broader life values and goals, and the meanings these have in terms of identity and values. In effect, he suggested that career change is itself only an indicator of deeper level alterations in the individual's psycho-social patterns.

Similarly, Levinson (1978) proposed that adults have age-related developmental stages, based upon findings from 40 case studies. Each stage, he postulated, represents a renewed crisis of self-definition and direction. Having thus equated transition with crisis, he concluded that career change is a "marker event" indicating identity and lifestyle reconstruction in accordance with new values and aspirations. However, Brim (1975) has pointed out that as yet, there is no evidence for sequential development stages in mid-life.

Like Levinson's group, Osherson characterized career change as necessarily involving an experience of loss of self, parallel to a model of grieving. In his study published under the title *Holding On or Letting Go* (1980), Osherson made an effort to sample extreme instances of the phenomenon as is appropriate to the case study approach; this concern with sampling extremes stands out in contrast to virtually all other case studies in the related literature. Additionally, Osherson included a rich source of validation and elaboration on the case study data by
reporting on the subjects' responses to debriefing. Data analysis differentiated between career changes which reflected actual, "sculpted," crisis resolution, and those reflecting attempted, "foreclosed," resolution:

In foreclosed resolutions, the career change came about in response to, but without making use of, new information about self. That is, people essentially foreclosed grieving through a career change in order to avoid deeper uncertainty and ambivalence about self ... the transition avoids and suppresses conflict ... aroused by the discrepant experiences and that of underlying ambivalently held aspects of self.... If we take as our measure of health some sense of the degree to which conflict is accessible to consciousness for rational choice and decision making, then we can label career changes emerging from sculpted resolutions as adaptive career changes, since the loss has been acknowledged and used (confronted) rather than avoided. One might speculate that this results in a more 'realistic' personally gratifying match of oneself with the work situation .... (p. 154-155)

To accept that career change is an indicator of identity reconstruction, real or attempted, one must first assume there has been identity breakdown. The assumption of career change transition as reflective of crisis level identity breakdown, a theoretical premise in the Levinson and Osherson studies, has not been critically examined through empirical means.

Several other studies, discussed below, were more specific in suggesting that career change indicates increased person/situation congruence. In other words, the person of the career changer, construed either as a conglomerate of personality traits or as a set of values, was seen as seeking to maintain or expand his or her
identity by situating himself or herself in a career more consistent with and supportive of his or her meaning framework.

Two studies analyzed traits based on multiple measures obtained through scales, inventories, and questionnaires as they related to first and second career classifications based on the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (D.O.T.), (Robbins et al, 1978; Thomas and Robbins, 1979). These studies failed to demonstrate increased congruence of trait/vocation in second careers. The researchers of these studies suggest the D.O.T., which is based upon Holland's (1973) typology, is an insufficiently sensitive instrument to indicate the nature of change. One other study (Neopolitan, 1980) used semi-structured interviews and a more subjective basis to establish the nature of the career change. The results of this study suggested that second careers reflect an increase in trait/vocation congruence.

Thomas (1979) also examined the notion of increased person/situation congruence in second careers. His focus, however, was on values rather than traits. Intensive interviewing of 73 men revealed that second careers reflected at least the seeking of increased value/situation congruence. The most frequent reason for career change reported was the seeking of "more meaningful work." Thomas noted that broader societal value shifts may contribute to
the individual's impetus to change careers. Similarly, in a major early exploratory study, Roberts (1975) noted that "lack of meaning" was an element of work-related dissatisfaction, and consequently, a reason for career change. It is possible that social fashion dictates the framework used for self-reports of this kind.

Perosa and Perosa (1983) focused on the psychological experience of career changes, and like Thomas, observed that, from among 134 subjects, "search for meaning" was a common experience in the career change process. Furthermore, "self-doubt, depression and meaninglessness" described 110 of their subjects at an earlier stage in the transition process. The researchers also note that "the selection of a new career did not represent a total rejection of the past, frequently the new career included elements valued in the first" (p. 76). Thus, the study suggested that career change reflects continuous but expanded meaning.

One final study of note (Lawrence, 1980) though limited methodologically, as there was no indication of intensive study or analysis of the ten subjects, may be important for its unique challenge to the notion of career change as crisis, and for its explicit articulation of an alternative framework. Lawrence viewed career change as one example or expression of an individual's "personal theme," referring to his or her pervasive and dynamic
decision-making pattern throughout life. Here, the second career was viewed as reflecting an expansion of a continuously evolving but consistent meaning framework, operative throughout the individual's life. This perspective appears to offer rich potential for further research.

Family Perspective

Roe (1956) was one of the earliest researchers in the field of vocational theory to point to familial influences in an individual's vocational behavior. In particular, her work focused on the parent-child interaction and the influence of parental attitudes on early occupational choices.

Perhaps more directly than any other researcher, Bratcher (1982) applied a family perspective to the examination of career-related phenomena. Specifically, he utilized a family systems perspective to explore issues involved in career selection. Bratcher systematically developed a case for the integration of family theory in career counselling. It was his contention that family systems theory serves to broaden understanding of the interrelation of many factors influencing individual career behavior. In his explication of key elements of family systems theory, Bratcher identified family relationships as reciprocal, patterned, repetitive, and circular. These
relationships, the theory stated, continue to shape our lives in an ongoing manner.

Bratcher then examined the implications of these propositions for career counselling and identified as an issue, the extent of the individual's separation from family, seeing this as a key factor in assessing the influence of the family on career choice. The current study has moved in a somewhat different direction from Bratcher. Here, the premise is that family relationships continue to shape individuals as adults and so influence their career behavior based upon the similar assumption that the reciprocal, patterned, repetitive and circular dynamics of family relationships serve as prototypes in vocational arenas.

Role Displacement

Two studies provided empirical support for the premise that the repertoire of roles experienced in family of origin are displaced onto an external domain. Baas and Brown's (1973) intensive single case study showed that "political figures" can be understood as examples of the displacement of early life figures from the self and family domains. A principal components analysis with varimax rotation on 46 Q-sort items, sorted to describe figures in the self, family, and political domains, identified strong relationships among figures in these three domains.
Of direct relevance to this study, McGregor (1983) conducted ten intensive case studies to explore the proposition that one's family-of-origin serves as a metaphor for the world of work. The study provides both quantitative and qualitative data supporting the premise that occupational role enactment involves displacement of roles from family of origin in an idiosyncratic manner, consistent with a Type C law as articulated by Herbst (1970). McGregor's construction of a 46 item Q-sort was based upon Holland's (1966) personality typology, which provides a comprehensive sample of descriptive adjectives from the universe of possible types; this typology is well-established in the research literature on career development. Subjects conducted Q-sorts on salient figures from the three domains of self, family-of-origin, and work. Q-sort results were intercorrelated to obtain a correlation matrix and submitted to a principal components analysis with varimax rotation. The statistical results, expressed in lay terms, were submitted to case subjects. The subjects validated the data by direct emotional response and by elaboration on the meaning of the role correlations.

Mcgregor's study is important for at least two reasons. First, it provides support for the proposition that vocational role enactment involves the re-enactment of a family drama. Secondly, the integrated use of both quantitative and qualitative data provides a paradigm for
systematic intensive case studies examining vocational role enactment, and, by extension, for direct examination of the meaning of changes in vocational role enactment.

Single Case Studies

The use of the case study as the overall methodological structure limited this study in a number of ways. Kazdin (1980) said that the major limitation of case studies is their inability to establish causal relationships. Specifically, he maintained that since case studies typically omit experimental or statistical controls, it is not possible to rule out alternative explanations to account for the behavioural phenomena observed. This difficulty in data interpretation may limit the ability to generalize about the findings. However, Kazdin noted further that a large number of cases does not necessarily increase generality. He cited Freud as an example of a researcher who accumulated smaller numbers of different intensive case studies to develop concepts.

While Fisher (1935) has been credited as the first to exemplify contemporary principles of successful research design utilizing a single case study, it was Laswell (1938) who made the distinction between intensive and extensive observational standpoints. The extensive design is characterized by a cursory relationship between observer and observed, usually involving a large number of subjects from
which inferences are drawn, based on group averages. By contrast, the intensive design is characterized by a relatively lengthy relationship between the observer and a small number of subjects, who provide more comprehensive and complex responses from which individual portraits are drawn (Bass and Brown, 1973).

The major logical difficulty of the extensive model is that significant findings based on averaging of heterogeneous groups does not provide a basis for understanding the actual effect on any particular individual (Chassan, 1979). The intensive single case study, characterized by specification of the research subject, can overcome this difficulty. The typical argument against the specificity of the population in intensive case study analysis addresses the limitation of drawing generalized inferences beyond the single case. Baas and Brown (1973) suggested the issue is usually perceived incorrectly as a result of equating the notions of "single case" with individual persons. As Lundberg (1941) pointed out, prediction of social behaviour is based on the probability of observing instances of that behaviour in a population sample. However, multiple cases of a behaviour, and the inference of behavioural patterns which allow for predictability, may be observed within the boundaries of an individual person, or in a group (Baas and Brown, 1973). Furthermore, it has been noted that statistical procedures
and analyses are most useful when the type of scientific law applied (Herbst, 1970) is appropriate to the nature of the research issue. Herbst defined a scientific law as a "specific type of invariance in the conceptual representation of a phenomenon," and identified three such laws:

1) Type A law applies where both functions and parameters are constant. Averaging of observations across a group is not problematic, since units of analysis behave relatively homogeneously. This law is most useful in the study of inert matter. Baas and Brown (1973) cite as an example Boyle's Law: \( \frac{pv}{t} = R \). The parameter \( R \) remains constant because of the functional relationships between temperature \( (t) \), volume \( (v) \) and pressure \( (p) \). Since gases act homogeneously, one may use averaging techniques. These types of laws are found in the physical sciences, but only rarely.

2) Type B law applies where the functional form of a relationship of factors is constant, but the parameters are specific. Analysis of phenomena fitting these conditions requires initial single case study, i.e., cases where the value of the parameters is the same may be averaged together. Baas and Brown (1973) give the example: \( Y = \lambda X \) might be the relationship between heat \( (X) \) and length of rod \( (Y) \) where \( (\lambda) \) is the heat salient characteristic specific to each metal. In order to correctly analyze the phenomena, one would have to use single case analysis since averaging all metals together would mask the existence of type B laws. Only those metals with the same heat salient characteristics \( (\lambda) \) could be averaged together. Baas and Brown suggest that this type of law is found infrequently in the social sciences.

3) Type C law is most applicable in social sciences where phenomena frequently demonstrate a different level of invariance. Here, both functional relationships and parameters are specific, but the generating rules of possible functional relationships are constant. A generating rule is universally but idiosyncratically applicable. Research attempting to reveal the generating rules for a specific type of social behaviour, for instance, must use an individual case approach. By way of example here, Laswell (1938) stated in his formula for political man that private motives
(p) become displaced (d) onto the public arena, through a transformation process (ξ) and are rationalized (r) in terms of the common good. In this case, averaging procedures should not be used since private motives vary, displacements are idiosyncratic and there may be many rationalizations, however pξdξr may be universally applicable idiosyncratically.

Accordingly, to apply either Type A or Type B laws to this study would be inappropriate. Firstly, the unit of analysis, individuals, does not behave homogeneously as required for Type A law. Secondly, career change phenomena are too complex to be described in terms of a linear relationship as required by Type B Law. Similarly, the identification of the meaning of career change is too complex to be described in terms of a linear relationship. While it is expected that the meaning of career change is necessarily idiosyncratic, an invariant generating rule may reveal the nature of possible functional relationships of relevant variables, suggesting the applicability of Type C law to this study.

McGregor's (1983) study demonstrated the applicability of Type C law to the issue of role displacement from the family domain to the vocational domain. If instances of role displacement had been averaged across case subjects (as in phenomena where Types A or B law apply), the operativeness of a Type C law would not have become apparent, as patterns of role displacement among the 10 case studies were highly idiosyncratic.
The present study assumes that career change is meaningful in terms of family dramas. In other words, shifts in vocational role enactment correspond to the repertoire of roles experienced in family of origin. The specific nature of these correspondences is expected to reveal idiosyncratic patterns. Given that Type C law is expected to be operative, intensive case study is appropriately utilized here.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Type C law (Herbst, 1970) can be assumed operative for a given phenomenon where functional relationships and parameters of variables are idiosyncratic, but where generating values of these relationships are constant. To study such phenomena, according to Herbst, one must necessarily utilize an individual case approach. Here, Type C law has been assumed operative, and an individual case approach has been applied utilizing Q-methodology to provide the research orientation and techniques. Kerlinger (1973) maintained that Q-methodology is useful in the study of the identity, interrelation, and functioning of relatively unknown areas and variables. Furthermore, Q-methodology is particularly suited to intensive case study. Q-sorts, the foundation tool of Q-methodology, can be used to obtain data from an individual in two different ways, both of which allow for the quantitative analysis of otherwise subjective judgements. The individual can be given several related Q-sorts, or a structured sort based on several variables.

Additionally, the study of Type C law regulated phenomena is concerned with attempting to reveal the generating rules for a specific phenomenon. Consistent with
this aim, a primary strength of Q-methodology is its affinity to theory. The building of a Q-sort requires the selection of variables that relate logically and empirically, thus providing a basis for theory. In revealing the generating rules for functional relationships of variables within relatively unknown areas, research effectively extends theory. Thus, it appeared reasonable to utilize Q-methodology here to study career change behavior, where Type C law was assumed operative.

Overview of Procedures

Ten subjects were identified through an informal network of contacts and referrals. Subject profiles were obtained through interviewing prior to their selection as test cases of career change.

Subjects were interviewed to identify salient figures from the three domains of self, family, and vocation; included in this latter domain were figures from the two distinct arenas of Vocation 1 and Vocation 2. Subjects conducted Q-sorts on each salient figure. Q-sorting occurred in one to four sessions, lasting from one to three hours. The variability between subjects in time for Q-sorting resulted from differences in numbers of sorts and the extent of subject reflection following each Q-sort. The Q-sort item sample was used previously by McGregor (1983) and includes 46 adjectives or traits drawn from Holland's (1966) theory of personality types.
For each subject, the Q.sorts for each salient figure was correlated with the Q-sort of every other salient figure in the slate, to obtain a correlation matrix of salient figures, based upon their similarity of Q-sort patterns. The data were then submitted to a principal components analysis utilizing the UBC-FACTO program. The resultant principal components matrix was then submitted to a varimax rotation. Both the correlation matrix and the principal components solutions were examined by the researcher to identify apparent patterns and implicit themes emerging from the data.

The apparent patterns and themes suggested by correspondences and cluster analysis, were presented to each subject in laymen's terms. The presentation of this information was used to stimulate and elicit from each subject an elaboration on the data and a clarification of meaning; this procedure is referred to here as the Meaning Interview. Audio tapes from the Meaning Interviews were partially transcribed and reviewed to further identify themes and the subject's view of the meaning of career change. Patterns were understood as implicit where the subject's language revealed repetitions or parallels, and meaning was understood as implicit in patterns or themes. This procedure occurred over a one year period for logistical reasons.
PROCEDURAL FLOW CHART

1. Identification of possible subjects and preliminary subject screening interview.

2. Interview with subject to identify salient figures.

3. Subject Q-sorting with 46 item sort on each salient figure.

4. Principal components analysis of Q-sort data.

5. Analysis of data to identify apparent themes and develop probes for Meaning Interview.

6. Meaning Interview

7. Review, transcription, and analysis of Meaning Interview audiotapes.

8. Synthesis of Q-sort data and Meaning Interview data to develop and write-up case portrait.

(One year from the completion of Step 6)

9(a) Subject Self-case Review  9(b) Independent Case Review

10. Inclusion of subject self-review and independent case review in analysis and reports of results.
The analysis of the correlation matrix, principal components solutions, and Meaning Interview was integrated to develop a case portrait of each subject pointing to the meaning of career change. The portrait was specified in a written format and presented to nine of ten subjects for a case "Self-Review." Simultaneously, audiotapes of the Meaning Interviews and the case write-ups were distributed to research assistants who served to provide an "Independent-Review" on each case. The critical commentary provided by both types of reviews was included in the data base of the study.

Case Subjects

In contrast to extensive designs where heterogeneity of subjects represents a limitation to inferential validity, in intensive case studies it is important to select a sample which maximizes the different viewpoints of a given phenomenon (Baas and Brown, 1973; McGregor, 1983). The study of single test cases is concerned, not with the elucidation of individual differences, but rather with the understanding of major patterns represented in diverse individual instances (Chassan, 1979). More particularly, the intensive case study using Q-methodology requires diversity of subjects along the dimensions of the phenomenon under study (Boldt, 1980). Here the dimension of career change that is of concern is the symbolic value of career
shifts; this can also be understood as the shift in the individual's psychological context that parallels, or is implicit in, the broader social context of his or her career change. It follows, then, that subjects were selected to reflect diversity in the nature, pace, and style of the transition.

In this study, Krause's (1971) orientation to the concept of "career" was utilized as implied in the notion that "the concept of career loses meaning as one goes downward in the occupational hierarchy." In other words, career implies more than a set of nine-to-five activities associated with economic survival needs and extends, rather, to include social and psychological contexts and symbolic values of work activities in the individual's life overall. Given this, the diversity of individual instances of career change refers particularly to instances among professionals and management level executives and administrators as it is assumed that the concept "career" as discussed here has more applicability to this population of workers than to unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. Thus, relative to the general population, a disproportionate number of subjects had received university level education, and all were in professional or management level roles.

The identification of pure examples of career change raised challenging conceptual issues. Throughout the theoretical and empirical literature there is little
uniformity of conceptualization of notions of "career" and "career transition" (Louis, 1980). Frequently, the term "career" is used synonymously with "job," "vocation" and "occupation." At issue here is the equating of a field of activity, social role, and self-identity as related to the world of work. Additionally, increasing acceptance of multiple conceptualizations of "normal" career progressions, including linear, steady-state, and spiral career paths, encourages multiple operational definitions of career transition (Louis, 1980).

A few brief examples here are intended to illustrate the dilemma one has in locating an appropriate sample selection to research career change. Where career change was operationalized in terms of educational or training activities (Heistand, 1971), the distinction between specialization and shift in identity is obscured. Where occupational classification systems were relied upon and career change was operationalized as a categorical shift of field (Gottfredson, 1977; Vaitenas and Weiner, 1977; Robbins et al, 1978; Thomas, 1979; Thomas and Robbins, 1979; Thomas, 1980; Perosa and Perosa, 1983, 1984), the distinction between field of activity and social role is obscured. For instance, a teacher who leaves the field of public education and enters the private sector as a textbook salesman, may maintain a constant self-identity as an educator, although his occupational "category" has shifted. Conversely, if a
physician shifts roles from treating patients to researching diseases this may reflect a radical change in goals and self-concept while the field of medicine remains a constant. In this study, the notion of career transition refers to any career movement encompassing any one of the variety of definitions noted in the literature review, thus allowing for the representation of diverse types of career change.

Through a network of contacts, 10 subjects were recruited, 4 women and 6 men, ranging in age from 30 to 61, for participation in this study. As discussed, the subjects were selected to represent a diversity in the nature and pace of the transition process, and style of the vocational transition. For instance, in terms of pace of change, some subjects appeared to shift to dramatically different fields of activity quite suddenly (cases A, D, G) within a matter of months, while others shifted to dramatically different fields of activity over a longer transitional period of several years. Others engaged in extensive retraining and/or vocational exploration over time (cases B, C, F). In terms of style of change, some appeared to shift roles within the same or very similar fields of activity (cases E, K). One case (H) represented a shift from a non-paid, productive social role (as housewife) to a paid professional role. Initially, subjects were identified as representative of career change if the formal preparation for, and/or experience in their Vocation 1 had no direct or obvious
relevance, from the subject's perspective, to the demands of Vocation 2. Through an unstructured interview, each subject was probed for both factual data and personal reflections on their career history. These interviews were unstructured to provide an informal, non-threatening opportunity for sharing, and thus encouraged maximum participation by subjects. Interview length varied from one to four hours. The primary purpose of the interview was to establish that each subject selected had both an experiential and objective basis for being included in this study as an example of career change phenomenon. Secondly, the interview enabled the researcher to ascertain the style of the career change of each subject, as discussed above in this section. The one-to-four hour variation in interview time was due to differences in subjects' style of exploring and responding to the researcher's probes.

**Q-Technique**

Q-technique is the procedural approach involving Q-sort and principal components analysis in which persons are treated as variables and items are treated as observations (Boldt, 1980). In this study the variables are referred to as salient role figures, persons identified by the researcher and subject as relevant to the focus of this examination. Forty-six descriptive adjectives drawn from Holland's thesis of six major personality types (Holland,
1966) were selected by the researcher as items. In Q-technique, items are sorted by the subject through rank-ordering into weighted categories, as a systematic means of gathering the subjects' subjective feelings and judgements (Stephanson, 1953). The data from Q-sorting is first handled by developing a correlation matrix, and then analyzing the matrix using principal components analysis.

Typically, Q-technique seeks to establish how a given item of a given person deviates from the mean of all other items for that person. This ipsative measure enables one to make complex comparisons of sets of measures within the data of one individual. For this reason, Q-technique is particularly appropriate to case studies.

Subjects of Judgement for Q-Sorts (Salient Figures). As in McGregor's study (1983), three domains of salient figures were sampled for each case subject: the self-domain, the primary objects domain (family-of-origin), and the secondary objects domain (vocational arena). A major difference in this study lay in the expansion of the secondary objects domain to include a sample set of salient figures from each of two distinct vocational arenas (Vocation 1 and Vocation 2) participated in by the case subject at different historical points. Thus, the three domains sampled reflect three more particular arenas of role enactment: family-of-origin, Vocation 1, and Vocation 2.
Secondly, the sample range of subjects-of-judgement from each of the three domains was somewhat broader than in McGregor's study, and is specified below.

In the self domain, 3 subjects-of-judgement were routinely included in this study: (1) basic or actual self; (2) ideal self; (3) self-as-child (son or daughter). Additionally, self-as-sibling, self-as-surrogate-sibling, as peer (friend) or grandchild were included where the complementary roles were salient for the individual.

In the primary objects domain, "mother" and "father" were routinely included as subjects of judgement for the Q-sorting. One to four other figures were included - such as siblings, grandparents, aunts or uncles, or peers.

In the secondary objects domain, 4 subjects were typically included as subjects-of-judgement. These were:

(1) self-as-vocational role #1
(2) self-as-vocational role #2
(3) ideal of vocational role #1
(4) ideal of vocational role #2

This fourth salient figure was not relevant in Case E, as the career change did not involve a distinct change in vocational role ideals, and so was not included in that instance. An additional two to seven salient figures were elicited from each case subject for each of the two vocational arenas, including figures such as "superiors," "colleagues," "subordinates," "peers," and "mentors."
To elicit salient figures from each of the three arenas, case subjects were interviewed over one to two meetings ranging from one to four hours. These interviews were guided by the central question: "Who was important to you (in each arena) and why?" Elicited figures were included in the sample as subjects-of-judgement when there was reasonable assurance the figure was relevant and important to the case subject. Where multiple salient figures representative of a similar role were elicited, such as client, student, or colleague, case subjects were typically asked to select the figure most representative of that role.

In sum, for each of ten case subjects, 19 to 23 subjects-of-judgment for Q-sorting were sampled, representing three domains and three arenas of role enactment.

Q-Sort Items. The present study was built directly upon McGregor's (1983) study in that both studies examine symbolic dimensions of career-related roles and the social contexts of these roles, using family-of-origin as a metaphor to examine the phenomenon. Furthermore, parallel methodology was used in both studies. McGregor's study appears to have produced meaningful results with important theoretical, clinical, and future research implications. Furthermore, results suggested that the item sample used was
sufficiently unambiguous to allow for meaningful data analysis. Based on these considerations, the 46 item sample, listed in Table 1, was drawn directly from the related study by McGregor. The sample was constructed upon the basis of Holland's (1966) theoretical work on personality types. Holland suggested that all individuals can be described in terms of combinations and permutations of characteristic traits associated with each of six ideal personality types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising and conventional. The item sample is a reasonably comprehensive representation of the traits associated with these six personality types, translated where useful into more common and understandable terms.

**Q-Sorting.** The 46 adjectives referred to in Table 1 were used by subjects during Q-sorting sessions. Subjects sorted cards for each salient role figure that was identified previously through interviewing. Each adjective was typed on a small card for use in sorting. Instructions for sorting were as follows:

1) Take the deck of cards, read each card separately and put it down on the table in front of you. Spread out the cards and try to form a general impression of the attributes stated on the cards.

2) Now pick up the cards, make a deck and shuffle the cards in the deck.
Table 1: Traits Used in the Q-Sort of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Sample</th>
<th>practical</th>
<th>realistic</th>
<th>conventional</th>
<th>blunt</th>
<th>responsible</th>
<th>persistent</th>
<th>sociable</th>
<th>idealistic</th>
<th>trustworthy</th>
<th>mature</th>
<th>caring</th>
<th>affectionate</th>
<th>understanding</th>
<th>helpful</th>
<th>moral</th>
<th>spontaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hard headed</td>
<td>intellectual</td>
<td>rational</td>
<td>ambitious</td>
<td>extroverted</td>
<td>self-controlled</td>
<td>conforming</td>
<td>orderly</td>
<td>status-oriented</td>
<td>flexible</td>
<td>dominant</td>
<td>enthusiastic</td>
<td>appealing</td>
<td>adventurous</td>
<td>persuasive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>independent</td>
<td>introverted</td>
<td>intelligent</td>
<td>precise</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>pleasure seeking</td>
<td>artistic</td>
<td>creative</td>
<td>expressive</td>
<td>emotional</td>
<td>imaginative</td>
<td>sensitive</td>
<td>self-insightful</td>
<td>competitive</td>
<td>deliberate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) Now (for example), sort these cards to describe your mother, retrospectively, according to your recall of your mother in the family during your childhood years, ranging from those that are most like your mother to those that are least like your mother.

4) Place the cards into roughly three equal piles as follows: most like; doubtfully like; and least like.

5) Sort the cards as follows: 2 3 5 8 10 8 5 3 2

6) a) Start with pile one.

   b) Place the two "most like" cards to your far left.

   c) Place the three next "most like" cards next to the last.

   d) Place the next five "most like" cards next to it.

   e) Place the next eight "most like" cards next to the last three.

   f) Repeat with pile three.

   g) Repeat the same process, going from your far right towards the centre, with your "least like" judgments.

   h) Place the "doubtfully like" cards (10) in the middle.

(NOTE: If necessary, it is possible to draw cards from the middle pile.)

7) Check the sorting and make any changes you wish but retain required number in each category.

The structure of the Q-sort utilized in this study is specified in the diagram provided below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluative Criteria: of Salient Figure</th>
<th>Most Descriptive</th>
<th>Neutral or Undecided</th>
<th>Least Descriptive of Salient Figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Score</td>
<td>2 3 5 8</td>
<td>10 8 5 3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANALYSIS OF PROTOCOLS

Analysis of Q-sorts

Q-sort data were examined through the use of correlations and then through principal components analysis. For each subject, the Q-sort patterns of every salient role figure was correlated with the Q-sort patterns of every other salient figure in the slate. This produced a table of correlation coefficients for each subject revealing correspondences between figures; Table 2 provides an example, showing a partial table of correlation coefficients that includes correspondences for only the first ten salient figures in Case A. Correlation coefficients of ±.30 were statistically significant at the .05 level.

Particular attention was given to identifying instances of a ±.30 correlation coefficient between a Family figure and a figure from either Vocation 1 or Vocation 2. Such a correspondence was interpreted to indicate that the particular figures involved were similar, along the dimensions sorted on, and this similarity was suggestive of a common dramatic enactment or theme in the two arenas. Additionally, attention was given to ±.30 correlation coefficients between figures from Vocation 1 and Vocation 2, and the analytic framework outlined above was observed. Thirdly, contrasts and commonalities in the significant
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>#1</th>
<th>#2</th>
<th>#3</th>
<th>#4</th>
<th>#5</th>
<th>#6</th>
<th>#7</th>
<th>#8</th>
<th>#9</th>
<th>#10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#4</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#6</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#7</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#8</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#10</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
correspondences of Family figures to Vocation 1 figures and Family figures to Vocation 2 figures, were examined. Lastly, correspondences between any of the self-referrent figures and vocational figures were examined to further elucidate possible patterns in the data, or suggested themes implicit in the vocational transition. The various observations were integrated into an overall synthesis to identify themes suggested by the correlational data.

The correlation matrices were submitted to a principal components analysis. Both the unrotated and vamax rotated solutions were derived and were examined for interpretability. The rotated solution did not reveal simple structure in all ten cases. That is, figures were often associated with more than one component. Since the first principal component of the unrotated solution accounts for more variance than any other linear combination, it appeared to be most amenable to interpretation. The first component in each unrotated solution was examined to identify the extent of association of salient figures with the hypothetical type represented by that component. A coefficient of ±.50 was accepted as indicative of a particular figure's representativeness of the hypothetical type. A negative coefficient at the .50 level was understood as suggestive of an equally meaningful but inverse relationship between that figure and the hypothetical type.
The first component was examined to identify the extent to which figures from the three areas of Family, Vocation 1, and Vocation 2 were representative of the type. Table 3 provides an illustration of the breakdown of figures from different domains representing the first component, in Case C. A totally mixed first component, that is, where figures from all three domains were represented, was viewed as an indication of the psychological interrelatedness of these three domains.

The analyses of the correlation matrix and the principal components matrix were synthesized to develop probes for the Meaning Interview, discussed below. Thus,
Q-sort results were utilized to provide an empirical basis for structuring subject interviews.

**Meaning Interview**

The term "Meaning Interview" was applied to the entire process described in this section. In general, it refers to the process of the researcher providing case subjects with a synthesis of the Q-results, and then encouraging them to explore and elaborate in order to illuminate the subject's sense of meaning regarding his or her career transition. Specifically, the apparently central correlations and dramatic themes, identified through analysis of the Q-sorts, were shared with the case subjects in order to stimulate focused reflective responses. By encouraging the subjects' elaboration on, and interpretation of, the central Q-sort correlations and themes, the researcher elicited subjects' understanding of the meaning of their career transition in terms of their family drama.

In setting up the Meaning Interview, each subject was told that the researcher was going to share a summarized form of the Q-results. Each subject was also told that these results were being used to provide a common ground of language and frame-of-reference for the subject and researcher to explore the meaning of the subject's career transition. The researcher stated that the Q-results only provided indications of the subject's web of role enactments
in relation to salient figures in the family and two vocation arenas. The researcher specified to each subject that neither agreement nor disagreement with the Q-sort data was being sought. Furthermore, subjects were told that an understanding of the meaning associated with each vocational context, and hence with the vocational transition itself, was to be identified from the subject's own exploration of and elaboration on the key patterns of role enactments as indicated by the Q-results.

In each case, parallels drawn from the statistical data were shared with the subject in order to focus the exploration. Specifically, three types of parallels were shared with each subject, involving correspondences between:

1) the self-domain and other domains
2) vocational roles and family-of-origin figures
3) other role figures in both vocational arenas and family-of-origin figures.

Additionally, a fourth integrative statement was shared with each subject, which related the apparent emergent vocational dramas or themes to family-of-origin (prototype) dramas. For example, during the Meaning Interview with Subject A, the following statements were made to elicit the subject's reflections on, and analysis of, the Q-sort correlations as they relate to the meaning of the career transition:
1) The Q-results indicated a significant correlation between each of your career roles and your Q-sort of your personal ideal. Conversely, neither of the Q-sorts of your career roles correlated highly with the sort on your "Actual Self." In sum then, neither as an architect nor as a stockbroker's representative are you very much like your actual self, but in both career roles you approach your personal ideal self.

2) The Q-sort on "self-as-an-architect" correlated significantly with the sort on "self-as-daughter." The Q-sort on your second career role of stockbroker's representative, however, correlated significantly with the sort on "self-as-sister." This suggests then, that as an architect you were like yourself as a daughter and as a stockbroker's representative you are like yourself as a sister.

3) You sorted more than one co-worker from the first vocational arena of architect very similarly to the way in which you sorted the role of "mother" from your early family, and very dissimilarly to the way in which you sorted for "self-as-sister," and "aunt." However, in your second vocational arena as a stockbroker's representative, more than one co-worker was sorted similarly to your sorts on "sister" and "aunt," and opposite to your sort on "self-as-daughter." All of this suggests that your co-workers in your architect's job, generally are most like your mom and opposite to yourself as sister, and aunt. In contrast, your co-workers as a stockbroker's representative are generally most like your sister and aunt and opposite yourself-as-daughter.

4) On the whole in your first career you seem to have recreated a daughter-mother drama, and now you seem to be recreating more of a sisterly drama.

Elaboration upon the subject's initial response was encouraged typically through the use of (1) parroting, (2) reflections of subject's statements, (3) reflections on subject's non-verbal cues, (4) summarizing and clarifying statements, (5) direct open-ended probing for elaboration of
meaning. Subjects were also reminded, where appropriate, (6) that no particular response was favoured. Examples of each of these follows:

(1) A: "... she's a powerful woman so it left you with, always those feelings until the next time."

Interviewer: "What sort of feelings?"

A: "They're feelings of, um, -oh shit!"

I: "'Oh shit!'? That's the feeling?"

A: "I know, I'm just trying to grab it. It's a feeling of pulling things out of myself, really busting your gut on an understanding level, on a giving level."

(2) E: "I don't think these are the sorts of things you can articulate .... It's something that I know deep within my heart and being and soul ... and I can't put it into words ... Can't do it. Can't."

I: "You're talking about knowing in your heart-of-hearts a sense of purpose."

E: "Uh huh. A sense of being guided ... I know it's there and I know I'm responding to it ..." (leading up to direct statement regarding his career shift).

(3) I: "What are you feeling right now, I mean, I see your hand on your throat." and "There's that big grin there."

A: "That says 'wouldn't that be nice, then there's nobody at all' ... like there's no beef, now I would be moving one more step, because I want the income ... at the same time I can hire people and I can get a cut of their pay. And that's kind of going full circle!"

(4) A: "The only thing that comes to mind was that maybe on some strange level I had a feeling that if I went and worked at it, although I didn't really know what it was about, was that I would get more control and that that was comfortable ..."

I: "Something led you to it ... despite the fact that you didn't get a lot of support from friends."
A: "Oh, quite the opposite ... I had to let go of something that looked cool, felt cool, and that people (friends) looked up to, but in return I was going to get something real for me, real-er." AND ...

I: "That would be a description of how you dealt with your mom, is that what you are saying?"

A: "Yeah, that was the 'oh god!'"

(5) "Can you tell me something more about what you mean when you say you've been trying to move away from all this yucky stuff?"

(6) "I'm not looking for a logical conclusion of what came first, the chicken or the egg, but simply for what sense you've made of these observations.

At the conclusion of each interview, the subject was invited to share any additional reflections on his or her career change in relation to family roles, which may not have been articulated already.

Interviews were terminated only once there was an indication that exploration of the research issue had been saturated. Typically, subjects had provided at least one direct interpretive statement about the meaning of their career change in terms of family.

Case Portraits

The Meaning Interview with each subject was audiotaped, both to allow the researcher to attend fully to the interview process itself and to provide a data base for intensive analysis. After completion of each Meaning
Interview, typically one hour long, the researcher listened intently to each audiotape, for identification of overall themes, content and structure of the subject's response. The researcher listened closely a second time to each tape, this time transcribing portions. The specific use of subject's language, affect, and metaphors was particularly attended to. A pattern of role re-enactment was identified in those instances where subjects used parallel language or precise repetition of words and phrases to describe at least some role figures from early family and from at least one vocational arena.

Meaning was assumed to be implicit in the repetitive dimension of the role re-enactments reflected in subject's language. A shift in the pattern of role re-enactment was identified where different language was used in descriptions of family and first career figures, and in descriptions of family and second career figures. The meaning of the career shift itself was identified as implicit in the central shifts or consistencies in the pattern of role re-enactment in the vocational context, as these related to family role patterns. The quantitative portrait and qualitative portraits were used conjunctively to develop a portrait for each subject. One full year elapsed between beginning data collection and the completion of written case portraits for all subjects. This one year time lapse occurred for logistical reasons rather than for methodological ones; the
procedural steps of interview transcription, data analysis, and case write-up took a year to complete. Results of both types of case reviews are reported in Chapter V of this study.

Case Portrait Reviews

Two types of case review were employed to lend further credibility to each case analysis. One year after the Meaning Interviews were conducted, following the completion of the case write-ups, nine of the ten subjects reviewed the case write-up on their own case (Subject A reviewed case portrait A, and so forth). Subject K was unavailable to participate in this review process due to prolonged illness and subsequent travel. The nine subjects who reviewed cases provided verbal feedback to the researcher through an informal, open-ended interview. Simultaneous to the subject self-reviews occurring, a second case review procedure was implemented. An independent reviewer for each case listened to the audiotapes of the Meaning Interview, and then read the case write-up and provided verbal feedback to the researcher. The parameters of each type of review are described in more detail in the following sections.

Subject Self-Review. One year after the Meaning Interviews, each subject was contacted by the researcher and
given the case portrait write-up. The time lapse of one year between the Meaning Interview and the Subject Self-Review was a logistical decision rather than a methodological one. This was the time period that elapsed while the Meaning Interviews were transcribed and analyzed, and case write-ups prepared and synthesized. It was clearly stated to subjects that the Subject Self-Review was not a required part of participation in the study. All ten subjects expressed interest in reading the case write-up and 9 of the 10 actually were able to do the self-review. (Subject K had scheduling conflicts due to extended travel and a period of illness which prevented her from following through with her expressed willingness to provide a review.) It may add to the interest of the overall findings to note that one full year after doing the Q-sorting and exploring the results through the Meaning Interviews, all nine subjects found the case write-up to be at least personally valid, and often highly personally illuminating.

Once subjects agreed to review their case write-up, they were asked to read with a view towards providing the researcher with verbal feedback on the following three questions:

1) Did the researcher accurately portray your experience? Does the portrait "ring true" for you?

2) Is the portrayal plausible, even though it may be a new or different perspective for you?
3) Did the researcher leave out anything of central importance to the picture?

Subject comments are reported in Chapter V of this study.

Independent Reviews. Each case study, together with the audiotape of the Meaning Interview for that case, was given to an independent reviewer. Each reviewer had graduate level training in one of the social sciences. Eight reviewers reviewed only one case; the ninth reviewer reviewed two cases. Each reviewer was instructed as follows:

1) First listen to the audiotaped interview. Attend to and note instances of leading questions, inappropriate reflection by the interviewer, or any other type of the interviewer influence on the subject's response.

2) While you listen, formulate an impression of the essence of what the research subject, the interviewee, is intending to communicate.

3) After you have assessed the audiotape for interviewer objectivity, and formulated your own portrait of the subject, read the Case Portrait write-up with a view to addressing these questions:

   Does the Case Portrait write-up accurately portray what the subject intended to communicate?

   Has anything of importance to the understanding of the Case Subject been omitted or in any way distorted?

4) Feel free to give your assessment to the researcher verbally or in writing.

As with the subject self-reviews, the findings from the independent reviews are reported in Chapter V.
CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Given that people re-enact family roles in the vocational arena, what is the meaning of vocational transition from the point of view of the family drama? This question can be explored in a variety of ways with the present data. In this chapter, group results were examined from two overlapping angles.

Correlations Among Q-Sorts According to Roles

For each subject, the Q-sort for each salient role was correlated with the Q-sort of every other salient role. A correspondence between any two roles was accepted as statistically significant if there was a correlation of ±.30. On the basis of testing the hypothesis that the population correlation coefficient is 0, using Fisher's Z transformation, it was concluded that a correlation coefficient of ±.30 or higher is statistically significant at the .05 level (Glass & Stanley, 1970).

When examining the correlations among the salient figures, four types of correspondences were particularly attended to:
1) co-workers to salient family members,
2) co-workers to variant of self,
3) self-in-vocational role(s) to other variants of self,
4) self-in-vocational role(s) to other salient family members.

The findings regarding these different correspondences, and their general relevance to the research question, are discussed below.

First, do co-workers correspond to salient figures from the family arena? For the ten subjects, 39 co-workers were elicited for Vocation 1 and 44 were elicited for Vocation 2. Of these, 35 co-workers from Vocation 1 and 33 co-workers from Vocation 2 corresponded to at least one salient figure from the family arena. For both Vocation 1 and 2, correspondences ranged from mild to very strong (.30 to .83); in the latter instance, it appeared that the co-worker was a virtual re-embodiment of an early family figure. The strength of the correspondences shifted in both directions when correspondences from the Vocation 1 arena were directly compared with those from the Vocation 2 arena. It appeared that the majority of co-workers could be construed as variants of a prior family member, and that this observation held across vocational arenas for a given individual. Also, it appeared that the pattern of correspondences of co-workers and family figures shifted across vocational contexts.

Second, do co-workers correspond to a variant of oneself? In other words, do co-workers serve as objectifications of self? Of the 39 co-workers in Vocation
1, 16 correlated significantly to at least one self-role from the early family drama, and 26 correlated to at least one other variant of self (basic, ideal, self-in-vocational roles). Of the 44 co-workers in Vocation 2, 17 correlated significantly to at least one figure from the early family drama and 37 correlated to at least one other variant of oneself. Thus, for both Vocations 1 and 2, the majority of co-workers appeared to be construed as variant aspects of self. In 9 of the 10 cases, there was a tendency towards increased numbers of correspondences between co-workers and variant aspects of self from Vocation 1 to Vocation 2. (Refer to Appendix A).

Third, for each of the two vocational arenas examined, does self-as-vocational role correspond with other selves (basic self, ideal, self-as-son or daughter, self-as-sibling, self-as-childhood peer)? Does the enactment of vocational roles include the partial enactment of other self roles, particularly those other self roles that are not associated with vocation? Does the apparent integration of other self roles into a vocational role enactment shift in instances of vocational transition? In 19 of the 20 vocational self roles rated, there was a significant correlation with at least one other self role. Case G provided the one notable exception here. For subject G, self-as-vocational role 1 corresponded to three other self roles (basic, ideal, self-as-son) while
self-as-vocational role 2 did not correspond to any other self roles. This comparison suggested that, for subject G, self-as-vocational role 2 was alien to him, that it was not anchored in the role repertoire experienced early in life. This notion was supported by the lack of correspondences between this vocational role and any figures from the family arena. Furthermore, one year after data collection, subject G was the sole subject among the ten who had returned to the role enactment associated with Vocation 1. Thus it appears that vocational role enactment may be intimately related with other role enactments; Case G suggests that this relationship may play a role in the stability of vocational choice. For all ten subjects, there appeared to be a shift in the pattern of correspondences between self-as-vocational role and other self roles, when the data was examined across vocational contexts. For example, in Case B, self-as-vocational role 1 corresponded to self-as-sibling and self-as-son while self-as-vocational role 2 corresponded to only self-as-son, (refer to Appendix B).

Fourth, does self-as-vocational role correspond to early salient family figures? In enacting a vocational role, is one also partially enacting a role model from the early family drama? When the self-roles that were associated with the early family drama (self-as-son or daughter, as grandchild, as sibling, as peer) were included in the repertoire of early salient family figures, then 18
of the 20 self-as-vocational roles corresponded with at least one role associated with the early family drama. One exception, Case G, has been discussed above. The other exception here is Case D; the lack of correspondences here is discussed in the Case D Meaning Interview (Chapter V). The finding is consistent with the subject's view of himself as "a self-made man." Furthermore, the nature of this subject's sense of relatedness to the figure of father, in his Vocation 2 role, is elucidated in the Meaning Interview. When the early self-roles within the family were not considered, then 13 of the 20 self-as-vocational roles examined corresponded with at least one early family figure. It appears that vocational role enactment did not necessarily include the partial re-enactment of family figures in the sense of modelling. It does appear, however, that vocational enactment typically included the re-enactment of at least one role from the full role repertoire of the early family. Where there was no apparent modelling in a vocational role enactment, the self-role that was complementary to another family role was re-enacted. For example, in Case A there were no correspondences between self-as-vocational roles and family figures. However, for both vocational arenas there was a correspondence between the vocational role enactment and an early self role, which can be seen as complementary to a family figure (e.g., self-as-daughter is the complement of mother and/or father; and self-as-sister is the complement of sister).
Principal Components Analysis

For each subject, a principal components analysis was conducted on the correlation matrix derived from the Q-sort data, in order to organize the data set by clustering figures into hypothetical types or components. Examination of the solutions showed that the unrotated first principal component was most interpretable. The range of variance accounted for by the first component across the ten cases was 56% to 86%. In all ten cases the first component was totally mixed, meaning that salient figures from all three domains were associated with the component at a level of ±.50 or greater. This finding suggests that the arenas of Family, Vocation 1, and Vocation 2 are psychologically interrelated, providing support for the proposition that there is a re-enactment of the family drama in the vocational arena. Additionally, figures from both Vocation 1 and Vocation 2 were associated with the first component at a level of ±.50 or greater, suggesting that there is an element of continuity within a career transition, when viewed in terms of family drama.
CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE RESULTS: CASE STUDIES

The quantitative data presented in the previous chapter provided support for the notion that people re-enact the drama of their family in their vocational setting. Furthermore, the phenomenon of re-enactment of aspects of the familial drama tended to hold across vocational arenas. The data suggested that instances of vocational transition reflected a shift in the familial role patterns that were selected for re-enactment. However, these data were general, and more specific portraits of individuals would be important to provide further support, and to examine particularly the meaning of the vocational transition in terms of the family drama.

The following case study portraits were based upon a synthesis of Q-sort results and the Meaning Interview. As discussed in Chapter III, each subject was interviewed for an average of one hour, during which time the results of the Q-sort analysis were structured and used to draw out the subject. The content of each interview was reviewed by the researcher to identify pervasive themes. Themes were identified where there were parallels in descriptive language used by the subject when discussing dramas from differing arenas. For example, where similar language or
phrasing was used to describe the Boss-Employee dynamic and the Mother-Daughter dynamic, a theme was identified and reported in the case study portrait as one dimension of the meaning or shift in meaning represented by the career shift.

The verbatim transcriptions of interviews were abstracted for clarity and brevity while maintaining the original sense and intention of the full interview. The accuracy of these case portraits was reviewed by both the subject and by an independent reviewer.

After each Case Portrait was written, a draft of the write-up was presented, a year after the interview, to each subject, and critical comment was sought. Subjects were specifically probed as to whether or not the overall interview presentation "made sense" to them, whether or not it "rang true." They were asked to identify what of importance may have been omitted. The Subject Self-Reviews presented here were abstracted from the subjects' critical comments and were selected as representative of the subjects' feedback. (Subject K was not available for Self-Review due to extended travels and illness).

Each audiotape of the Meaning Interview and the Case Portrait write-up was presented to an independent reviewer. The reviewers each had graduate level training in the social sciences and most reviewers reviewed only one case; one reviewer reviewed two cases. The reviewers assessed the audiotapes to establish whether or not interviewing
techniques had been open-ended and/or "leading." Case write-ups were assessed in conjunction with the interview audiotapes to establish whether or not the write-ups reflected accurately the material on the tapes. The Independent Case Reviews reported here are the totality of reviewers comments with the exception of Independent Case Review F which was abstracted for the sake of brevity.

This chapter presents the case study portraits, the subject self-reviews, and the independent case reviews.
CASE STUDY A

Background

A was a 36 year old, Dutch-born, divorced woman, living alone in a fashionable apartment. Following a required six years of post-secondary education, A worked for two years (Vocation 1) as a Master's level architect. After a period of exploration and retraining lasting approximately one year, she began work (Vocation 2) as a registered stockbroker's representative; at the time of this study, she had worked in this position for six years.

Family Experience

A's early life was characterized by an experience of oppression and struggle, particularly in relation to a dominant negative mother figure. Subject A grew up in Holland with mother, father, and one sister eight years her senior; father was a contractor and mother was a housewife:

... as a child I suppose a part of me was sort of weak and under the thumb and repressed and having to fight for space and air to breathe my own ...

Mother was viewed as the one who "wielded the most power in the family" and, paradoxically, did so by acting "resentfully and often negatively, maliciously ... as a victim."
A's major role was one of supporting and pleasing mother through performing:

I'd always be the one who'd motivate her, and 'oh you can do it - you're wonderful', to get her to get her act together ... to be more positive ... the other thing I did with my mother was, in order to appease the gods - her - was to be sort of sucky and unthreatening and undemanding and compromising ... always putting out -

The mother-daughter dynamic may have been experienced as particularly intense since A was raised separately from her sister, virtually as an only child:

She (sister) being 8 years older, we grew up very separately. My mother had a one-to-one relationship with me and did very little or nothing to foster anything between the two of us ... she was just that other person - we didn't really relate.

When relating as a dyad, A experienced an "almost storybook-like" relationship with father - "close, pleasant, and positive" - though he was seen as deferential to, and overshadowed by, mother's strong control.

A's experience of mother was contrasted with her relationship to a maternal aunt:

Being with my aunt was just a delight. It was like the bonus you got for struggling all year ... I'd get a little spoiled and patted on the head and told I was cute ...

A's "all-year struggle" was, as noted, associated with mother and more particularly, with working to demonstrate her worth and elicit approval:

... It's a feeling of pulling things out of myself ... the word that comes to mind ... 'it's not good enough. Keep trying harder and harder.' Forever putting
If a phrase came to mind it would be 'really busting your gut' on an emotional level, on an understanding level, on a giving level.

Vocation 1

As an architect, A seemed to be re-enacting the drama of herself as daughter in relation to dominant and negative mother figures. The Q-sort correlation matrix supported this by indicating A was like her self-as-daughter in her architect role (.55), and both her boss and colleague were like mother (.43 and .35).

The re-creation of this early life drama in A's first vocation was further suggested by her somewhat interchangeable descriptions of the two arenas:

... [being an architect] required a pulling out of yourself to put it on paper ... part of the whole creative process, but in a nice, positive way ... It was very, very frustrating. It was on your shoulders and it was like an albatross. At the same time it hung around you all the time, it wouldn't let go ... I remember just working 36 hours straight ... I redesigned eight times, each time for different reasons something had to change. With my mom, no matter how hard you tried it was never good enough. There was just never a point where you were going to get (sigh) oh, all that support or love ... you needed as a child. The more you gave, the more she demanded - it was always 'more, more'. I suppose there was that similarity.

More particularly, A drew direct correspondences between other role figures in her arena as architect and mother:

... I think that project [in architecture] was very black and white ... between people who were getting used and those that were handing it out, and I'd say my
mother also belongs on the other side of that ditch ... people who were non-supporters, takers, and no heart.

In response to a direct query regarding her experience in this vocational arena, A again verified and elaborated on the re-enactment of her early mother-daughter drama:

Oh just endlessly giving, never good enough, more, more, more, ... and definitely feeling under the power of the people who were demanding ... they were in control of me and what I had to put out, just like mother."

Vocation 2

By contrast, as a stockbroker's representative, A seemed to be relatively disengaged from efforts at pleasing others. As she explained it:

I'm self-employed to a degree ... nobody tells me what to do ... it's really up to me, just as long as I play fair ... so now I've got control! ... I have control over me. Nobody pushes me around. I don't have to do anything out of 'niceness'.

As a stockbroker's representative, A seemed to have re-created more of a sisterly drama of equal status and a sense of independence from influence by the other. In this vocational role, A was like her self-as-sister (.41). Additionally, virtually everyone in this arena was like either a sister figure or an aunt figure: client was like self-as-sister (.39) and aunt (.40); colleague was like sister (.327) and aunt (.419); support staff was like sister
(.459) and aunt (.74); and mentor was like sister (.448) and aunt (.339). When the researcher's impression of a "sisterly" drama was shared with A she responded with the following elaboration on the nature of her self-as-sister:

I'm the logical one. I make smart, rational decisions and I'm verbally handing them out to her in as covert a way as possible ... actually I'm the little sister, but I kind of feel bad about the way her life is going and every once in a while we sit down and say 'well, you could do this and this, you could do that and that.' It's not the same sort of gut-pulling type of stuff as with mother at all. We just sit, we talk, we discuss ... and I'm sort of the "advice" person ... I don't come across that way but I feel that way inside. So that would tend to be similar to the role I play at work, which is: I get all this information, I organize it and I spit it back out ... it is something that can be learned and it's something that's intuitive and over time you sort of synthesize the two.

Vocational Transition

In switching from architect to stockbroker's representative, A seemed to have shifted from re-enacting the mother-daughter drama, to the more positively connoted dramas of accepted niece to aunt and distantly caring sister. Her role in the mother-daughter drama was an enactment of an inadequate, powerless figure forever striving to please an ungiving, demanding authority figure. In the latter drama she shifted to a role of relatively greater stature, relating on more distant but equal terms with a loving figure.

If there's anything that I wanted, it was to dump all that mother shit and if there's anything that I did want is something that to me, means more neutral. Where,
well one: a sense that I'm more in control of it where it's not pulling myself away and, or grasping upward where there's that sense of domination coming down at me where I don't have control - where it's - okay, how do you call it? - there's a word for that, that just does it - a sense of, um, where I react as I choose, where I don't - where I act and not react, where I motivate me to go in whatever direction I choose. Whereas I'm not as much of a puppet, where I'm not as much left at the whims of others, where I don't feel as manipulated, whereas I don't feel as pushed around by circumstance. And that's all having to with people like sister and aunt.

... I never felt that she (sister) ever had any say over me. I was never in reaction to her, like, I was forever reacting to my mother - always, but as to my sister - no reaction, to my dad, very little and to my aunt - she didn't make that you had to react, you could just be and you could feel kind of good about who you were ...

The family drama themes of oppression and reacting against authority versus freedom from control, paralleled the career themes of being in service to others versus self-employed and in control:

I felt that ... as an architect you were in service to someone who was in service. It was like too far removed down the pike ... you're twice as removed from any sense of seeing the daylight at all ... and here [stockbroker's representative] I'm only in service to all of those things that a developer also has to worry about ... but I can even manipulate those better than a developer ... In fact recently I've come up with some ideas that in about two or three years I can open my own firm ... I can hire people and I can get a cut of their pay, and that's kind of going full circle ...
CASE STUDY B

Background

B was a 46 year old man in a second marriage of nearly ten years; two adolescent daughters from his first marriage lived with him and his wife on a flexible and sporadic basis. In the midst of an upper-middle class neighbourhood, B and his wife appeared to have cultivated a naturalistic wild forest look to their yard; inside, their home gave the impression of being an artist's country haven, filled with colourful paintings and objects of nature.

After obtaining an honours B.A. in engineering, B undertook Masters work in particle physics and thermodynamics. Three years later he switched fields and completed his Masters in Urban Planning. B also had one year of training in theatre arts, one year training in film production, and several years of nonacademic training in a variety of counselling approaches and psychological theories.

His first vocation was as a planner, urban and environmental; his second vocation was as an artist/therapist.

Adopted at age two, B grew up as the only child of Canadian parents in western Canada. Having learned of his adopted status at about age 10, he knew no other family.
Both maternal and paternal grandparents were active in his upbringing, and close ties were kept with a large extended family in the region.

**Family Experience**

B's early family life was characterized by an experience of purposive belonging and of being uniquely loved and nurtured. B explained his sense of positive distinction in terms of his adopted status with the family:

... I was adopted you see ... I think, because of that, when you're adopted you have a strong sense of 'Karmic' connection with your parents - the adopted parents ... I have a very, very strong sense that was an omnipotent aspect of my own parents [adoptive] truth - they loved that ... being parents.

On this theme, B related that when his adoptive parents visited the orphanage, ostensibly to "shop" for a little girl, B, age two, actively chose his mother by approaching her and "vice-gripping" her leg. B's experience of being specially loved was reflected in the following comments:

I always felt very loved, but I felt loved a certain way - that I was actually providing (laugh). Like I was serving by being loved ... It was almost like being grounded: my parents loved me, and I loved the world and that's how I still basically feel.

Further exemplifying B's sense of his role-as-son was his story of the annual family gathering. He presented a picture of a young boy whose rather large extended family gathered annually for a day-long celebration in honour of
his birthday, out of their love for him; he in turn served
the family by providing them with a focus for an annual
reunion.

B's primary peer relationship as a child with a
neighbourhood boyfriend, also an only child, provided an
important contrast in B's early life experience. The
relationship B had to N---, whom B described as "the
equivalent of my brother," prior to school age, was
characterized by "pure competitiveness, often very
physical," coupled with mistrust:

... I never trusted because N--- was the kind of person
who, you know, you could only go so far but then he'd
turn and around and stab you ... that's just N---. I
don't think I'm making that up, that's the kind of
person he was. He wasn't nasty, it's just ... he
himself was driven with such a competitive quality that
that would overrule any sense of loyalty or compassion
or real loving thing.

The physically combative expression of
competitiveness with N--- shifted in the context of the
classroom as B saw it:

I was always pushing limits and I was doing it in a way
on behalf of a lot of the other kids who didn't have
that bent ... to question so deeply and so pervasively.
And it was not out of a sense of competition with the
teacher or a power play, but again, that grappling with
the frontier level - 'gosh, our understanding can't stop
here ...' (laugh) It's always kind of driven me in a
way, automatically. So I definitely moved away from
that personal level of competition with N--- to this
other kind of role ... it's really similar to how I feel
now.
Vocation 1

B's vocation in the field of planning, both urban and environmental, spanned a thirteen year period from about age 26 to 39 years of age. During the last four years of this period he was a partner in a relatively large environmental consulting firm in a 'hands-on' management role.

As manager in an environmental consulting firm, B seemed to be re-enacting the drama of brotherly competition experienced in early life.

While B was like self-as-son and mother in both his first and second vocational roles, only in the first was he also like self-as-brother (.465). Also, in this arena, those around him were like his "surrogate brother" (colleague a:.637/client-lawyer: .379).

These observations did not surprise B at all. In response to the parallel between his colleagues in the first vocational arena, and his surrogate brother, B associated the themes of competitiveness and mistrust with this career arena. These themes were both referred to previously (Family Experience) in relation to B's surrogate brother:

... that competitive role and that competitive relationship and being in that business - it's how I viewed and held them, and there's no question that I learned about that with N--- and however I created it there [with surrogate brother] I created it [in the business] ... that's the way I held those people in the firm, a bit Machiavellian in a way ... I did not enjoy
at all the more 'dishonest' forms of competition that went on in the firm - little power plays, manipulations, withholding information ... certainly, there's a competitiveness that I had in my role with N--- [brother] that was definitely present functioning in that firm [Vocation 1] - a kind of competitiveness that I no longer have any sense of in my life ... one-upping each other, being better than, kind of a whole striving thing based on beating the other guy out - in a way .... With N---- it was just a pure, pure competitiveness, and very physical often. In the firm ... it was a bit of a dilemma. One part of me would compete and want to do well in those terms, in terms of my performance and where I was in the firm, how powerful I was, and there was another part of me that wanted to be more truthful to who I really was.

There was also a positively connoted parallel between this vocational enactment and B's early brotherly competitive role supported by this description:

... I just loved playing that game (laugh). All those lawyers, the sort of repartee, I was playing with court testimony ... again that competitive game, trying to 'get' you and then you come and get back to them (laugh) ... I played a lot of sports when I was young and I enjoyed the competitive element in that sense. I think the other thing I really liked about the court situation was it was a lot like sports - the rules were real clear. It is, was, a real pure competitive game and you could play it and you didn't have to be sleazy ... it was an honest fight ... and I loved that.

**Vocation 2**

In discussion with B it was agreed that the title of "artist-therapist" would serve here to describe his present vocation. While his actual range of vocational activities included painting, producing theatrical events, and counselling individuals and groups, he viewed all his
vocational activities as both artistic expressions and activities of therapeutic value, both involving what he termed "creative dialogue."

After leaving his position as manager/environmental consultant, B spent four years in an informal training period, participating in, and sometimes assuming leadership roles in, a wide variety of activities, groups, and workshops oriented to self-development in the areas of creative expression and self-awareness.

As an artist-therapist, the element of self-as-brother was no longer present. In this role B corresponded most to mother (.5) and to self-as-son (.36). These observations were, again, unsurprising to B. The parallel between self-as-artist/therapist to mother was particularly meaningful to B and prompted him to share the significance of his career change in this light:

I have a very strong sense of the world moving into a more feminine mode, totally. And I have a very strong sense ... that my changing careers is very related to that ... having a career and playing those competitive games that have sustained a great number of men's sense of purpose ... the whole mythology of business and all that that's about and now ... having to ... create a ... mythology of purpose outside of that realm, in terms of a realm of just living - which women have more done in any event just because of the role that they play ... that's a much less structured game than men can play ... I think the artist's ... mode is a very good training ground for men - for all people right now. Because ... it gives a historical legitimacy and basis for evolving life in a different mode ... what an artist always has ... been the person that evolved out of themselves their own meaning and purpose, not out of a structure ... and that's very much what happened to me when I went from this game of business and consulting et cetera to this ...
Vocational Transition

In changing roles from Vocation 1 to Vocation 2, B appeared to have shifted from enactment of one symbolic principle to another; B identified both principles as having their parallel in his early life experience. The role patterns identified from early life were viewed by B as important because of their symbolic meaning, rather than because of specific behavioural or interactive patterns that may be associated. As he explained it:

In terms of principles not in terms of roles at all ... it's the right brain taking the lead and the left brain following rather than the reverse ... It's very much the real sense of what the shift was for me - rather than an environmental da-da-da to an artist/therapist - that's in a way misleading ... it was really a shift from the male principle to the female, really, but also a much greater move to what I would call my innate purpose in life ...

It could also be said that the vocational shift reflected a move away from the competitive striving, as paralleled in B's early brotherly role, to a re-enactment of his role-as-son as "special" channel for nurturance and love:

I think in time I moved from being central to the firm to being a kind of 'special case' - which has its own kind of power ... in that sense I think I moved more and more to my natural role, the one that felt the best ... in a very intuitive way. I think I was making a choice to go ... to where my heart took me, really.
In his present vocation, B's early role within the family as a special channel for love and nurturance had expanded to experiencing himself as in a special position within the global human community:

I actually sense this thing of taking the next step that the species has to take. In a sense, I'm doing a kind of global shamanism trip really, in terms of vision and knowledge ... I have a very strong sense about that ... that involves a much higher level of creativity and exploration really than the other forms of competition, the more personal ones.

B later placed the scope of his expanded "channel" role on a grander scale drawing the metaphor of himself as a "satellite tuning station" with a sense of special and fulfilled purpose in his role as "Cosmic Detective ... constantly tuning in on what's actually going on ... in the cosmos."

In summation, B's transition reflected a shift from enacting the male principle of personal competitiveness and power-striving to enacting the female principle of an expanded exploration and channeling of love:

I guess for me in the end it's about making connections ... and one way of making connections is really competing with somebody ... there's that sense of really, really grappling, coming into combat with somebody and that's terrific and sort of locking horns and being right there and chrrrr - very powerful, passionate thing. But I do that now much with my exploration into the cosmos - like I'm playing with the whole idea of morphogenetic fields a lot now in my painting and I'm making real connections there and it's the same feeling as competing only I'm not competing with anything ... There's the same combative struggle to playing on the edge of knowledge and understanding and of taking the next step and popping that one open.
CASE STUDY C

Background

C was a 37 year old divorced male; his two school-age children lived with him in an urban cooperative housing development.

C's Vocation 1 was in the field of automotive mechanics; his 13-year career included a four-year training and apprenticeship period. C's last full-time position in this field was as a senior mechanic, supervising staff and doing "hands-on" work. During the subsequent nine years, C was a successful entrepreneur, and part-time teacher of mechanics. At age 34, C shifted to Vocation 2, in the field of social services, working as a "human services worker." He obtained paraprofessional certification in social services, and at the time of this study was working towards completion of his B.A. in a related area, with a view towards doctoral level work in the future.

C grew up in England in an upper middle-class Jewish household. One of four children, he was brother to a sister three years his junior in his sibling subset; he grew up quite separately from the two older siblings, who were teenagers when he was a small child. Father was a physician; mother was a housewife. A working-class Irish-Catholic nanny played a central role in his early
years; she was present more often in his daily life than either parent, and C experienced this as an important bond.

Family Experience

Several elements in C's early experience suggested that he was disconnected from his own family unit of birth, and relatively more affiliated with a "surrogate family," comprised of his working-class, Irish-Catholic Nanny, chauffeur, and boyhood friend and his family.

With respect to his own sibling group, C was experientially an only child for the earliest part of his life. Though he was the third male child, he was the firstborn and only male in his sibling sub-set, as the first two were several years his senior:

There's a schism in my family between my two siblings who grew up through adolescence with a family, and myself and [younger] sibling who grew up mostly with a nanny.

Of his younger sibling, C had no recollection of their relationship before C was 11, when they shared the experience of the death of their father. From that point on, he experienced a warm, supportive, and loving relationship with his sister. C believed that an early, deep, and well-established loving bond paved the way for the intimacy they have shared since the time of their father's death.
As with sister, C had no recollection of his mother until after his father's death:

Mother is hardly in the picture. The first image I have is her hysteria and inability to function after father died. Certainly not of importance.

C's early sense of disconnection from his own family extended to his experience and recollections of his father. For most of his adult life, C viewed his father as exclusively focused on work and achievement to the point of being "sado-masochistic." C remembered his father as concerned with C solely in relation to C's academic performance and achievement. However, C's indirect experience of his father was considerably more positively connotated. C stated that he observed his father interacting a great deal with his brothers (C's uncles). C admired and integrated what he saw as generously supportive brotherliness into his own concept of himself as a brother. It was only within the past year, C reported, that a review of his early life experience provided him with the perspective that his father was motivated by humanitarian ideals of service to mankind.

Given the age and gender gap among his sibling group, remoteness of mother in every sense, and C's rejection of his father's single-minded focus on achievement, C was virtually an outsider in relation to his own family unit. C did, however, develop an alternative affiliation and sense of family belonging with his nanny, chauffeur, and boyhood friend and his family.
In addition to spending a vastly greater number of hours with this surrogate family than with his own, many elements of self were experienced, allowed expression, and developed in relation to surrogate family figures. In C's own words:

[Chauffeur] treated me very equally. He gave me some sort of cognition. He helped me make things. My dad never did that, it was all about academics and grades and such ...

(This latter reference to father was said in a tightened voice and accusatory tone.)

Similarly, in relation to Nanny, C felt "respected." Contact with his "surrogate family" was more than circumstantial; C frequently sought this out. Of his boyhood friend and his family, he said:

We were close friends; he was working class. These people were poor compared to my family, but there seemed to be a lot more warmth than my own family. It was easier for me to relax there, not so antiseptic. Even after I went away to boarding school, when I'd come home, I couldn't wait to get out of my own home and go over there. 'Gran' was on the porch in her shawl. There wasn't the air of 'properness' like there was in my own home, it wasn't spic and span. There were smells. There was always tea on the table.

In short, C's early experience combined elements he associated with the European, Irish-Catholic working class - highly delineated sex-role stereotyping, emphasis on males developing manual competencies and an earthy, relaxed interpersonal style - together with elements he associated with European, Jewish, upper-middle class - emphasis on
development of conceptual skills, and an interpersonal style based on rigid observation of codes of propriety and etiquette.

**Vocation 1**

As a mechanic, C was not very close to his actual or ideal selves (.25/.37), suggesting he was not fully 'at home' in this role.

C suggested that he was somehow alienated from his essential nature in this role:

In personality I'm very similar to him (father). I took on his role model, in terms of my psychological make-up, and I invalidated a lot of that by becoming a mechanic.

In a later elaboration on this theme, C explained that the repetitive aspect of being a mechanic did not allow for expression of the creativity he viewed as central to his essential nature.

In his role as mechanic, C was like self-as-son (.44). When this observation was shared with C, he concluded that the Q-sort profile of self-as-son revealed his role as self-as-surrogate son to Nanny, rather than son-to-his parents:

... a large majority of my early childhood was spent in the company of my Nanny, who was working class. Definitely, my intimate contact in my formative years - what, 1-5? - were with my Nanny ... I suspect she projected ... her needs onto me, as a son ... 'Nanny's son' was somebody who was very pragmatic, who could fix things and who could look after Nanny in many ways ... who would come up to the standards or the expectations of the male stereotype ... That role was not stereotyped from my Jewish family.
In this arena, colleagues and bosses corresponded negatively to sister (\(-0.40/-0.48/-0.43\)). In other words, they enacted roles seen as contrary to the warm bond and emotional openness experienced with sister. C described this as an environment of "constant competition":

\[\ldots\text{That competition exhibited itself in a real unwillingness to share information and a real unwillingness for people to support each other in accomplishment of their goals. The goals may consist of finishing an engine \ldots\text{ and the factors are, maybe, lending tools \ldots\text{. There was very little willingness to cooperate between the men.}}\]

It appeared that in his first vocational role, C re-enacted the drama of his surrogate family, re-creating the role of a son of a working class Irish-Catholic "mother" and situating himself in a social structure/arena consistent with this role.

**Vocation 2**

As a human services worker, C was like sister (.48), Nanny (.31), and like himself in his early life roles as son and brother (.36; .37). In this role he was also more like his actual and ideal selves than in the first vocational role (.56; .66). This correlation with both actual and ideal selves was corroborated by the fullness of C's experience in this vocational context:

\[\text{It feels fulfilling. It's satisfying, it's fulfilling \ldots\text{ and it feels to some extent that I've arrived, it feels integrated \ldots\text{ this is where I belong. When I'm working I'm engaged in my work, I'm not preoccupied \ldots\text{ I'm engaged in what I'm actually doing.}}}\]
It seemed that, as a human services worker, C enacted aspects of Nanny which were more consistent with his actual self, and identified more with figures from his family-of-birth.

C drew a line of continuity between his vocational role, self-as-brother, Nanny, and his sister (who has worked in the social service field all of her adult life):

... as a brother to my sister ... it was a supportive role, a very caring role ... nurturing role, protective role. Again, Nanny was a nurturer, a developer, an empathist ... and all of those were parts of Nanny that I integrated into my personality.

... one of the things I'm realizing about my present position which I find so desirable is, there's a real warm feeling between my coordinator and myself ... I call it a 'brotherly' feeling but it's not really the feeling I had for any of my brothers ... this is a very much 'sisterly' feeling, or me-as-brother-to-a-sister ... there's a strong element of mutual reciprocity and caring ... It takes work out of the realm of being effortful into the realm of being a labour of love, or almost worship.

C's experience in Vocation 2 was consistent with the observations that, in comparison to Vocation 1, his present colleagues tended towards being like sisters (.52; .22; .17). In his Vocation 2, C seemed to be re-enacting the drama of self-as-brother-to-sister. The essence of this enactment involved cooperation, receptivity and emotional availability paralleling the salient female figures in early life. C described the theme as "integrating the outstanding female personalities in my background ...."
Vocational Transition

In switching from a supervisor in mechanics to a human services worker, C seemed to be switching from identifying with and re-enacting the surrogate-family parent-child drama, to re-enacting the central-sibling drama of his family-of-origin.

In the first, he was re-enacting the borrowed or adopted drama of his surrogate family, filling the gap left by his rejection of his family-of-origin. In the second instance, there was a re-embracing of the family-of-origin figures and drama. He came full circle to embrace father's valuing of conceptual development implicit in the emphasis on academic achievement:

With mechanics it's all there. It's a process that I've learnt already ... it's very concrete ... and dealing in an intangible environment rather than a tangible environment ... it's the difference between a wrench and a therapeutic tool. A wrench you can grab ahold of it and a therapeutic tool is conceptual ... it's a pre-requisite to me to create, to be able to conceptualize.

It will be recalled here that the "ground" behind C's sibling drama was his indirect relationship with, and modelling of, father, specifically father-as-brother. In terms of meaning associations, the switch to re-enacting the "sisterly drama" of brother-to-sister suggested C had integrated the female as a principle into his role patterns. His conscious association of supportive and nurturing
behaviours with only the salient female figures in his life may reflect both his present perception of father and the pervasive cultural mythology associating the feminine exclusively with females.

This was borne out in C's own interpretation of the meaning of his vocational shift:

... it has to do with the whole concept of power - of women's power - which is correlated in my mind and experience to non-suppression of emotions [and] the whole distorted myth of the source of power in the world which relates to ... the whole concept of God as a man or woman ...

In summation of the entire research interview process, C concluded by sharing a folktale with the following moral:

... if you spend your life doing what everybody else asks of you, you may lose your 'ass.'

He ended with a private chuckle and indicated he could not articulate the meaning of the story or moral, but said that it was perfectly apt in terms of his life story.

Perhaps, out of a survival instinct not to lose his 'ass,' or sense-of-self in psychological terms, C's early adoption of, and later re-creation of a surrogate family drama, allowed him to re-discover and more consciously choose to re-enact the sibling drama associated with sister and father, rather than capitulating to strong parental expectations at an earlier vocational stage.
CASE STUDY D

Background

D was a 36 year old male; he worked out of an office in his house, where he lived with his wife and two teenage daughters.

His Vocation 1 was as a social worker and spanned a period of more than seven years. First recognizing in his early teens that he had strong "people skills," D later sought work in social services. Without academic credentials in the field, D faked years of experience in order to obtain an entry-level position within provincial social services. He was soon "promoted" to a professional social worker position during a re-classification of government jobs. D's positions in social work focused primarily on work with adolescents, street youth and those in group homes. He left the field abruptly, prompted by a sense that the work presented an increasing amount of potential violence.

After a couple of years of interim work, D began managing his own company, a wholesale distributor of novelty items (Vocation 2). At the time of this study, he had been doing this work for five years, his business employed forty salesmen and he claimed to be within sight of achieving his goal of being a millionaire.
D grew up in Montreal in a Jewish, middle class family as the older of identical twins. His father was a sales manager; his mother was a housewife.

**Family Experience**

Being an identical twin meant that there was a close peer nearly always at hand in the family context. D indicated, in a metaphorical description of his twin brother, that having a twin enhanced his self-development:

He was an ongoing mirror of the other side of me. I got to see aspects of myself that I might not otherwise have acknowledged so completely, every day, all the time. Being a twin was central to everything about my early life.

In other words, D's experience of his twin brother as an ever-present peer, provided him with almost constant recognizable source of feedback on self.

Furthermore, being a twin was central to D's experience of his mother. As he saw it, she was overwhelmed by having to deal with twin boys, and retreated into the task-focus of domestic duties. Interaction with mother was distant, coloured by her fear of the twins:

... My mother was always afraid of us from about three to four months. We were always too much to handle, being a twin. And having two infants at once was a lot for her to handle.
Father worked long hours and was "not around a lot." D speculated that father's absence and mother's remoteness were the basis for his concluding "... I gotta make it on my own." Ironically then, when father was present D resented it, as this created conflict with his "go-it-alone" survival method.

Boyhood heroes were important in D's early life, as well. When queried D was noticeably more animated, flushed, and focused in recalling his affiliation to his heroes, than when speaking of either parent. In particular, Superman was described as "invulnerable." D was unable to articulate further on the role of Superman stating simply that "Superman is Superman, the ultimate hero." If heroes figure largely as a needed projection of an aspect of self, then an experience of invulnerability was central to D's early life. This was corroborated by an instance D related:

I did whatever I wanted most of the time, and she [mother] told me once that from the age of 3 or 4 she could never force me to do anything, those were her words. In response to my questions ... 'why didn't you force me to go to Yiddish school so I could learn Yiddish?' she said 'who could force yo to do anything? From the age of six I could never force you to do anything.' Those were her words, but I know it started much earlier.

And further to this point:

... I grew up with a parent figure who was intimidated by me - another reason to justify being Superman ... I must have been if my parents - these big, old people who knew what went on in life ... if they were afraid of me, I must be something powerful.
More broadly, D's indirect experience of his parents, and particularly of father, was that they were socially responsible, vital people:

"My parents were progressively minded people. They were left-wing politically, active-socially, and they cared for people. They participated in life - they had some 'yes-man' in them, but it wasn't predominant.

This dimension was experienced largely through D's observation of his parents' social life and activities peripheral to the family unit.

Vocation 1

As a social worker, D was like his father (.356) and his childhood hero, Superman, (.379). He was also close to his actual self in this role (.43). When these observations were shared with D he confirmed them definitively, and elaborated:

That's true, that fits. My father's whole life is dedicated to taking care of his children - making sure, in his words get this, in his words, making sure his children 'never go hungry and have a roof over their heads' - as the basic things a social worker does is provide food, clothing, and shelter ... and, Superman! Of course! The ideal social worker, a good samaritan - doesn't even stop to eat or pee, to help people ... the fatherly man of steel, that's how I was as a social worker ... the role that I acted out, the game I was playing was be the very strong father, saving the day, not really letting them do it for themselves.

D's perspectives on social work were consistent with the observations that other figures in this vocational arena were also like father, or opposite to hero, the adequate
saving the inadequate or the inept serving the inadequate. (like father: .31/.33; opposite hero: -.57/- .40). D explained:

Those were the people I was working with—total fuck-ups, out-integrity, yes-men, incompetent, paranoid, insecure people ... The other people were sincere people, warm people who were there doing the job more or less as best they could.

In this role, D appeared to be re-enacting the heroic and fatherly dramas of the powerful adequate caretaking and protecting dependents.

Vocation 2

As in his first career, D remained close to his actual self, as an entrepreneur (.45). In this role, however, he was not similar to any early life figures. This latter observation prompted him to describe himself as a "self-made man." D's equating being an entrepreneur with being "a self-made man" related to living out a sense of personal destiny:

I've always had some little entrepreneurial streak in me. So being in this it's not like it's totally new ... and I've always seen myself as very connected with my roots, human roots throughout history ... I identify with the first traders who created roads between cities, who forwarded civilization ...

Although D did not appear to be similar to father based on the Q-sort correlations, his sense of having a personal part in forwarding civilization appeared to be connected with father:
My dad is an entrepreneur too. I'm basically doing a similar type of activity that he was in most of his life. He was a self-made man. It's almost like ... I have a karmic destiny to repeat his pattern and complete it ... I'm taking the same route to doing things that he did - but he didn't have the opportunity of anything else, I did. I could have done things differently. I'm repeating some of the things - starting a small business is something he did; I'm doing it ... he used to go to gift shows, I go to gift shows ... strong coincidence: once a week he would take this trip to service some of his accounts in the interior of Quebec. Once a week I go down to Bellingham. Strong similarities ... I'm in the process of selling my American business now - he's been wanting to sell his business for years ... I'm very close to closing a deal now. When I do that, that will complete for me, his incompletion in that area.

In this arena, others around D were like his hero (.45) or like his twin brother (.31). In talking about his present working arena, D described himself as having moved away from a patronizing stance to one where others are credited with more responsibility, resulting in more egalitarianism:

... It's not like I'm working with clients. I'm working with peers on a level. People are out there responsible for what they're doing ... I'm playing with bigger people ... And what's dropped - there's part of being a parent, what I described as being patronizing - that's suckhold-y in a way ... there's part of being a parent that assumes that the child is not okay, is not full, is not capable, is not whole, and so I am not relating to that aspect of people.

Additionally, D described his situation as surrounding himself with "winners" rather than "losers."
Vocational Transition

In terms of family, the transition from social worker to entrepreneur appeared to reflect a shift from D enacting one aspect of father to enacting a different aspect of father. More specifically, from enacting the role of father-as-father to enacting the role of father-as-entrepreneur.

It was as if D had initially equated performance in the adult world with parenting tasks, and incorporated this into his vocational focus. In his later, more matured view, adult performance was equated with living out one's destiny which, for him, meant furthering humanity by extending the work of the preceding generation. D concurred with this analysis:

... before I was trying to be a pattern. I was either a big father figure or a hero figure or a brother figure ... I've been able to allow my actual self to show up ... so that's been a real shift for me, not putting so much energy into trying to be a certain way, rather just being the way I am ...

D put this in terms of being imitative of father's "personality" versus imitating his "activities":

(In social work) I was like his personality and here I show up like what he does - that was the do-er and this is the deed. In my other job I was 'being' like he was 'being' - how he was. In this job I am 'doing' what he did, participating in the same activities.
Without the filter of imitating father's way of being, D was left with only the expression of his actual self in his entrepreneurial role; he put this in terms of increased "responsibility":

I'm taking full responsibility for everything that's going on right now and I never did before.
CASE STUDY E

Background

E was a divorced man in his early fifties; he lived alone with his pet dogs in a plush apartment in the urban core of a Western Canadian city. Two research meetings took place in this apartment; there was another meeting in his equally plush country home. At the time of this research E was separating from the woman he had lived with for just over a year.

With a Ph.D. in psychology, E's Vocation 1 was as a clinical psychologist functioning in a conventional private practice. The work entailed counselling one-to-one and lecturing. He was among the first private practitioners in his field in Western Canada.

Though remaining in the field of psychology, E shifted his professional focus from that of a relatively conventional clinical psychologist, to that of a transpersonal psychologist (Vocation 2). In this role, E worked and studied with many "healers" who derived their skills and background from thought domains and systems he referred to as "psychic." More than simply a move towards specialization within the original vocational domain, the professional shift was one facet of a dramatic pervasive life re-orientation, according to E. In his own words, the
new vocational focus evolved out of a "traumatic experience which shattered [his] view of the world." He grew up in central Canada as the youngest of four sons to Eastern European immigrant parents, during The Depression. His parents owned and worked together in a confectionary shop.

Family Experience

E's early life was largely an experience of "joyless drudgery." He was a "very somber, serious child," lacking either the opportunity or spirit for play in the frivolous sense. On the contrary, he was, in his view, "an Old Man, untrusting of others," who resented his parents' seemingly exclusive focus on work and service to others outside the family domain. He recalled no association with his brothers outside their working relationship in the family shop, a relationship that was "task-focused and harmonious."

Mother and father, both very "hard workers," gave of their time and attention to selflessly serve people in need. In relation to father, E provided this example:

I can remember during the Depression, getting bags of food and he'd go out to people's houses that he knew were poor and starving, leave the bag on the door, knock, and run away - he didn't want them to know who he was.

E related similar stories about mother: for instance, she regularly "visited the sick" in hospital throughout his growing up years and into her later life. While both parents purposefully gave of themselves in
charitable ways, mother stood apart in E's recollection as a person of tremendous effervescence and generosity of spirit. This was demonstrated to him, indirectly, through her apparently "magnetic" effect on people. Typically, customers came into the shop specifically to see her, simply to be in her presence. She gave each customer personal attention, treated each as an honoured visitor, and expressed concern about his or her personal well-being. In retrospect, E viewed his mother's actions as motivated by something more basic than good salesmanship. Rather, he viewed her manner as indicative of her humility and openly loving warmth as a person.

Vocation 1

As a clinical psychologist E was somewhat like mother (.339) and father (.34), but was most like self-as-brother (.48).

In this role E frequently reached out in caring ways beyond the limits of his professional obligation. He related this practice to both parents who, despite their having to "scratch" out a living, gave their resources — providing food to the poor and visiting the sick. Additionally, he noted that one brother (figure 10) "has a similar orientation that way":

We've both given money and taken care of people who couldn't afford to do certain things, and we've provided for people.
Consistent with the Q-sort parallel to self-as-brother, E described his own professional generosity in terms of conventional notions of "brotherly love":

... why do I do it? I don't know. You talk about I'm more like a brother ... there's sort of a brotherly quality. I see 'brothers,' that we are each others' 'brother's keepers,' that's what I see, and I've always abided by that.

Similarly, E's colleague in Vocation 1 was like father (.41). This parallel prompted a reiteration of the loving, generous nature of his father:

(Colleague) I see him very much like my father, very spiritual kind of guy, very giving, very very giving.

(Colleague's) practice of going "beyond the call of duty" had even earned him some notoriety within his own profession among those who deem it "unprofessional" to provide services outside specific and narrowly defined parameters.

In summary, in Vocation 1, E appeared to be re-enacting the fatherly drama of living out principles of "brotherly love."

**Vocation 2**

As a transpersonal psychologist, E appeared to be more multi-dimensional, taking after father (.316), and self-as-brother (.41) as in his previous vocational role, but also taking after mother (.47), self-as-son (.327) and self-as-friend (.333).
Consistent with this observation, others in this vocational arena provided a more complete array of parallels to early family figures.

Client A and 'Role Model A' were like mother (.47/.436); Clients A and B, Role Model A and Colleague B were like father (.34/.32/.48/.35); Mentor was like childhood peer (.40); Client A was like self-as-friend (.33); Colleague B was like Brother B (.32); and Role Model A was like self-as-son (.36).

In short, nearly all figures in this vocational arena paralleled at least one early family figure. The multiple parallels between E's role as a transpersonal psychologist and early role figures were consistent with E's experience of increased vocational role complexity:

I think my role diversity now is far wider than it was early in my career or in my childhood. Early in my career I was Clinical clinical, and now I'm - the role diversity is enormous and with each kind of, core role, there's a whole orbit of different friends and associates and associations . . . yeah, it's richer and more fun now.

Thus, E's own present "role diversity" seemed to be clearly associated as well with the "broader spectrum of friends" he experienced at the time of the interview.
Vocational Transition

In shifting from the traditional practice of clinical psychology to a variety of professional pursuits in transpersonal psychology, E seemed to have made a transition, or "created a bridge" as he termed it, from re-enacting the relatively limited early drama of responsible charity, characteristic of father, to re-enacting the theme of loving openness characterized by mother:

(I'm) going from unidimensional to multidimensional, and the multidimensionality includes the added dimension of spirituality, higher sense of purpose, ... it just means an enriching.

(off tape): If I were to put one word to it, it would be 'loving,' more loving.'

For E, this movement towards being more trusting and loving in his vocational role was associated with living out a sense of personal destiny:

My shift from early career to now seems natural, there was nothing forced or driven about it - it unfolded. Almost as if (chuckle) there was some kind of purpose in it all ...

In re-enacting a fatherly/brotherly drama in Vocation 1 it seems E modelled himself behaviorally after father, without the deeper level integration of a loving orientation often associated with charity. Rather, he was like father
behaviourally, yet repeated his early enactment of distrust. It seemed his giving "beyond the call of duty" in Vocation 1 was not associated with the joy of giving, but rather was a re-enactment of the early drama of being 'super' responsible and task-oriented.

The transition to Vocation 2 paralleled an increased presence of motherly figures in his life, as well as the increased emphasis in his own re-enactment of the motherly drama. Though the field of work remained constant, there was an expanded sense of purpose reflected by the infusion of greater "fun" and vitality into task performance.
CASE STUDY F

Background

F was a 32 year old female. At the time of the study she had been married 13 years, had a seven month old son, and was in the last month of a pregnancy leave from her work. She and her family lived in a comfortable home in a middle class residential community of a western Canadian city.

F's first vocation was as a social worker; after a four-year training to obtain a Bachelor's degree, she worked in a government social service position for more than six years. Vocation 2, as a practicing lawyer, required F to retrain formally; she had been in the field of law for 5 years.

F grew up in a small western Canadian city, the youngest and only girl of 3 siblings in a middle-class Jewish family. Born to "older parents" (father was 50 and mother was 43 at the time of F's birth), there was more than a 20-year gap between herself and her brothers. Father was a retail furrier; mother was a housewife.

Family Experience

F's predominant experience of her early family life was of an atmosphere of vitality, warmth, and loving
playfulness. She recalled that guests were welcomed openly and frequently at the family table, and that her parents were openly affectionate with one another. Father, who died when F was 11, was experienced as "quieter, more sensitive ... and playful," in comparison to mother; he was not focused on material success as much as on human relationships:

(re: dad) In a quieter, more gentle way but the same sort of qualities ... my father was a humanistic furrier (laughs). He was dumb enough not to go and get his insurance policies out of his business and go put them where they belong and they burnt up in a fire ... and he lost, like 100 grand ... and started over again. - just a crazy guy - crazy nice. But very human. Even though he was in business he wasn't like the businessmen I see - so as a result he wasn't particularly successful ... He used to do things like: I remember once crying and being really crabby - just terrible and he was going to give me a strap ... I'm running up the stairs and he's trying to follow me at the same time takes the strap off his pants and his pants start falling off and he starts laughing, and so did I ... we both sat down on the steps and started laughing ... or him kissing my mother at the fence when he went off to shul Friday night. She used to have to drag him home from the shul because he used to sit there and tell stories ... he'd sit and draw and make poems up for me and sing to me ...

Similar to father, brother A also died when F was a child:

He died when I was 6. He was a very strong role model, but mostly from what people told me about him - I never knew him - in terms of his all caring and all giving nature ... He died from living - Diabetes - insulin - he just didn't take care of himself.
Again, as with father, brother A was thought to exemplify lived-out humanitarian ideals. Although this image was grounded in the fact that brother A was a social worker, F speculated his early death contributed to a larger-than-life mythology in relation to his humanitarianism:

... there's a myth surrounding my brother A, ... in terms of the kind of person he was. Maybe not a myth but - lots of people knew him and I looked a lot like him, and I hung around places where he was. People talked about him - a lot. And he was a real part of our family. So there was an intense model available to me ...

By contrast, brother B was a relatively distant figure in her early life and only became more central in adulthood:

A's image was clearer to me then, than who B was as a person, early on. 'Cause I never really knew - B was out, he was a teenager ... I never really knew him ... I don't think I really talked to him seriously until I was about 19, 20, 21 ...

Once she did begin to engage with B directly, F developed an immense admiration and respect for his sense of ethics, and professional effectiveness, as a lawyer. In particular, she cited that he maintained high professional standards while remaining excited about his work after twenty years. In an earlier comment, F noted that brother B "practises [law] with integrity and yet has not forsaken his own life."
Vocation 1

As a social worker, F seemed to take after her mother and father (.59/.54) and brother A (.51). She was not close to her actual or ideal self in this role, nor close to her ideal of a social worker.

... In social work you can't get facts down on paper ... you have to be around often to see what results happen ... you always have all this effort going out and sometimes you don't see what happens, and that use to drive me crazy, sometimes (laughs). I like to sort of know, what am I doing, along with all the other forces . . . I take pleasure in seeing the final product ... I like to see the intellectual thing sort of narrow itself down into something one can touch or feel or - yeah that's it.

That F's social work role represented a limitation to a more vivid experience of personal power was further suggested by her observation on social workers as generalists:

When you're standing in Family Court and you're going ... 'In my opinion the kid was dyslexic' - well they don't listen to your opinions on whether he was dyslexic. They hire an expert! ... You may be aggressive as a social worker, but it doesn't get you all that far, in terms of credibility...

The observation that F was like brother A as a social worker, and like brother B as a lawyer evoked laughter and this confirmation:

That's good (laugh), brother A was the social worker and brother B was the lawyer (laughter) so that's (laugh) ... that's called modelling! (laughs)
Similarly, to the observation that the other figures in this arena were like brother A and father, F again provided an unequivocal confirmation:

Well, yeah! That's who they — I mean that's social work! ... He [A] used to bring people home from off the street. Passover at our house we'd have my mother and I, my brother and father and 35 hookers from the corner downtown ... my brother would adopt from off the street or his clients came home for supper — that kind of person ... judging by the number of people he knew he must have been extremely warm, friendly, open ... so I associate those qualities with social work.

F at one point described social workers as people who are "ambitious" regarding pleasure in life, but not in relation to money. This provided further support for the observation that self-as-social worker was like father, as her stories of him reveal a playful, fun-loving person who was not obviously focused on financial success.

Vocation 2

As a lawyer, F was much more like her actual self (.626) and her ideal self (.62). It has already been noted that as a lawyer F was like brother B (.47), who was himself a lawyer. This latter correlation was supported by F's comment suggesting her view of brother B does not clearly differentiate his role-as-brother, from his role-as-lawyer:

He's famous for what he does; he's a fairly well known lawyer in Canada right now so the experience for him of being a lawyer is quite intense. He's a lawyer all the time ... it's a part of him.
This was also consistent with F's comment that she did not have a "real conversation" with him until "about age 19," at which time brother B was already a well-established lawyer. The observation that two of her three law colleagues were like brother B, (.54/.43), elicited a gratified confirmation and this explanation:

Brother B is much more laid back. I don't think my brother owns a white shirt anymore ... he's much more to the left than they are ... liberal and easy-going, less conservative than they are. In terms of integrity and honesty, yeah - there's similarity there - but in terms of how he comes across ... he's like 360° different than them ... they are like brother B in the sense that they have honesty and integrity and they're ambitious and whatever, but warmth and sensitivity - they're not like him. H's (brother) more like the ideal lawyer to me than they are ....

The third colleague, who corresponded negligibly to brother B (-.10) and to all the early role figures (-.5/-14/-27/-25/-17/-4/-2), was viewed by F as if he were an alien figure in her world:

He's just [laughter] yuck! ... he's one of those misplaced human beings. His social skills are about a four-and-a-half out of sixty-two [laughter]. He's a nit-picky human being. He worries about form and not content ... just a silly person sometimes ... and he's pompous and arrogant ... I don't trust him and I'm not sure I like him all that much.

Vocational Transition

As noted, F's second career seemed to be more congruent with her actual and ideal selves than her first vocation. This was consistent with F's repeated
observations that her current vocational context met her needs for recognition and for being "in control" to a far greater extent than her first vocation:

I like to be ... in control. I like to give the party rather than have the party be given to me ... Although I appreciate the new and unexpected ... it's comfortable to know what's going to happen ... I thought as a lawyer, I'd have more control. It's more definite and also I'll be able to control things more. The thing that bothered me about the social work ... is that it all depends on the ebb and flow of the government ... [in law] it was more definite what I was doing so that if I accomplished something it would be to a great degree my own accomplishment and that was important. I wanted to be able to see accomplishments in my life, concrete ones ... I guess I wanted to be more the star and to get more credit for what I was doing than as a social worker.

Of Vocation 2, however, F stated:

[Now] I can distance myself from the situation ... [people] are more responsible for themselves than I use to give them credit for. I use to think I'd have to be there all the way through and was responsible for it all and I used to put myself through motions, emotional motions and gymnastics, to worry about what they were doing or not doing and now I'm a little more distant from that. I can distance myself from it so I don't have to get an ulcer every time somebody has an emotional experience ... I'm not so anxious.

It appeared that the meaning of the vocational transition in terms of the family drama was a shift from re-enacting an extreme degree of emotional vulnerability and self-less giving, particularly represented by brother A, to a re-enactment of a positively connoted self-centeredness and self-containment as represented by brother B. This can also be stated more broadly as a shift from intense and
high-risk living to one of more moderation and relative safety. The intensity of living associated with social work was seen as life threatening by F, in a literal sense. As noted ("Family Experience"), F described brother A as having "died from living." This intensity was in part reflected in the blurring between personal and professional roles that F associated with Vocation 1:

... in social work ... your emotional self is getting tested all day, you don't shut off completely when you go home ... After a day of being a social worker ... there's nothing left for me to give, or to get, whatever - I experienced a lifetime during a day ... I thought, 'This is exhausting.' And I want more homelife ...

By contrast, F noted ("Family Experience") that brother B "practiced with integrity and did not forsake his own life." Later comments by F suggested that the increased role differentiation associated with Vocation 2 provided a sense of relative safety:

... There's a safety in not exposing your humanity as a lawyer. You know, you only have to take responsibility then for the law, not for your relationship with your client ... I'm less satisfied with working that hard. I'm satisfied with working to a certain degree and having a life to certain degree.

Thus far, meaning has been discussed through highlighting the contrasts between the vocational dramas and their familial parallels. For F, though, these contrasting dramas were seen as part of the same continuum; not from one of extreme vulnerability to insensitivity but rather a matter
of degree or intensity of humanity manifest in the vocational arena:

Brother A died when he was 27. Brother B's 46. Part of the intensity, the exuberance - if you want to call it - of the ideal social worker. It's a more giving up of oneself to other people, than the lawyer kind of thing. And that interested me and I see it as a continuum, that I started from a very intense human level and drifting now to a middle-kind of thing where I want to be human and I want to be business-like. Both of them appeal to me. So now I'm trying to consolidate ... when I looked at law I wanted to do something that would involve working with people but not as intensely as a social worker ... I don't think I'm totally one way or the other. The social worker draws out of me the more humanistic brother A kinds of mother, sort of father things. Brother B's in business. He's more business-like than they are and less emotionally based ... and so I'm more like that now. But it isn't and/or, it isn't either/or ... see, brother B is a continuum of my mother and father and brother A. He's one of the more humanistic lawyers and not so business-like.

Thus, it appeared that for F the essential meaning of switching vocational arenas in terms of early dramas, was an expanded role which more fully incorporated and integrated the role patterns available in F's family-of-origin.
CASE STUDY G

Background

G was a 30 year old single male. At the time of this study he shared a house with his business partner; these quarters doubled as their office and factory space.

G's Vocation 1 was in theatre arts as a theatrical director. Following high school, he trained for three years in a theatre arts school, and soon after became a director. G remained in this field for a period of nearly ten years.

Vocation 2 was as an entrepreneur and marketing manager in the fashion industry. G had a life-long aspiration to be a businessman and thus viewed this position as consistent with long-range personal and career goals.

Born in eastern Canada, G had one brother four years his junior. His father was a non-commissioned officer in the Canadian military, who worked as an athletics trainer and coach to cadets. His mother, a housewife, trained and worked as an actress prior to marriage.

Family Experience

Father was a Catholic French Canadian; French was his first language. Mother was English born. Their difference in English language fluency accentuated other contrasts in their style and influence in the family.
As a first-born son in a loving family, G's early experience was essentially very positive. Mother was a highly supportive, available, non-critical listener whom G trusted as a confidante and advisor. She was a listener available on a daily basis, who coached and guided him primarily by her implicit acceptance and open positive encouragements. She instilled in G a sense of confidence and personal power with her frequently stated belief that G was capable of anything in life that he wanted. In father-son conflicts, mother actively "sided" with G. During the family gathering times, topical discussions typically resulted in mother and sons arguing on one side, with father standing alone in his position.

Father's uncompromising demands for high achievement in all pursuits were experienced by G as discouraging censure. This relationship was so strained that G recalled an incident when he "cut father out" of his life almost entirely at age 11; since that occasion communication between them was minimal for nearly twenty years, with a turn-about approximately six months to one year prior to this study.

G's role as "adored and loved," able, older brother had its basis in early boyhood when the two brothers frequently played and explored the neighbourhood together. As youths, both trained and competed in many athletic activities; G typically was captain and star team player and top individual competitor.
The competency gap increased between the brothers as his younger brother came to be seen as having emotional problems; his brother was obese and heavily drug-involved from early adolescence on, while G continued performing as a top athlete. During this period, G saw himself as "holding him [brother] up," and saw his brother in need of protection. G believed he was the only person his brother continued to relate to in any meaningful way during this time; he credited himself with initiating the confrontation which shook his brother out of a self-destructive path. G explained that his "protectiveness" towards his brother was a response to seeing "great potential" in him.

A maternal great uncle, a "self-made millionaire twice over," commanded great familial and community respect both for his accomplishment and for his kindly and very generous nature.

Vocation 1

As a director, G was most like mother (.67) and like maternal great uncle (.448) and somewhat like self-as-son and brother (.37/.379). He was opposite to father in this role (-.39). G unequivocally confirmed this last observation when he stated:

My father is the antithesis of what theatre is, what theatre means.
In his elaboration on this theme, it was apparent that father's valuing logical thinking contrasted with G's more intuitive style:

... when I'm directing it's not an effort - at all - it just comes for me, what I'm thinking, what I want to do, what I want to create ... it springs from me the same way acting does ... the emotional charge I get from directing is when the play's put on and then I see it - it's like the typical thing of having a baby ... it's not working with facts ... it's visual ... it's all image, image and sound ...

Furthermore, the style and skills he used as a director appeared to contrast with father's style, and paralleled mother and greatuncle:

He (father) was such an authoritarian ... I'm not an authoritarian as a director ... I suppose it has to do with my concept of 'power' ... being in a position of power and yet handling that with respect to the people you're dominating ... I obviously use the skills my mother gave me. My mother has good communication skills and that's how I would get someone to do what I want them to do - I would persuade them, or show them or tell them why I wanted it ... my uncle was a very kind man ... people respected him, they took his advice ... he was in a position of power ... he had a way with people.

Additionally, G's supportive brotherly role was clearly a dimension of this vocational role:

... you support your actors, and demand from them, as I demand a lot from my brother, and then you have to be there to support them ... As a brother and as a director you have to see potentials. I mean, you have the concept, you have the ideal image of the character. Now you have to take a real human being and somehow get him to your ideal ... I see potential in my brother and I try to support him in achieving his goals and possibilities ... whatever he was doing.
Other figures in this vocational arena similarly paralleled mother and brother, and tended to be opposite to father. The leading man, leading lady, closest peer and audience figure were all seen as like mother (.419/.597/.385/.678) and brother (.586/.43/.47/.44); the leading lady and peer were opposite father (-.50/-.505).

The leading lady provided perhaps the clearest example of these parallels. Her support and admiration of G, similar to his mother's, were such that for five years she was G's girlfriend as well as leading actress. Like brother, she was seen as having emotional problems and in need of protection; upon the termination of their relationship, she became a cult member where brotherly 'protectiveness' was extreme and institutionalized.

In this vocational role, where the figure-of-father was absent and other figures in the arena emerged as like mother and brother, G experienced himself as powerful and competent. He appeared to have re-enacted the early life drama, characterized by alliance with uncritical and/or adoring others who collectively exclude a critical figure.

Vocation 2

As a manager G was not similar to any early role figures. Neither was he like his actual or ideal selves in this role. His ideal of a manager, however, was most like his great uncle (.568).
These correspondences suggested that G had shifted away from his previous vocational role and had not yet developed a meaningful role for himself-as-manager.

G initially described managing as "new ground" for him, and stated he had no "role models" for this in his early life. Upon elaboration though, it appeared that the new dimension here was not the management role itself, but the dimension of sharing a leadership position with another, in this instance, his business partner:

... right now that's one of the reasons this work is hard, because you've got two partners each has a different style. I cannot operate in my style with [partner] ... when I was young, I managed twenty people and it was never a conflict ... [now] somewhere everyday it'll come up, our different ways of operating and like I say, it's frustrating to both of us ... our styles are different, so in that sense that's new ground, working with someone who thinks differently than I do.

G noted that previously he was "always in a sole leadership role." Even in his early years as an athlete, he was the team captain or 'star' player, or competed in individual sports.

A central aspect of G's role as manager was the sharing of the spotlight; this drama is unparalleled either in G's early life or his previous vocational role:

... I haven't really been in a partner type relationship before ... so both of us, have done and been in charge of our own thing for the last ten years. So now it's like both of us being thrust into that position of having to deal with each other, and being the top person, it's a different dynamic ... the only thing I can relate it to was at the time we were both interested in the same woman (laugh) ... whomever it meant the most to, the other would acquiesce ... there has to be that give and take sometimes ...
The most salient figure in this vocational arena appeared to be that of G's partner, who was similar to brother (.41). G's commentary confirmed this statistical observation:

The biggest part of [partner] and I is communication and creativity and the business. It is more like my brother - there's the conflict, my brother and I have conflict, but there's a lot of love and my brother and I also get inspired by the same things as [partner] and I do - so the relationship is definitely a brotherly thing, just so happens he has a few traits like my father (laughs).

At first glance the presence of this parallel to brother might suggest a contradiction to the initial observation that G's Vocation 2 represented an unfamiliar drama. However, Q-sort correspondences did not indicate that G enacted the complementary role of self-as-brother in this vocational arena. G stated that his shift away from the re-enactment of a supportive brotherly role was deliberate in this vocational context, yet another aspect of his experience of breaking "new ground."

[Partner] needs a lot of support ... and I'm able to give a lot of support. With [partner] I've realized the cost of being in a totally supportive situation and so now I'm not supportive with him ... in such a complete way. There was an actual time I said 'I'm not going to support you anymore.' There's also a cost in even still working with him, my own sense of, my own way of working. Basically ... I feel I'm making more adjustments to fit his style than the other way around ... I'm not being totally happy because I'm not doing things the way I want to do them and usually I do ... a way that was natural for me ...
Vocational Transition

In shifting from theatrical director to a manager in a business partnership, G shifted away from the re-enactment of his early life drama and was more engaged with confronting interpersonal differences and conflict as represented by father:

It's like that part that I can't deal with (in partner), that's the part that always becomes a source of conflict. Like, I didn't want to deal with what he (father) represented then, so I cut him out, and so when it comes up now, it's not something easy to deal with, it's ... a real blocking point. In other words ... when [partner] acts that way ... I'm not quite sure how much is my reacting to what he represents as opposed to reacting to what he's really doing. After looking at it long and hard I think that what he's doing is a pain-in-the-ass (laughs) but the way I'm reacting to it [there's] definitely something else to it as well ... We [father and self] never 'worked it out' - ever! (laugh) ... The business, and 'working it out' with [partner], we have a common goal, the business. It's a real growth experience, but it's not easy all the time - it can be painful at times.

It was as if previously, G's experience of personal power and competence relied on a drama characterized by ease, where he was a star among supportive or needful others. The vocational shift appeared to represent an increased ability or willingness to allow interpersonal conflict and to confront criticism, as represented by both father and business partners.
Interestingly, G identified the point of six months into Vocation 2 as the time when he began to relate "effectively" with his father.

In a sense this is one of the reasons I can relate to my father a bit more. I can see how he thinks now, and I can even see the value of that - I mean there is a value there. At one time for me there wasn't ... At one time I wouldn't look at a machine, maybe for what it represented. There is a big tie-in for machines and my father because he wanted me to understand them. He had me stand for hours watching him take apart a machine; I just went 'whoosh!'; I was not there. Then he gave me something to do and I couldn't do it and he'd never even let me try it again but I still had to stand there and watch it. So it sort of built up this incompetent feeling in dealing with machinery and what it represented - which represented my father. Whereas now I can ... within the last year, I don't remember if I fixed a machine or told him how to do it and he just kind of went - look at me - shock (laugh)!

... It gives me more an acceptance of him. I may not like my father but at least I accept him for what he is.
Background

H was a 61 year old woman; married for a second time, she had two adult daughters from her first marriage of 25 years and at the time of the study was anticipating the arrival of a grandchild.

After obtaining a B.A. in English and psychology, H worked as a customer service representative for a major corporation. The selection process and training program for the job required that she temporarily relocate. When she married one-and-a-half years later, the organization dismissed her, as was their policy for women who married. For the next 17 years working as a housewife and mother was her entire world, with her home life and vocational role being one and the same. As the wife of an ambitious businessman in sales, an aspect of her role was that of the 'corporate wife,' supporting and contributing to her husband's business activities by being a frequent model hostess, travel companion and personal secretary.

She later returned to school as a mature student and received her Masters in social work. For H, the return to school was a purposeful move away from the full-time role of housewife. She eventually switched her focus entirely from her marital role, and devoted herself to a full-time social
work career. At the time of the study she had held a high profile administrative social work position in a major Canadian urban centre for the 12 years.

H grew up in western Canada, as the only child of parents of Scottish descent. Her father was a managerial level executive; her mother was a housewife and a volunteer nurse. Her maternal grandmother was a key figure in H's upbringing as well; she was an artist and managed a family retail business.

Family Experience

The predominant experience of H's early life was of a highly demanding and critical world. There was an implicit parental demand for conformity and deference to others' needs, preferences, and decisions.

I think that I would be a very take-charge person except that I was not allowed to be when I was a kid. I was severely punished and lectured when I stepped out of line in any way and made decisions for myself ... I'd been trained never to speak out - bluntly - to people. That was early and vigorously enforced training ... the message was again that you always have to get approval before you move and if other people don't like it then you don't do it. And so that's the way I've lived my life, on the whole.

An important aspect of familial standards of propriety was the notion of silently enduring personal discomfort or unmet needs:

... That's their number one rule, like it's pasted up there on your forehead. 'Get on with it. Don't make a fuss and get on with it.' Those were the two cardinal
rules ... if I was upset about something ... as simple as 'I don't want to stand any longer on the street while you' - to my mom - 'while you talk to your friend' ... to something very serious like the death of a dearly beloved pet cat - 'Don't make a fuss. Don't ever make a fuss.'

According to H, stoicism was practised by her parents, as well as preached. It appeared to her that clearly nearly everyone did what was expected.

The one striking contrast to this was exemplified by H's maternal grandmother. She was the business person of the family, managing their retail store, and she made a deep impression on H when she asserted herself in an independent way, to a shocking degree:

She walked out on her unfaithful husband in the beginning of ... the 20th Century ... and got a divorce. That's kind of a beacon in my life ... the fact that she had taken that action, it just blew me away, ... I guess I was in my teens when I learned that.

The experience of grandmother was, however, not one of consistent boldness and courage. After grandmother's second marriage, she too resumed acting in accord with the family's ethic of silent submission to life:

... after ... she knuckled under and was totally submissive ... I guess she figured you don't get more than two chances. Her second husband was constantly unfaithful, and flagrantly so, and publicly so ... She just carried on and ran his business...

H described her own role in the early family drama as a being "captive - a happy isolate." The ethic of uncomplaining coping with a repressive situation characterized this role.
H experienced the drama of "adjustment" as a demand for ritualistic conformity to expectations, often concomitant with an unexpressed response of anger. At one point she referred to the necessity of always "beating back the angers" to allow the "getting on with it." The covert expression of these angers was central to the drama:

You're often aware of the coping mechanisms that you are using and sometimes they fail and you get pretty upset and quite desperate at times - the idea of suicide is very very appealing ... and so sometimes you literally have to think 'OK ... how can I get myself back on track and get moving again?' ... and something always turns up ...  

**Vocation 1**

As a housewife H was like self-as-daughter (.54), mother (.517), grandmother (.48), and to a lesser extent, father (.425). In other words she integrated virtually all of the salient roles from her early life into her first vocational role enactment. She was only somewhat close to her actual self (.37) in this role and there was no pattern of parallels between others in this arena and early family.

H's early role of stoic, isolate and captive paralleled her experience as a housewife. She viewed her marriage (to an alcoholic husband) as an almost horrific ordeal which she had to endure. Her housewife role was performed ritually with little sense of spontaneity; the focus was on "measuring up" and pleasing her husband whom she viewed as a "total ruler":  


... sometimes when I was most unhappy the 'real' was a kind of dream world I retreated into - I just kept doing all the things I had to do. My real world was my dream world ... thinking about things I wanted to think about even while I was talking about the things I was expected to talk about ... going through the motions while my mind was somewhere else.

When the interviewer summarized H's role as a housewife as one of "basic survival," H concurred with great expressiveness:

Yes! Exactly. Exactly. It intimidates me to think about it. It's so large, the immensity of it is so overwhelming 'What if I had not done that [changed careers]?' that my mind literally closes. I can only tentatively say - god knows, I would have become an alcoholic - I can't imagine what I would have done really. And then my mind just closes off.

The several parallels between H's housewife role and early family figures suggested the early family drama was embodied within H's own role performance, rendering the other actors in this Vocation I arena somewhat superfluous. This is further suggested by the combination of a lack of clear patterns of parallels between others in this arena and with early figures, and her lived-out experience of the re-enactment of dutiful but ritualistic living.

In other words, in her vocation as housewife, H seemed to have enacted her childhood role of dutiful daughter in response to other early role figures she internalized.
Vocation 2

As a social worker, H was again similar to all the early family role figures with the difference that the emphasis shifted to being more like mother (.56) and grandmother (.50) and somewhat less like father (.367) and self-as-daughter (.36). In this role H was not at all similar to her actual self or ideal self.

Again, in this second vocational role, enactment is guided by the early family "Cardinal Rules":

... I phrase it 'I do what has to be done and then I have my hysterics later' and of course by the time later comes, you don't need to have hysterics. As a social worker, I use that a lot. I was totally startled to find social workers getting upset about something that was happening in their caseload ... it was the affect, the fact that they were sort of carrying on, and that's very bad manners ...

The apparent parallel between H's role as housewife and as social worker was consistent with H's explanation of her choice of a new vocational focus:

This was an escape as well as a means of preparing for the future ... going into social work partly to keep my own sanity and partly to achieve some independence ... that was a field that I really cared about so it really fit ... I could sort of take the module of myself and fit it right into that institutionalized field.

Furthermore, as a social worker, H did not experience herself as very different from her previous role as housewife, or from her early family experience:
I don't feel very professional ... I'm deadly serious about the aims and goals and objectives of social work, but ... I don't take myself very seriously as a "professional" ... I'm just a person who happens to be doing this job ... when something's to be done, you just get on and do it, you don't stop and think 'now how does this look in the eyes of the world' ... you just do it ... regardless of whether you're at home or in an office somewhere ... in my upbringing there was 'no fuss or muss', one just did what needed to be done.

It appeared that as a social worker, H was again re-enacting her early family dynamic of coping and meeting external demands and expectations.

Vocational Transition

In living out her two vocational roles, housewife and professional social worker, H essentially repeated the enactment of the drama of coping by retreat or escape into tasks and external expectations. The shift was one of context rather than role performances or drama. For H the act of changing vocations required only a temporary break from the pervasive drama of acceptance of the status quo:

... in order to become a social worker I had to take an untypical course of action. That was, to strike out and get myself registered (for university) - make the decision and go ahead and carry that out. To register ... I had to screw up an enormous amount of courage ... I didn't ever discuss it with my husband, He knew nothing about it until I told him ... in May. And that was when my hayfever cleared up the next week - after twenty-odd years - oh god! so that was an enormous release ... doing something on my own ... usually I'm doing what I think I should ...
It is noteworthy that this perception of her action as an isolated instance of courage paralleled her perception of maternal grandmother, whose self-assertion upon leaving her first husband was also viewed as an atypical, isolated instance of acting independently:

... in the 7 years before the end of my marriage ... from time to time, I would think of my grandmother and I would often say to myself, 'You don't have the guts that your grandmother had.'

The theme of this case of vocational change was one of continuity of the drama of the early family. The essence of this drama was coping with a position and experience of powerlessness by retreating or escaping into "dreams" or task performances to meet external demands. The resultant role performance was a ritualistic fulfilling of expectations of others, fostering concomitant angers which were withheld. The meaning of the career change was a "measuring up" to the image of strength, courage and independence of grandmother.
CASE STUDY J

Background

J was a 52 year old male; he was married and had four sons, two in adolescence and two older young adults.

His Vocation 1 was in sales, as a toy manufacturer's representative. J entered this field after high school and remained there for nearly twenty years, working closely throughout with his father.

J's Vocation 2 was in education, as an elementary school teacher. Since obtaining the required university education he has worked as a teacher; at the time of the study J had taught nearly eight years.

J was raised the second of two sons in a middle-class Jewish family in urban western Canada; his brother was eight years his senior. Father worked in sales management for a toy manufacturer; mother was a housewife.

Family Experience

J's early life was characterized by a sense of isolation and aloneness. His role as a "loner" was a double-edged experience of encouraging the early development of self-reliance and independent thinking, while simultaneously inhibiting his inclinations to playfulness, creativity and sociability. J believed the loner role was
not as "natural" to him as his playful and creative side; rather that this role was learned in response to a set of early circumstances. Four of these circumstances were identified by J, with illustrative comments:

(1) frequent extended periods of illness as a child distancing him from ongoing peer contact:

... I was sort of a sickly little kid and did not have all the social graces that would endear myself to the people around me. If I did, or I knew how to use them or I knew how to acquire them, then I might be a different sort of person ... I used to get sick every winter for 6, 8, 10 weeks ... and I guess that sort of pulled me out of the mainstream and made me perceive the world in whatever way ... I would not be a loner if I had the social graces to interact with people ... if I were more interacting I would maybe be less ... inhibited, yet by nature I am not an inhibited person ... but maybe events conspired to make me that way ...

(2) J's position in the family as the second child, eight years junior to his sibling allowed him the parental exclusivity of an only child without the pressures or expectations:

... to move from one job to another I sometimes think is the advantage of being a second child ... I think in many ways with a first child, parents put all expectations and hopes, it's the first kid you want to do everything "right." By the time the second kid comes along, you're not so uptight. So the second kid has, usually, I think, has more latitude to do a whole bunch of things ... so as a result I have that latitude. I had that latitude. It's probably built into the psyches of our family life ...

(3) Being Jewish in a non-Jewish social environment and therefore "different":

it [being a loner] may even have something to do with being Jewish in a non-Jewish environment, where I really didn't have anything in the way of real strong ethnic identity at home that would back that, what I would consider 'rapport' with one's ethnicity ... any feeling I have towards my ethnicity has come later on and has come more out of an intellectual basis rather than out of an emotional basis. And that also could have something to do with the way I perceive myself as being somewhat isolated.

When questioned, J had difficulty in recalling any boyhood friends. Instead, he related a story of being beaten up by a neighbour boy, ostensibly for being Jewish.

(4) Being raised primarily by mother, who was essentially unavailable to J in emotional terms, as J saw it, due to her being self-centered and needy:

The relationship at home ... my mother I consider as a minor figure in the house ... I don't perceive my mother as being an important or influential person in my life ... being that somewhat isolated being, I had to rely on my own resources ... it isn't that [as if] she sat down and talked to me or read me stories or anything. When I was sick, I was sick in bed by myself.

My mother wasn't a strong person. It wasn't that my father was a dominating person, but my mother wasn't a strong person both physically and ... When my brother left home and when I was on the verge of manhood, she went through some of the problems that women go through at that stage of life - they have a nervous breakdown ... she wasn't a forceful person, easily upset ...

After this comment, when the interviewer probed as to whether mother had been a model for learned cowardliness, J responded affirmatively: "Yeah, that has a certain ring of logic to it."
J's father was the other central figure in his early experience, though not associated with his sense of being a "loner." J described his father both as the "pragmatist" of the family, and as a model of democratic values; he viewed their early relationship as quite close:

... my father was not an autocrat ... the egalitarianism of the North American society brushed my father as a second-generation Canadian with some of those "democratizing" principles. You know, my father vacuumed around the house, washed the dishes ... it was sort of a natural type of thing to do.

J believed that the close and harmonious working relationship between himself as an adult and father had its roots in a close, loving early bonding.

Father's social-mindedness extended beyond the household to include active and visible participation in a socialist-based organization. J related several stories of how his father and his father's socialist friends were concerned with humanitarian ideals. The family's association with this socialist-based group was a central aspect of household activity. The family's social circle and activities centered around this group and other members of it, and J was very much included in this type of family activity.

**Vocation 1**

In his first vocation, J was most like self as-a-son, (.58). This parallel seemed self-evident to J who made this comment:
I was closer to being a son when I started [in Vocation 1]. In fact, I was a son living at home with my parents. So it would only seem natural that it was the same ball of wax — working with my father, living at home ... I lived at home until the time I was 24, when I got married, and I was working with my father from the time I was 19, 20 ... [until] 42, 43.

In the daily working situation, J in fact worked closely as a duo with his father; other key figures in this arena were geographically thousands of miles away, present only indirectly through "Telex."

Not only was J's father-as-colleague similar to father, but other salient figures (owner, manager) in this arena also paralleled father (.57/.327/.425).

J viewed the similarity of others in this arena as the result of their common role tasks as managerial wholesalers. As a manufacturer's representative, J seemed to be recreating the early family dynamic of a close father-son team with a virtually non-present mother. The constancy of this dynamic in the vocational arena suggested there was little differentiation between his role within the family drama and his vocational role.

Vocation 2

As a teacher J was again like himself-as-son (.396), but also like mother (.35). Others in this arena paralleled the self-as-son role (.367/.35). J's childhood role of the
resourceful "loner" appeared to be recreated in this vocational role. His professional orientation was virtually unique among his colleagues. He gave this general description of the essence of teaching and most teachers' orientation, and then excluded himself from it:

Teaching basically for most of the colleagues and most of the people I know is a fairly structured type of thing, and I have difficulty many times dealing with things that are structured and sequential in nature ... I imagine there's ... a meshing of how I have felt and my academic explorations are such that things that are sequential are ... things that interfere with creativity and with ... quantum leaps that people ... must make if they are to ... go beyond the type of learning we presently get.

The aspect of self-as-teacher that paralleled mother may relate to J's perceived lack of assertion in this role, perhaps similar to mother's lack of "forcefulness." With reference to this dimension of the vocational drama J stated:

... I would like to be able to eloquently state my case in such a way I can convince people that what I think and what I feel is of value in the sense that they too could partake and be part of it - the way I view learning ... I guess ... my reluctance to be outspoken is - for lack of a better word - cowardliness on my part ...

Additionally, mother was associated with the non-linear, creative mode that J identified with his role as teacher:

... I imagine my father might be more the 'left brain' and my mother might be more 'right brain' [in the family]
In his teaching role J encouraged individual creativity. The parallels between self-as-son and self-as-teacher, as well as with other figures in this arena, stimulated an elaboration of "creativity" as a theme providing continuity from the family to vocational dramas:

There's a certain child-like affinity between the three of us (self-as-teacher, colleague, student) ... those characteristics ... that I probably enjoyed as a child or would like to see as being part of myself, were those things that were creative. And within these two people I detected that creativity that I had as a child, and that I feel I am also somewhat creative ... I imagine that would be the common core of ... 'affinity-ness' that exists between (colleague) and myself and (student).

J's re-enactment of the figures of mother and self-as-son as a teacher was apparent in the daily expression of this role. His personal style manifested mother's lack-of-forthrightness, while his teaching methods manifested his childlike playfulness. It appeared, however, that both of these roles were lived-out within the recreation of a larger, more pervasive family drama. Specifically, his fundamental orientation to his role-as-teacher was that of a social reformer, paralleling father's devoted involvement with a socialist-based organization. The social idealism J brought to his role-as-teacher seemed to parallel the social idealism that father expressed through participation in a socialist-based social and educational network.
As a teacher then, J appeared to be re-enacting mother's "cowardliness," his self-as-son playful creativity, and his father's idealism as a social reformer.

Vocational Transition

In shifting from a manufacturer's representative to an elementary teacher, J seemed to have shifted from living-out a father-son drama to living-out a more egalitarian peer-based drama. The shift represented an alteration in the extent to which the themes of self-isolation, cowardliness, and social idealism pervaded these dramas. The first vocational drama represented a virtual extension of the family drama; self-reliant isolate, 'cowardliness,' and expression of social ideals do not emerge as overt themes where the father-son drama played out daily in the vocational context. J's movement away from this familiar enactment suggested both a move towards actual greater self-reliance and personal strength and a simultaneous increased awareness of personal vulnerabilities, which he referred to as "cowardliness."

I do have that streak of cowardliness that runs through me, that does not allow me to speak out well with other people about how I perceive things. Now, that may have something to do with the fact that I did go into my first career ... with my father ... The fact that I've been able to overcome some of that ... may very well be why I went into a second career ... if that be the case it would seem logical that I do not now feel uncomfortable with people who are less like those that preceded them in another work environment ...
I'm suggesting I have more confidence out of whatever reasons and that now I do not have as much difficulty standing as a person who may have opinions or thoughts or ideas different than other people... I'm more confident in my role as a loner and strange as it may seem, that confidence of now knowing that that's not such a difficult thing to be makes it easier for me to interact with people...

Additionally, the move away from the daily father-son enactment appeared to involve the integration of father's role in the world outside the family, as witnessed by J, father-as-social-reformer. Father enacted the role of social reformer and found a sense of belonging by affiliating with others similarly inclined; J however, enacted the social reformer role without the organizational support that his father had appeared to have. Thus, the isolation within the family that J experienced, and re-enacted in Vocation 1, became much more overt in Vocation 2 as it required an active self-isolating stance. In other words, in shifting careers, J shifted from continuing or recreating the family drama, which included a sense of alienation and discomfort, to a re-enactment of the family drama with the difference that his essential role as loner was more integrated and accepted.

This seemed to be supported by the fact that in both career roles J was closer to his ideal self (.59/.79) than to his actual self (.31/.34), and the fact that this is even more so in his second vocation:

... If you look at yourself and there are things that do not please you about yourself, you would like to, in a sense, reach for something better or beyond that ...
have the feeling that there are certain things I've always lived with and I prefer to be further away from them ... maybe I would like to perceive myself as being more forceful or aggressive ...

To summarize, in terms of early family roles, J's vocational change was reflected in a shift from the drama of 'self-as-son-to-father' to include the drama of mother and of a more expanded view and re-enactment of father.

The meaning of this change was increased "confidence" or self-acceptance of the role of self-reliant isolate, allowing the theme of "cowardliness" to shift from covert to overt, and allowing for the daily expression of social ideals within a vocational context.
CASE STUDY K

Background

K was a 44 year old woman; she was in a committed lesbian relationship and described herself as a "feminist, through and through." K and her partner lived in their own home with K's four teenage children from a previous marriage.

Her preparation for Vocation 1, as a pre-school supervisor, required nearly four years of night school simultaneous with raising her four toddlers. Once licensed, she worked as a pre-school supervisor while taking courses to obtain her "Early Childhood Certificate." Preparation for Vocation 2, in the field of the ministry as a counsellor, involved undertaking a double-barrelled academic track. After taking two years to obtain a bachelors degree, K went on to receive a Masters in counselling psychology. Throughout this period she took courses in theology working towards ordination in the ministry; for one year this was a full-time course of study. In short, to prepare for a career in the ministry as a counsellor, K obtained more than Masters level qualifications in counselling psychology and worked in total for more than two years towards ordination. At the time of the interview, this latter goal had thus far been frustrated by her church's policy of not ordaining
declared homosexuals. She had been actively lobbying for changes in this policy since she began her theological studies. Despite this barrier to obtaining full credentials, K had worked at the time of the study as a pastoral counsellor for four years.

Raised in England until age 11, K was the eldest of five children and the only girl among her siblings for 17 years; her three brothers were born within five years of her.

Family Experience

K grew up in a matriarchal working-class family in England in the '40s. She was raised by her mother and grandmother primarily; her relationship with her father was indirectly experienced through mother until adolescence. Mother was seen as domineering, demanding and critical:

She's very controlling and very much wants power and she would not be content to be anything other than boss.

K had a strong sense of having to fight mother throughout her early life, in order to be seen and acknowledged as a thinking individual. Mother's high standards for dutiful performance and conformity were the overriding expectation and price of familial acceptance. This theme pervaded in such a way that K's experience of self was clouded by mother's presence. Typically, mother was seen as rejecting and invalidating K's self-expression:
Anytime I expressed anything of who I was ... I was never seen as me, it was always seen only as somebody else acting through me, or me mimicking ... "mimicking" was the word that was used a lot in my life. My mother would always say, 'Why do you always mimic?'

Similarly, she recalled mother's expression of love as typically qualified by critical evaluation:

The thing that I got from my Mom always was 'I really do love you and I really do like you, but ...' or 'I do appreciate ...' that kind of thing, 'but ...

As the eldest child, and only girl (for 17 years), K was expected to carry out a good deal of the "mothering" tasks in relation to her siblings. As K put it, she had "responsibility" with no "autonomy." She experienced this as paradoxical; on the one hand K was expected to conform to mother's ideas of who she was, and on the other hand she was expected to be independent enough to assume responsibility for an important role in 'mothering' and household management:

... somehow or other she [mother] wants to control but then if she can she doesn't appreciate it. It's like, if she could control me, then I wasn't strong enough.

Grandmother was head-of-the-household during mother's many periods of illness, and this provided a definite contrasting experience for K. Grandmother, a much more playful person than mother, allowed K greater room for personal expression; she felt accepted by "Granny."
I see myself as a daughter as being much more responsible than as a grandchild. [As a grandchild] I had no responsibility whatsoever. I could just be creative and be who I was. When she [mother] is less in the picture I have more responsibility, but I have more autonomy ... when she was around and I was responsible I had to do it her way.

Mother's controlling influence extended to K's experience of her relationship with her father as well:

My relationship to my father was usually through my mother ... I had to push Mom out to be able to relate directly to my dad. I had to sort of block out Mom or push her away.

The prevalent sense of invalidation by mother was evident in this comment by K as well:

I also think, when my father's in the picture and my mother's less in the picture then I have a clearer sense of myself as a daughter ... because when my mother's in the picture, I'm not really sure who I am.

Vocation 1

As a pre-school supervisor, K was like grandmother (.75), self-as-grandaughter (.49), and father (.48). K identified a commonality among these four roles:

The one thing that all of those have in common for me is the ability to play. My grandmother knew how to play, my father knows how to play, as a grandchild I could play and pre-school I could play.

Again, others in this vocational arena paralleled the three early figures noted above: the figure of professor was like
grandmother (.666)/father (.54)/self-as-granddaughter (.436); the figure of student was like grandmother (.57)/self-as-granddaughter (.689). These findings supported K's suggestion that the theme of playfulness was pervasive in this arena. One contrast of note is the figure of boss, who was like mother (.477). This last parallel was consistent with K's early experience of mother, whom she repeatedly described in terms of being like a boss.

Thus, as a pre-school supervisor K re-enacted the early family drama characterized by playfulness and autonomy when the mother figure was absent from the scene and grandmother was present, and characterized by threatened autonomy and rebellious resistance when mother was present. More particularly, she was like her playful, nurturing grandmother to her young self-as-grandchild, perhaps embodied in the children/students she cared for.

**Vocation 2**

As a pastoral counsellor, K was similar to the same three early figures as in Vocation 1 (grandmother: .69/father: .528/self-as-granddaughter: .51) with the addition of being like self-as-daughter (.505). Again, the figure of "boss" in this arena was like mother though the likeness was not as strong as previously (.32). Her own vocational role corresponded negatively to mother here (-.35).
K related the addition of self-as-daughter to the increased sense of responsibility and associated lack-of-playfulness in this vocational arena:

... as a daughter I had a lot more responsibility because I was the only daughter, I was the eldest child, my mother was ill a lot ... the thing that counselling lacks for me is that element of playing in some kind of a - not irresponsible way, but non-responsible ... I'm talking about something where responsibility isn't part of the picture, doesn't need to be.

An example of what K experienced as "responsibility" in this arena appeared to be associated with a sense of threatened autonomy:

... we had to keep copious notes, which were an absolute bore to me and that was a real responsibility ... I don't disagree with being accountable to somebody. What I disagree with is what was valued ... I mean I'm a feminist through and through ... and my theology is feminist theology ... what I often find is men in the system ... they don't understand my concepts ... my framework ... the very thing they appreciate about me, I continue to get slapped with. 'I'm too strong. I'm too this. I'm too that.'

K related her boss's criticism of her theology and style to her mother's tendency to criticize:

The thing I got from my Mom always was 'I really do love you, but' - Boss 2 is a prime example of that. They don't understand my feminist theology so what they want me to do is give them ... a bunch of theologies that I've learned out of a book ... it was almost the same kind of thing with Mom ...

Again, it is noteworthy that with her entrance into university studies to prepare for Vocation 2, K ceased daily
contact with her mother. She recalled making a conscious
decision at that time to "give ... Mom less power and (give)
father more space in [her] life."

... it was Dad - and still is - that will talk to me
about ... the things I'm studying ... so it gave me more
contact with my dad, and it gave me less contact with my
mother.

Vocational Transition

K's transition from pre-school supervisor to
pastoral counsellor suggested a re-enactment of the same
drama. In both dramas she was re-enacting the
grandmother-grand-daughter theme of playfulness, and in both
she re-enacted the drama of struggle for self-definition and
expression in relation to a mother figure. However, in
Vocation 2, the drama appeared to be intensified to include
mother in more direct conflict; she acted more in opposition
to mother, shifting the conflict from covert to overt. This
analysis is consistent with the correlations suggesting that
in Vocation 2, K was slightly more like both her actual and
ideal selves than in Vocation 1 (.58/.74; .60/.75). It was
as if Vocation 1 was practice for 2, where the stakes rose;
the second vocational arena had a potentially important
impact on how she was perceived within the pastoral
community and thus, a bearing on her prospects for achieving
her ideal career goal of becoming an ordained minister. In
Vocation 1 she took action against the mother figure's
authority and viewpoint when this figure was absent from the scene. By contrast, in Vocation 2 she repeatedly took open stances contrary to present mother figures (in terms of her theological position), striving to define herself as different from mother figures. Since the dramatic conflict was not resolved at this point in Vocation 2, it appeared likely to be an unstable point in her vocational history; a subsequent vocational shift is probable. This analysis was supported by K's observation that she was not as enmeshed in her mother's definition of her as previously:

There's my mother's picture of who I am and there's my own sense of who I am and they get all mixed up sometimes - not so much anymore.
One year after the Meaning Interview, the subjects were asked to critically read the Case Study write-up pertaining to themselves and to provide verbal feedback; the researcher took written notes on these comments. In general, the ten subjects were supportive of the case presentation, and in agreement with the analysis of their case. Most subjects found the content to be familiar, to "ring true," while at the same time expressing that it provided them with greater sense of clarity regarding their own experience. The tenor of each subject's self-review is related here through brief quotes from the follow-up contact.

I read it and I thought it was great! It was really 'appropo.' What you said, I thought about it. I had said something about going full circle within a couple of years, well, it's even closer ... What I want is to get as far away from being controlled and as close as possible to calling my own shots ... I'm sorry, there's nothing I would change [in the write-up]. I looked for flaws or things to change ... You hit the nail on the head in what you said about my mother, aunt, and sister, and all that.
B Self-Review

Subject B commented on specific elements of the write-up. In relation to the analysis of Vocation 1 as a re-enacted drama of brotherly competition, he commented:

Interesting. Yeah. This seems very 'on.'

The analysis of the transition brought a similar response:

Yeah. This makes a lot of sense. It seems really 'on'. The combative male qualities really are in service to the feminine, but they still exist. I use the same qualities of drive and thrust and examining and preoccupation with the truth and integrity. It's all very male in a way, but they're used in service to the female concerns of love and nurturance. It's like the boss changed.

C Self-Review

An overall impression was that it fits ... It really helped me to get back to my roots and to realize that some of the things from my past play a role in who I am now. It's helped to add some clarity into why I did the things I did, in terms of career choices. And besides that, it added some meaning to it. It feels right, on a very gut level. Yeah, this is the reason I became a mechanic, and these are the reasons I became a human services worker. Yeah, some of my values did crystallize as the result of bonding with my nanny. It also explains my almost dominant attraction to Celtic women. I really got a handle on that one. The aspect of my father as brother also really rings true for me. My father was very much a family person and that meant taking care of his brothers and sisters ... extending into his work; a high degree of compassion and humanism ... So I see myself integrating many of my father's values. This paper gave me an intellectual framework that confirms that in a more concrete way.
D Self-Review

You put it together pretty good. You seemed to have a specific base from which you were coming ... I didn't feel you distorted anything ... Yes, you portrayed what I was saying, even more accurately. You skillfully extracted the essence of my belaboured thoughts ... I had my wife read it. She found it almost ... fascinating. None of the material was new to her but the way it was put together threw more light on the whole thing.

E Self-Review

I thought it was super ... That's really all I can say about it. You synthesized the material clearly.

F Self-Review

... There was nothing that sounded unfamiliar at all. It sounded a lot clearer than what I thought I said ... The way it came across, it sounds like my perceptions were that the law milieu was more my kind of people than social work. In terms of the people, the social workers are more similar to me than the lawyer types.... I do like to think of myself as like brother B [a lawyer], in some ways ... but in terms of his humanness, not his lawyer-ness. I just think that's who he is, whether he's a lawyer or not ... yes it's true, I only got close to him as an adult, and his lawyer-ness is, I guess you could say, inseparable from his humanness. Your perceptions of the individual people are right on. Your conclusions are off a bit, just in terms of what I said about brother B and all that.

Upon careful reading of this critique, what appeared to be a refutation of the case write-up was actually a
confirmation of the accuracy of the synthesis. Apparently, F understood the study to suggest she was like lawyers when actually it suggested that in her current vocational role as a lawyer she was like brother B. It is also pointed out that brother B, who was himself a lawyer, was more humanistic than the other lawyers in F's vocational arena.

G Self-Review

G made specific comments related directly to the copy in the case write-up. In response to the description under Vocation 1 of his leading actress/girlfriend as "like brother" G said:

... Very good observation. It's funny, she really liked her own older brother too. She was very close to him.

In response to the summation of the Vocation 1 drama as "characterized by alliance with uncritical ... others who collectively exclude critical figures" G comments:

I find this last statement to be true and now, a year later, see it more in my way of relating to others' situations. A year ago I was not cognizant of the way I related as clearly.

The discussion of his vocational transition evoked simply:

This makes a lot of sense to me.
H Self-Review

It comes through so strongly that it kind of blew me away. I was truly astonished at how strong the pattern is ... What you said is true. Absolutely true. I never saw it like this before. Just seeing things juxtaposed in this way. There's nothing distorted though. It truly astonished me ... Thank you for doing that for me. I learned a lot about myself.

J Self-Review

... I never thought of it, in terms of mother or father. It's something I have difficulty appreciating ... I sort of mulled it over and said, 'No that isn't me, and then thought well yes, words can have different meanings and I can see how that relates to me'. Cowardice, for example, it has different connotations. I guess in that context, it's 'fear of offending'. And then it makes sense, yes ... My extra-curricular type of things, friends and activities, preceded me in doing some of the types of things I did later on ... I recognized myself there. That's me.... I still feel uncomfortable with what I consider to be a Freudian type of approach. My approach is less psychoanalytic and more a person in relation to their culture, from an anthropological point of view. I feel uncomfortable with the psychoanalytical point of view. I think that distorts the picture of a person by taking him out of his cultural context. My cultural context is left-wing Jewish. My organizational, extracurricular activities, friends all reflect that, so the chances of me going into banking, for example, are pretty remote.

K Self-Review

Subject was unavailable due to extended illness and travel.
INDEPENDENT CASE REVIEWS

A Independent Review

The analysis makes sense to me and the paper and tape correspond as far as I can tell. I found a whole list of leading questions though, at least what is considered a leading question in a court of law, maybe the standards are different in psychology.

When the "list of leading questions" was reviewed by the researcher, it appeared that they fell into the category of typical questions of classification, or probing questions seeking elaboration, e.g.,

So when you think of your advice-giving role with her (sister), that was as adults?

There's also the dimension that you're not speaking.

So you're saying it's a shift in how you're relating to people and it's reflected in your career?

B Independent Review

You didn't ask leading questions. Your transcript jibes with the tapes, and it makes sense to me.

C Independent Review

The paper did reflect the tape well. You portrayed him quite clearly ... used good summary and clarification techniques.
This reviewer noted that the subject was now finding more points of connection between himself and his father; the reviewer felt the role of the father in this portrayal should be elaborated on more. Also, the reviewer noted a possible source of bias that may arise from the relationship between the subject and interviewer. This concern is based upon the theme in the subject's drama of being influenced by "powerful" women and his statement, "I fear your judgment [female interviewer's name]." The reviewer did confirm, however, that the interviewer followed all appropriate procedure in repeatedly inviting the subject to respond to the correlations in any way, and in clearly stating that agreement was not valued above refutation. It might also be noted that there was sufficient rapport with this subject that throughout the research process, he was more verbally forthcoming with fewer prompts than any other subject in this study.

D Independent Review

You used non-biased listening skills, mostly clarifying statements ... He [the subject] was a bit evasive. You picked out all the good quotes, the most illustrative.... Your analysis made sense to me. One contradiction: he talked about his dad not being home often and that he didn't have much time for family and he [subject] talked about wanting to make enough money, to be able to stay home. At least I'm assuming that's what he'd want to make a pile of money for, so he wouldn't have to work and could be family-oriented, and this seems to contradict the theme of repeating his father's way.
The apparent contradiction here lay in the assumption on the part of the reviewer. During informal exchange with the subject (not on tape), it was revealed that D associated his ambition not to have to concentrate on earning money with his desire to be more involved in other work that was not necessarily income producing but, nevertheless, of service to the community.

E Independent Review

You didn't ask leading questions. You gave a broad sense of options. It felt like you had a definite intention in your interview, and you left room for an individual response... He [subject] seemed interested in reflecting in his spiritual life, the unexplainable, magic, exciting part of life, but not on his career life. He kept trying to pin you down. He couldn't answer the questions but I think that was a function of him, not of the process. He wasn't willing to enter into the process and therefore he found your questions directive and couldn't answer them... I believe he was in an unconscious process. I think he was trying, and just couldn't get it... I've got lots of speculations and I was impressed with the lack of speculations in your paper. Your paper seemed to be a reporting, a clean reporting. It felt pretty true.... I was impressed with his sense of the lack of impact of the people in his life... I was surprised at the lack of an intellectual mentor.... I can understand where the motivation to be driven came from, but I can't understand where the motivation to be academic came from... In the paper, you mentioned his voice changed and his face lit up at one point; well I could hear that in the tape.

The apparent resistance to talking about career life in favour of spiritual life was non-problematic for E; his career life was the vehicle for his "spiritual" development. His focus, in this interview, was so much an inner one, that
he had difficulty thinking that social dynamics, an externalization of inner life, would have much relevance to him.

**F Independent Review**

I don't think you're asking leading questions. I think your style is relatively unbiased. Sometimes I get a sense when you're on the tape that she was getting ahead of you somewhat. Perhaps the framework that you were trying to put her responses into, in relationship to your study, she was trying to jump ahead of that or jump out of that and you were trying to bring her back to some sense of form that you were using as a structure. I think the role models that you've given you've put certain limitations on the overview of what she consciously or unconsciously has chosen to do with her life. I'm guessing that you've consciously chosen to do that because of the nature of the study and the necessity to keep it in some relatively concrete format.

... On page one [of the write-up] the time quantities you've given place her at age 16 when she started her social work career; is that possible? ... I'm wondering a little bit, why you chose to incorporate only the male role models there was no in depth questioning on the role model of the mother. You say as a social worker she is like her mother, father, and brother; I didn't get a sense from the tape that she was taking her mother's place as a role model ... in the same category or reference point as father or brother A.

... All through it I see sort of a blend, [of the two vocational roles] and I think that was confirmed by her description ... she said when she was a social worker that was correct for creative development at that time and now she's a lawyer and that was correct for her to be where she is now. That seemed quite a reasonable and accurate self-observation on her part. And reading between the lines she sees that she needs to incorporate or integrate both of these aspects of herself before she can come to terms with an occupation which facilitates her maximal self-growth. ... As a lawyer she's more like her actual and ideal self and her brother being a lawyer and being a lawyer all the time and being famous for what he does ... I don't get the
feeling that she sees that intensity that she views him as experiencing as a lawyer as something ... that she wants to be involved in because that's a throwback to brother A, the social worker. ... I think that your scenario is fairly correct. Again I'm not clear the mother's role ... and for a complete picture that needs to be incorporated ... I have a hard time seeing a clear cut distinction between Vocation 1 and Vocation 2 although you sort of stated that by saying "The controlling drama is seen as part of a continuum ..."

G Independent Review

Your questions were not leading ... the transcript jibes with the tape. I understood where everything came from. I often arrived at a certain conclusion, and then you would talk about that in your next paragraph.

H Independent Review

The typed material and the tape correspond; no surprises between the tape and written material. Does one act according to childhood restraints, "no fuss," necessarily? Someone else might not re-enact this as an adult given that same element of restraint. Facinating stuff!

J Independent Review

You didn't ask leading questions ... when you stated one of his reasons for being isolated was his being "Jewish in a non-Jewish environment, and being beaten up," well, I didn't hear this on the tape. Also, you state his mother was unavailable due to being self-preoccupied and needy. Those weren't his words; he talked about her being a weak person, and ill, but he didn't use those words exactly. Otherwise the paper reflects the tape well and your analysis overall makes sense.
You ask clarifying questions ... I didn't hear any leading questions ... The tape and the paper jibe, and your assumptions about it, or your comments about it [in the paper] jibe with the general [gist of what she said] ... When I think of it, the going back to school is the second vocation ... did she go to school because she wanted to make a career change or did she just want to be in the school environment; that seemed so important to her ... in terms of her perception of her bosses and her perception of her mother as a controlling, bossy woman, that was fairly clear [in your paper] ... it was in the second vocation after having made her identity commitment [as a lesbian] that she began to chafe at how she relates to her mother, "I like you but ...." The early experience had less conflict for her apparently than the later one ... the conflict between her mother and grandmother figure, as responsible and un-responsible, this became a harsher conflict [in Vocation 2] ... The "driver" for her, to oversimplify, might well be identifying with the mother and the need to control, and then the conflict with the grandmother figure and wanting to play.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The results indicate substantial interrelations among figures from the self, family, and vocational domains. Of particular importance to this study, this finding held across the two vocational arenas examined in each of the ten cases. Additionally, the nature of the vocational transition, as reflected in shifting role displacements and re-enacted role patterns, also appeared to vary idiosyncratically for each subject. On the whole, when viewed in the context of the subjects' lived-out experience, there appears to be regularity of meaning in career change. That is, in all ten cases, the meaning of the career change can be understood in terms of the shifts and/or maintenance in family dramas re-enacted in the vocational arena.

Theoretical Implications

The findings have relevance to vocational and career theory in two different regards. Firstly, by explicitly focusing on the perspective of the career changer, the findings suggest a refinement of career theory that resolves the implicit debate within the existing literature regarding continuity versus discontinuity of meaning. Secondly, the findings support existing vocational theory that advocates
the utilization of a family perspective when examining career phenomena.

Continuity/Discontinuity of Meaning. The previously existing research on career change has presented two, largely implicit, theoretical positions on the meaning of career change. As identified and discussed in Chapter II of this study, the dichotomous theoretical positions that have previously guided research in this area are that:

1. Meaning is continuous for the individual. This position includes the view that meaning may be dynamic and continuously evolving, but is nonetheless essentially consistent.

2. Meaning is discontinuous for the individual. This position includes the view that career change reflects a breakdown in the continuity or consistancy of the meaning structures for an individual.

The results of the present study directly contribute to vocational theory by suggesting an alternative to either of these dichotomous views. That is, in instances of career change, some elements of the individual's meaning structure may be discontinuous, while other elements may be continuous. By viewing meaning structures as complex and multi-leveled, this study provides an integrated theoretical position that offers a useful alternative position outside of the inherent debate within the literature. Furthermore, although this
study indicates that both discontinuity and continuity of meaning structures occurs at different levels for the individual in career transition when career change is examined in the context of the individual subject's lived-out experience in terms of roles, the pattern of continuous meaning appears as the larger, more pervasive one. In other words, the evidence suggests that it is the general neglect of the subject's perspective that has created fruitless theoretical conflict regarding continuity versus discontinuity of meaning. For example, a brief discussion of applications of Holland's theoretical work as it relates to the issue of continuity/discontinuity of meaning will reveal the confusion resultant from overlooking the perspective of the subjects.

As noted in Chapter II of this study, Holland's (1966) theoretical work identifying six ideal vocational types has led to several studies examining career change in terms of categorical shifts from one "type" of vocation to another. Robbins (1978) and Thomas (1979) have suggested that the tool based on Holland's theory (The Dictionary of Occupational Titles, or D.O.T.) is insufficiently sensitive to illuminate the nature of change. The present study suggests that the insensitivity of the D.O.T. arises from its premise of constancy existing at the level of traits and external environment, rather than at the level of personal meaning. While this study supports Holland's underlying
premise that there appears to be some phenomena that endure throughout the individual's career, it is suggested here that neglecting the personal perspective of a career change veils the nature of the continuity in career.

On the other hand, those who have suggested that personal meaning is central to an understanding of career change (Thomas, 1979; Roberts, 1975; Lawrence, 1980) have not developed the notion sufficiently to allow for a direct examination of it through their own work. The present study furthers these works by substantiating their relatively tentative suggestion of personal meaning as central to an understanding of career change behavior.

When a more comprehensive examination was undertaken that focused on understanding career change in the context of the subject's lived-out experience, as in this study, it appeared that discontinuity and continuity of meaning may not be mutually exclusive phenomena. Discontinuity at one level may coincide with continuity and an expanded meaning framework at another level in the individual's life structure. Several case examples will serve to illustrate this point.

In several respects, subject B typified what has been referred to as a "corporate drop-out" in the existing research literature. Previously a highly successful entrepreneur and professional consultant, his vocational shift to "artist/therapist" involved a substantial income
reduction and broader change in many elements of his external life structure, such as his network of personal affiliations, and his activities beyond the vocational arena. The most obvious example of this was that the vocational shift coincided approximately with a marital separation. Superficially, it appeared that B abandoned the goals and values implicit in his vocational role as a competitive entrepreneur and technical specialist, and embraced what is commonly referred to as a counter-culture or "new-age" set of ideals. Left here, this analysis suggested a radical discontinuity of meaning in B's life, reflected in external structural changes. When both quantitative and qualitative data were examined together, however, it appeared that at the level of role enactments and their relationship to family-of-origin prototypes, B maintained his earlier pattern and extended it by elevating or enlarging his perception of the arena in which he was engaged. He did not abandon the meaning structure of his first vocation, which was embodied in the brotherly drama of competition he enacted in this context. Rather, the element of brotherly competition was seen by B as expanded to virtually cosmic proportions, with additional familiar role re-enactments included in this more grandly scaled drama. From B's own viewpoint, it was as if Vocation 2 was, in effect, a bigger fish-pond to play in; his competitive nature was seen in a broader context as he pitted himself
against cosmological concepts and forces, rather than friends and colleagues.

Similarly, he was consistent in his stance and self-concept as the unusual, and even unique player, whose purpose was to shake up people's perceptions and push people's perceptual limits. In Vocation 1 this role enactment earned him the status of a fringe member of the managerial group, while the same role enactment virtually defined Vocation 2.

Case E provided an interesting contrast to Case B. Like B, E's vocational transition was approximately coincident with a marital separation. Unlike B though, the shift did not impose any significant financial or related lifestyle alterations. To the contrary, the shift from clinical psychologist to transpersonal psychologist would likely be commonly viewed as a career specialization not involving any major alteration in one's meaning framework.

Here again an examination of both the quantitative and qualitative data suggested that E's vocational shift reflected an expansion of his meaning framework; he did not abandon the aspect of the drama based on the prototype of generously giving father, but rather integrated the additional prototype of "joie de vivre" exemplified by mother.
In contrast to Case B, Case E did not support the argument that expansion of meaning framework and continuity of meaning were necessarily coincident, as experienced by the subject. For E, the expanded conceptual framework within which he enacted a familiar drama was subjectively experienced as a radical break from previous experience. Throughout the interview, E was frustrated by the impossibility of articulating the full import of the shift. It was as if the shift was so profound that he could not find any language borrowed from previous experience adequate to express it. Here, then, was an instance of apparently continuous and expanded meaning framework; yet the individual's experience was one of discontinuity.

The case of H raised yet further doubt as to the usefulness of the continuity/discontinuity of meaning debate. Appearances suggested here that H's vocational transition reflected a radical discontinuity in meaning. A shift from housewife to a high-status paid professional role entailing graduate level educational preparation might initially suggest a shift in the individual's goals and self-image.

The data suggested, however, that this vocational shift was an instance of re-enacting the same patterns in two distinct arenas. The drama and implicit meaning were continuous; only the context was altered. H's articulation of her personal and professional frustrations further
indicated that the vocational shift was not coincident with an expanded or altered self-concept, or with the perception of increased opportunity for self-expression. H's meaning framework was continuous across contexts, in its negatively connoted aspects of an experience of anomie and of desperation which evoked suicidal thinking, as well as its positively connoted aspects of being the helpful supporter and nurturer. In the case of H, it can be seen that continuity of meaning may be an insufficient conceptualization of mental health, when one's prototypical pattern and subsequent meaning framework is not rich or open-ended enough to provide opportunities for the resolution of inner conflict or extreme despair.

These illustrations challenge the implicit assumption within the research literature that continuity of meaning is associated with personal integration and a state of mental health, and that discontinuity of meaning suggests the inverse. Furthermore, the importance of examining the phenomena from the subject's perspective is suggested as a key to revealing continuity of meaning in instances of career change.

**Family Perspective.** Anne McGregor's empirical findings (1983), which served as a basis for the present study, suggested that family dramas are re-enacted in the vocational arena. The present study both supports this
finding and suggests the implications of it in instances of career change. Specifically, this study suggests that family dramas are re-enacted across multiple vocational arenas.

As noted in Chapter II of this study (page 20), Roe (1956) and more recently Bratcher (1982) are among the theoreticians who have advocated the examination of career phenomena from a perspective that acknowledges the influence of family on career related behavior.

In particular, Bratcher theorized the continued influence of early family relationship in adult behavior, as well as in early, initial career selections. His suggestion that the patterned, repetitive, circular dynamics of family relationships serve as prototypes in vocational arenas was supported by this study. The examination of career change phenomena from the perspective of early family role dynamics, as in this study, added a depth and unity that would be otherwise lacking in an intensive observation of the phenomena. The examples that follow will highlight the value of using a family perspective to examine career phenomena.

Subject C, it will be recalled, was an automotive mechanic who later became a human services worker. The transition entailed a shift from blue collar to white collar work, from concrete to conceptual problem-solving, from a male-dominated to a female-dominated work world, and from a
supervisory capacity to, initially, a trainee capacity. The shift also involved an adjustment from relative material comfort to a substantially reduced income level and living style. Additionally, the shift required C to recognize and overcome many areas of perceived and experienced inadequacy in terms of his own conceptual and relationship capacities.

Without the family perspective as an orientation, C's vocational shift might appear to be an instance of "inappropriate" initial career choice with a mid-life rectification of this situation. Alternately, it might appear to be an instance of attempting to "pull himself up by the bootstraps" to higher status (though lower paying) work, a rejection of his blue collar past affiliations and identity. These and any number of other explanations which might serve suggest that one or the other career choice was a mistake, inappropriate, or in some way inconsistent with C's self-identity, and therefore reflective of a discontinuity of meaning. Without the integrating backdrop of the family perspective, observation of C in relation to his vocational context renders him a relatively two-dimensional figure. That would overlook latent underdeveloped aspects of the individual and unexpressed dimensions of prototypical dramas.

Within the context of a family perspective, it can be seen that in each vocational arena, C appeared to re-enact distinctly different aspects of his early family
drama, as embodied most vividly by his working-class mother figure, Nanny, and his higher status professional father with humanitarian ideals. It is as if, in re-enacting the aspects of the family drama associated with Vocation 1, C integrated the first drama and arrived at a sense of internal completion; the inherent dramatic conflict (male competition here) no longer held a positive force for him. In Vocation 2, not only did the data suggest C more fully re-enacted the relationship patterns from his family-of-birth, he also seemed to be actively integrating the values and attributes associated with his family drama. C quite clearly associated his new-found career identity and direction with a recent awareness of increased recognition, respect, and admiration of those aspects of the family drama embodied by his father.

Similarly, examining subject F's shift from social worker to lawyer from a family perspective added considerable depth. If the observation extended no further than the career domain it could be seen that the shift was, within the white collar world, from one service profession to another. An upward shift in status and income such as this, where there is no obvious radical discontinuity suggested, might be seen as motivated only by material or financial needs and desires.
The family perspective here fleshed out the picture considerably. The data indicated that each of two brothers was characterized, respectively, in terms parallel to each of F's two vocational choices, and furthermore, each provided her with early models of these vocational roles in his own respective career. Given this, F's shift assumed more subtle and complex tones, as the images of different aspects of her family drama appeared to have been recreated at different stages in her career.

J was yet another subject whose vocational transition can be seen more fully in light of a family perspective. If the examination of vocational transition were to rely on data from the career domain alone, analysis would again rest upon a collection of external and/or internal factors. In such a case, there would still be no framework for conceptualizing why those particular factors influenced J in the direction they did, no explanation of what prototypical perceptual patterns operated to allow or direct the nature of external/internal influences.

The assumption that prototypes were derived from family experience served again to indicate, as Subject J suggested, why teaching became his second vocation "rather than banking." Furthermore, the family perspective also provided a framework for seeing how J's particular approach to teaching, the role he assumed as a social critic and change agent, was rooted in his personal mythology and was
an integrated aspect of his self-concept, an indication that he was not travelling uncharted waters in the spirit of a pioneer or madman. For J, it appeared that teaching represented an embracing of aspects of himself that were relatively undeveloped and/or unexpressed previously; specifically, his child-like playfulness, and the "right brain artsy" creativity he associated with the mother figure. Additionally, his particular approach and identity as a teacher appeared to be an active expression of humanitarian ideals and concerns for social reform which were values modelled by the figure of father.

Implications for Counselling Practice: Blurring of Vocational and Family Counselling Practice

In addition to providing depth and a unifying framework, the use of a family perspective to examine career change phenomena provided a potentially useful glimpse at the relationship between career phenomena and concurrent family dynamics. The findings suggested that it may be fruitful to examine and address this relationship to a greater extent than has occurred in either the research literature or in counselling practice thus far. The picture that emerged here suggests that distinctions between family relationship counselling issues and career counselling issues, in research and counselling practice, may distort the phenomena in important ways.
In at least three of the ten cases (Cases A, G, K) examined in this study, the subject's vocational shift, which symbolically re-oriented the subject in relation to his or her early family drama, coincided with active shifts in the subject's simultaneous actual role enactment in relation to their family-of-origin. In each of these three instances, the subject's reporting of the coincidence of apparent change within family-of-origin dynamics and career change emerged spontaneously, without any probing in this direction.

For Subject A, Vocation 1 appeared to be a re-enactment of the early mother-daughter drama. "A" noted that her transition away from Vocation 1 coincided with a complete break in communications with her mother; she claimed to have had no contact by phone or in person since that time. Furthermore, she noted that in recent years she had increasingly acted as confidante and advisor to her sister. During this same period, A appeared to be re-enacting in the Vocation 2 arena the sisterly drama of distant advisor to her clients.

Subject G's vocational activity and identity seemed similarly to parallel shifts in family dynamics, particularly a shift to the father-son relationship. It may be recalled that G's mother had a brief career in theatre, and was seen by G as an ally and fan within the family. Much of G's Vocation 1, in theatre, appeared to re-create
the mother-son dynamic which included exclusion of father; G recalled actively rejecting father in early adolescence. Additionally, G's decision to attend theatre school was made and pursued against father's expectations and was seen by G as an act of rebellion.

It may be noteworthy that G's vocational shift to entrepreneur coincided with what G experienced as a major turnaround in his present day relationship with his father. In the course of the interview, G noted on several occasions that he and his father had recently spoken together more than ever before. G saw his father as now seeking and valuing his opinions to an extent not experienced previously and explained this as directly related to his father's respect for G's own entrepreneurial venturing. Additionally, G apparently was seeking to bridge the previously experienced schism between him and his father; he noted that his recent knee injury provided him with a greater sense of connectedness to his father, who had a history of knee injuries. Throughout the interviews, references to conflict with G's business partner in Vocation 2 paralleled descriptions of ongoing conflict with G's father.

At the point of the one year follow-up, G had resumed his earlier vocational role enactment, as director in the world of theatre, while maintaining ongoing positively connoted contacts with his father. It was as if
G utilized the vocational arena to confront, and ultimately resolve, the longstanding conflict with his father.

Subject K is the third clear example of a vocational shift, described in terms of the family drama, which paralleled an actual change in the current family drama. K mentioned, incidentally, that while in Vocation 1 as a pre-school supervisor, she spoke to her mother on the phone on a daily basis. When she returned to university as a step towards Vocation 2, she made a decision to stop the practice of daily phone contact with her mother. Additionally, she noted that her return to school gave her "something to talk about" with her father, and that in fact her interaction with her father increased. All of this closely paralleled the findings that K's vocational transition represented to her, in part, an embracing and integration of her "masculine" aspect.

It may also be noteworthy that as K limited her contact with her actual mother, it appeared she confronted more directly the mother-daughter dynamic displaced onto the vocational arena in Vocation 2. It was as if, in separating herself from her mother's actual presence, she took a stance of independance that she maintained in the vocational arena as well.

Together, the examples cited above suggest that counselling practice might benefit from further integration of family and career theory and counselling tools.
Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

Correlations here are limited in their subtlety in revealing the various ways in which role patterns from the family drama are re-enacted across vocational arenas; they are also limited in their ability to establish causality (Glass and Stanley, 1970). This study did not illuminate the mechanisms of role displacement nor did it establish causality. The quantitative portion of the data lent support to the assertion that Type C regularity exists (Herbst, 1970) within career change phenomena. It further directed this enquiry into the nature of the regularity by providing an initial systematic basis for identifying patterns. The qualitative portion of the data provided the detail and subtlety to reveal, through individual portraits, the varieties of role displacement between family and vocation, and to suggest the meaning of vocational changes in light of the phenomenon of role displacement.

Given that this study utilized diverse intensive individual studies, generalization to a population is limited. Chassan (1979) noted, however, that what is found true for one person is likely to hold true for some others. Thus, while the meaning of the career change varied idiosyncratically, in each of the ten cases subjects appeared to engage in familial drama re-enactment in both of...
the two vocational arenas examined. Given the diversity of individual cases examined, it is likely that similar findings will hold across a broader population.

Future Research Implications

1) To the extent that it is established that role displacement from the family to the vocational arena does occur across vocational contexts, how does awareness of one's own pattern of displacement/re-enactment influence subsequent adaptation to the work arena? This question is critical to uncovering whether the research method used here, or another providing similar information, may be a useful tool for personal transformation.

2) Case H suggested that a positively connoted vocational shift is insufficient to foster or reflect a positively connoted role enactment and drama. Though H found her second vocation more rewarding, exciting, and positive than her first, in both she engaged in the re-enactment of the negatively connoted dutiful nurturer, to the extent of denial of her own needs for self-expression. This case raises the question, 'What elements and dynamics create a sufficient condition for positively connoted role displacement and re-enactment in the vocational arena?'

3) Case E suggested that changes in role displacement and re-enactment in the vocational arena can occur within the
context of the same apparent vocational role and structure, without requiring a radical change in vocational arena (new job, new employer, new tasks) to support the symbolic shift. This observation may warrant further exploration in terms of its relevance for instances of "job dissatisfaction" and organizational concerns such as staff turnover, training time and expense. What elements and dynamics create a sufficient condition for positively connoted shifts in role-displacement and re-enactment within a given vocational role/structure?

4) It is suggested here that symbolic change, through an expansion in meaning framework, may be coincident with voluntary career change. What is the relationship between family role displacement onto the work arena and perceived involuntary career change? In Case H, the subject indicated that though still married, in the back of her mind her move to seek a professional credential was stimulated by her awareness of the possibility of her marriage ending and of her "having to become self-supporting." This issue may be important for career counselling in establishing whether or not there is value in the client's shifting away from a perception of involuntary to voluntary career change.

5) The indication here is that re-enactment of family dramas in the vocational arena is so integral to our experience
that this phenomenon appears to occur repeatedly at different age/stages vocationally and across vocational contexts. Is there an identifiable psychological/developmental need that is being met through the mechanism of familial role re-enactment in the vocational arena? To the extent that there is a particular psychological/developmental need met in this way, are there alternative mechanisms or vehicles that are developed for, or available to, unemployed individuals to meet this need? Do unemployed individuals simply re-enact family dramas within the arena of their primary and secondary social support systems (family and friends), and if so, is this different psychologically from role displacement and re-enactment in the vocational arena? Where does this leave the socially isolated individual in terms of the need for re-enactment of family drama?

6) Are there cultural differences in this pattern of role displacement and re-enactment due to varying orientations to, and perceptions of, the function and purpose of family and work? Where the notion of vocational change is positively valued and expected, are individuals more likely to experience a positive expansion of meaning coincident with career change? How does an immigrant to North America from a less mobile society, who may be accustomed to multiple generations working in the same
field, experience career change? Is re-enacting the family drama in the work setting an issue for such an individual?

7) What mechanisms and dynamics are operative in an individual's apparent choice or selection of role patterns to re-enact in the vocational arena? Does a shift in selection of dramatic re-enactment in the vocational arena reflect a shift in the criteria for selection of role patterns to re-enact? Is it reflective of the completion of a developmental cycle, indicating that the psychological purpose of the earlier dramatic re-enactment has been fulfilled and, in effect, a higher purpose becomes operative, in a way perhaps similar to Maslow's needs hierarchy?

Conclusion

The present study examined the meaning of career change in relation to family-of-origin role patterns or dramas. It confirms McGregor's finding (1983) that family dramas appear to be displaced onto the work arena. Further, the study found that the particular meaning of career change varies idiosyncratically but that the phenomenon of family drama displacement and re-enactment appears to occur across vocational contexts for each individual, in accordance with Type C law (Herbst, 1970). This suggests that there is regularity in the meaning of career change at the level of
family drama re-enactment; for both Vocation 1 and Vocation 2 the family appears to serve as a prototype drama.

Ten individuals, six men and four women, ranging in age from 30 to 61, were identified through referral sampling for participation in the study. All had a subjective experience identified as a career change. All subjects had seven or more years of involvement in Vocation 1; involvement in a later vocation ranged from involvement of one to seventeen years in duration. A vocational change was identified where the individual a) experienced a personally significant shift in his or her vocational/personal orientation and/or b) invested time and effort, and sometimes money, in creating and developing a new vocational context and/or c) altered his or her lifestyle and/or social network to adapt to a new vocational context. Participants were selected to represent a diverse range of types of career change, such as unpaid-to-paid work (H), apparent specialization within a field or vocational role (E and, to some extent, K), and adoption of new role identities that required retraining or advanced education (A, F, K, J).

An intensive single case design was used which integrated Q-methodology and structured interviews. Each subject was asked to Q-sort on salient figures from self, family-of-origin, and two distinct vocational arenas. The Q-sort item sample used 46 traits drawn from Holland's theory of personality types (1966) and utilized by McGregor
(1983) in a foundational study on role displacement in the work arena.

Each participant's Q-sort results were intercorrelated to obtain a correlation matrix of roles, which was then submitted to a principal components analysis. The data from all sources was examined to identify readily apparent major themes and patterns. Subjects were presented with the patterns identified to elicit subject elaboration and illumination of the meaning of apparent patterns. In identifying themes, the researcher particularly attended to subjects' use of parallels in descriptive language and emotional response when describing individuals and relationships from varied contexts. The statistically derived data were used as a basis for developing probes used in subject interviews. A portrait of the individual with regard to the meaning of career change in terms of family dramas was developed synthesizing Q-data and Meaning Interviews.

The results indicate a substantial interrelationship among roles between family and the vocational arenas across vocational contexts. The subjects' response to the statistical data confirmed through direct affirmation, indirect emotional response, and elaboration that re-enactment of family dramas occurred across vocational contexts. With one exception, (H), the career change was coincident with a shift in the subject's meaning framework.
in terms of family drama. In at least four cases (B, C, E, F), the shift in meaning was a shift in scope; that is, meaning frameworks remained consistent but expanding, encompassing more facets of the family drama. As expected, intensive case study suggested that the meaning of career change can be understood in terms of Type C law (Herbst, 1970) when viewed in terms of family dramas. That is, the specific nature and meaning of the career change was idiosyncratic, but in each case displacement of family dramas appeared to occur across vocational arenas, and use of family as metaphor served to reveal meaning. On the whole, when viewed in the context of the subject's lived-out experience in terms of dramas, career change appeared to reflect or express an expanded sense of meaning.
REFERENCES


Neugarten, B.L. 1968. Middle age and aging, a reader in social psychology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.


APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDENCES OF ±.30 BETWEEN CO-WORKERS AND SELF-REFERRANT ROLES, IDEAL VOCATIONAL ROLES, AND/OR FAMILY FIGURE ROLES
Appendix A

Correspondences of ±.30 Between Co-Workers and Self-Referrant Roles, Ideal Vocational Roles, and/or Family Figure Roles

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<th>Vocation 2</th>
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Appendix A continued

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<td>Voc. 1</td>
<td>Voc. 2</td>
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| Case G: Vocation 1 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Lead Man |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Lead Lady | .33      | .39  | .71  | .48   |       |       |     |                   | .42/.59            |
| Peer     |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   | .60/- .50/.43      |
| Audience | .37      | .40  | .58  |       |       |       |     |                   | .39/- .51/.47      |

| Case G: Vocation 2 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Buyer     | .31      | .42  | .55  | .32   | .44   |       |     |                   | .45/.33            |
| Partner  | .33      | .32  |      |       |       |       |     |                   | .41               |
| Subordinate | .36     |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   | .34               |

| Case H: Vocation 1 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague a | .47      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Peer      |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   | .31               |
| Colleague b | -.40    | .32  | .30  |       |       |       |     |                   | -.31              |

| Case H: Vocation 2 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Supervisor |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Mentor a  | .61      | .52  | .66  | .39   |       |       |     |                   | .49/.39            |
| Mentor b  | .35      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague a | .43     | .36  | .41  | .45   |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague b | .36     | .36  |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |

| Case J: Vocation 1 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Manager  | .32      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Owner    | .33      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Customer | .43      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague | .37    | .45  | .40  | .38   |       |       |     |                   |                   |

| Case J: Vocation 2 |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Boss     |          |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague a | .55     |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague b | -.47   | .56  | .56  | .47   |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Student  | .53      | .56  |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Colleague c | .47     | .35  | .35  | .33   |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Mentor   | .35      |      |      |       |       |       |     |                   |                   |
| Role          | Case K: Vocation 1 | | Case K: Vocation 2 | | | | | Other Family Roles |
|--------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|---|---|---|---|
|              | Basic Self        | Ideal Self | Self in Voc. 1 Role | Self in Voc. 2 Role | Voc. 1 Ideal | Voc. 2 Ideal | Self-referrant Roles in Family |
| Peer         | 0.51 0.66         | 0.83 0.76 | 0.74 0.74 | 0.34 0.44 | -0.35 0.54 0.67 |
| Professor    | -0.45             | -0.54 0.51 | -0.57 0.66 | -0.55 | 0.48 0.56 0.52 |
| Boss         | 0.56             | 0.49 0.45 | 0.52 0.69 | 0.40 0.57 |
| Supervisor a | 0.59 0.49         | 0.55 0.49 | 0.54 0.37 0.30 | 0.39 0.40 |
| Client       | 0.34 0.40         | 0.43 0.61 | 0.49 0.53 | 0.35 0.41 |
| Mentor       | 0.47             | 0.48 0.56 | 0.44 0.41 | 0.32 0.37 0.40 |
APPENDIX B

± .30 CORRESPONDENCES OF SELF-AS-VOCATIONAL ROLES (1 AND 2) TO OTHER VARIANTS OF SELF AND VOCATIONAL IDEALS FOR 10 CASE SUBJECTS
Appendix B

.30 Correspondences of Self-as-Vocational Roles (1 and 2) to Other Variants of Self and Vocational Ideals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self as Voc. Role</th>
<th>I Basic Self</th>
<th>II Ideal Self</th>
<th>III Voc. Ideal 1</th>
<th>IV Voc. Ideal 2</th>
<th>V Self-Roles From Family</th>
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APPENDIX C

±.30 CORRESPONDENCES OF SELF-AS-VOCATIONAL ROLES (1 AND 2) TO ROLE FIGURES FROM EARLY FAMILY (INCLUDING SELF-REFERRANT ROLES) FOR 10 CASE SUBJECTS
Appendix C

±.30 Correspondences of Self-as-Vocational Roles (1 and 2) to Role Figures from Early Family (Including Self-Referrant Roles)

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