Conceptualising Women's Working Lives

CAREER DEVELOPMENT SERIES
Connecting Theory and Practice
Volume 5

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Scope
Recent developments in the literature on career have begun to reflect a greater global reach and acknowledgement of an international/global understanding of career. These developments have demanded a more inclusive understanding of career as it is experienced by individuals around the world. Related issues within the career literature include the relationships within the career theory literature, or theory integration and convergence, and between theory and practice. The influence of constructivism is another influence which is receiving sustained attention within the field.

The series will be cutting edge in focusing on each of these areas, and will be truly global in its authorship and application. The primary focus of the series is the **theory-practice** nexus.

Conceptualising Women's Working Lives

Moving the Boundaries of Discourse

Edited by

Wendy Patton
Queensland University of Technology, Australia

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to David Gardiner AM, mentor and supporter of my career, and of many other women's careers

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PREFACE

This is the fifth and final book in the Sense Publishers Career Development Series.

The present book features the vibrant work of contributors writing in the field of women's working lives. It emphasises the need to explore theoretical connections and understandings in order to facilitate a holistic and inclusive understanding of women's working lives. The writers in the current volume acknowledge the changing roles of women, in public and private spheres. Women's roles in paid work are changing both in their nature and the type of engagement. In addition, with an ageing population, women's roles in care work are increasingly being extended from child care to aged care. Thank you to all the contributors in this volume for your valuable chapters.

As Editor of this book, and of the Career Development Series, it is wonderful to see the connections from previous books in the Series being brought together in this work. It is also noteworthy, in relation to the connections between theories and particular areas of application, that a number of authors have contributed to more than one book in the Series.

Finally when the Series was proposed in 2005 it was specifically targeted to showcase new (for example, integration between vocational psychological and organisational perspectives on career; social constructionism in vocational psychology) and generally underrepresented fields (for example children's and young people's career development and the working lives of women) in the career development literature. It is an honour to have worked with so many passionate contributors to the career development field during that time. I trust the five books serve as key volumes for many years to come.

Wendy Patton

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Carmel M. Diezmann is the Assistant Dean (Research) in the Faculty of Education at Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia. She is particularly interested in building research capacity in academics, and undergraduate and graduate students; fostering high performance in these individuals; and achieving excellence in educational research.

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Margaret M. Hopkins is an Associate Professor of Management in the College of Business and Innovation at the University of Toledo. She earned her masters' and doctoral degrees from Case Western Reserve University. Her research interests include gender and leadership, women and leadership, and leadership development. She has published in journals such as Career Development International, Group and Organization Management, Human Resource Management, and the Journal of Business Ethics.

Carly J. Lassig earned her PhD at Queensland University of Technology, Australia, and is a Lecturer in their Faculty of Education. She has worked in multidisciplinary and mixed methods research teams. Carly has published and presented research in the areas of creativity, 21st century skills and teaching, gifted and talented education, inclusive education, and postgraduate pedagogy.

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Wendy Patton is Executive Dean, Faculty of Education at Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia. She has taught and researched in the areas of career development and counselling for more than 20 years. She has co-authored and co-edited a number of books, and is currently Series Editor of the Career Development Series with Sense Publishers. She has published widely with more than 100 refereed journal articles and book chapters. She serves on a number of national and international journal editorial boards.

Mary Sue Richardson is a Professor in the Department of Applied Psychology at New York University, Steinhardt School of Education, Culture, and Human Development. She has written extensively in the area of vocational psychology with a focus on developing a perspective that is inclusive of both women's and men's work experience.

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Donna E. Schultheiss is Professor and Co-Director of Training of Counseling Psychology at Cleveland State University, Ohio. Dr. Schultheiss was recently awarded the John Holland Award for Outstanding Achievement in Career and Personality Research by Division 17 of the American Psychological Association, and the award for the Most Outstanding Research Contribution in Career Development Quarterly. She is a Fellow of Division 17 of APA, serves as Chair of the Society for Vocational Psychology (Section of Division 17 of APA), and is on the editorial boards of Journal of Counseling Psychology and Journal of Vocational Behavior. Her research interests include the interface of work and relationships, international issues in vocational psychology, women's work, and childhood career development.

Juliette Spearman is a psychologist currently living and working in Hong Kong who graduated from Monash University with a Masters of Psychology (Education and Development). Juliette's thesis examined the influence of actual and perceived classroom environments on girls' motivations for science, an area that she still has a keen interest in due to the wider issue of redressing the gender imbalance in science, mathematics, engineering and technology careers. Juliette's work in Hong Kong involves teaching social and emotional resiliency classes, conducting psycho-educational assessments, and individual therapy for children and adolescents.

Mark Watson is a Professor in the Department of Psychology at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, South Africa, where he teaches and researches on career development across the lifespan. He is the author of journal articles, books, book chapters, and serves on the editorial boards of several journals.

Helen M. G. Watt is an Associate Professor of Education, Monash University, Australia. Her interests include motivation, gendered educational and occupational choices, motivations for teaching, longitudinal research, and quantitative methods. Her current work has implications for redressing the gender imbalance in mathematics- and science-related careers, and supporting career development for beginning teachers.

PART 1

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

CHAPTER 1

WENDY PATTON

UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S WORKING LIVES

INTRODUCTION

The last 50 years have produced multiple changes in our understanding of the place of paid and unpaid work in women's lives. A growing theoretical, research and practical literature attests to the attention being directed to the broader understanding of women's working lives. It is more than thirty years since the groundbreaking paper by Fitzgerald and Crites' (1980) on the career psychology of women. Prior to that time women's careers were seen as primarily home based or "in relation to" men's careers. In 1975 Osipow had commented on the lack of usefulness of traditional theories of career behaviour for women in that several basic assumptions on which they were founded were not relevant. For example, traditional career theory is based on the assumption that an array of career choices is available to all individuals, who are in turn motivated to pursue their personal interests in making certain choices. A comment on the state of vocational psychology in relation to class made by Tyler in 1967 highlights the inadequacy of application to women: – "much of what we know about the stages through which an individual passes as *he* prepares to find *his* place in the world of work might appropriately be labelled the vocational development of white middle class males" [italics in original] (p. 62). Gilligan's (1979) classic article entitled "woman's place in man's life cycle" emphasised the restriction of many theories of psychology in understanding women's lives as they implicitly adopted male as norm and failed to account for the unique social and family situation of women and the related demands on them.

During the 1980s and 1990s theorists attempted to specifically consider women's careers, albeit still within a traditional frame. However, criticisms remain about the failure of much career development theory to adequately account for the lives of women. Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) acknowledged that although the field had burgeoned in the past twenty years, much more work needs to be done to develop theoretical understandings which highlight the unique experience of women's career development. Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) continued to advocate the examination of variables not relevant to men as a "viable theoretical stance" for the future (p. 261). More recently, Blustein, (2001, 2006), Richardson (1993, 2000) and Schultheiss

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(2003, 2009) have provided new frameworks for consideration of women's working lives.

In too many instances, scholars in the field have continued to develop an understanding of women's working lives within the traditional framework of white male middle-class careers. Thus there remains considerable theoretical shortcoming about the nature and development of women's careers despite consistent support in the literature for the assumption that meaningful work is central to women's lives. This chapter will examine current understandings around women's careers including the variables which inhibit or facilitate women's career behaviour. The chapter will present a review of the current demographic information in relation to women in the work force, and then provide a brief historical overview of theoretical approaches which have offered explanations of women's career behaviour. It will conclude with questions for the future.

Women in the Workforce

It is clear that despite sociocultural changes in previous decades, which resulted in women having an increased presence in the workforce and in higher education, gender imbalances still exist. Women's increased representation in the workforce and in undergraduate and postgraduate courses has not significantly changed their representation in the higher levels of both academic and corporate hierarchies.

Examining trends in women's paid and unpaid work may offer some insight into the gender imbalance. There has been a well documented increase in the number of women in the workforce, from 40% of adult women employed in 1970 to more than 70% employed in 2007 in the US (US Census Bureau, 2011) and 48% to 55% between 1992 and 2006 in Australia (ABS, 2009a). Interestingly despite this increase in women's engagement in the paid workforce, women still complete approximately two thirds of all household work (ABS, 2009a). An element of this household work is child care, an area which continues to impact on the career choices of women. Women spent more than two and a half times as long caring for children in 2006 when compared with men (ABS, 2009b). For example in Australia, in families with both parents in paid work, 67% of mothers felt pressed for time as a result of attempting to balance work and family responsibilities, whereas only 49% of fathers reported this perception (ABS, 2009b). With the growth in the aging population right across the world, the role of carers for the elderly will become increasingly important and it is this area that women again dominate. In Australia, in 2003, 17 per cent of women cared for someone who needed assistance due to a disability, a long term health condition, frailty or age (ABS, 2009c) compared to 14 per cent of men. Further, women were more likely to take on a caring role at an earlier age (ABS, 2009c).

More women now hold tertiary qualifications than men. In Australia in 1999, 16% of both males and females aged 15–64 years held a tertiary qualification of Bachelor degree or higher. These proportions had altered to 18% and 20% respectively by

2004 and by mid-2009, further extended to 21% of males and 25% of females in 2010 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). In the US in 2007 women graduated with 57% of Bachelors' degrees and 58.5% of Masters' degrees (Catalyst, 2007). The OECD Education at a Glance Report (2011) noted that across the 27 OECD countries, tertiary graduation rates for young women were notably higher than those for young men—the OECD average was 46% for young women and 31% for young men. In several countries, the difference was more than 25% age points.

However very few women are at the top of the managerial pipeline. Representation across and within fields is still disparate. Women remain under-represented in the powerful positions in the world's top companies. The Australian Census of Women in Leadership (the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency, 2010) reveals the lack of representation of women in the top 200 Australian companies by market capitalisation. In 2010, of the 200 companies, only five boards had a female Chair and only six had a female CEO (EOWA, 2010). This means women make up 2.5% of Chairs and 3% of CEOs. Women represent almost half of the workforce overall at 45%; comprise 48% of graduates from management and commerce study areas and are 45 per cent of managers and professionals (EOWA, 2010; DEEWR, 2010a). In the top 200 in Australia, for every female Board Director, there are ten males and for every female CEO, there are 32 male CEOs (EOWA, 2010). Women were 8.4% of the Board Directors in 2010, 8.3% in 2008, 8.7% in 2006 and 8.2% in 2004 (EOWA, 2010). This indicates that there has been very little change in the number of board seats held by women over the last six years. These data are reflected internationally, with the United States at 15.2 per cent, South Africa 16.6% and Canada 14% (EOWA, 2010).

Summary

Although women are more present in the workplace than in the past, their representation in senior levels of professional positions remains unequal. Women are enrolled in, and complete tertiary courses more than men. However, while the number of women in the workforce has increased, the nature of their participation continues to differ greatly from that of men (Betz, 2005; Burke & Vinnicombe, 2005). Women's employment is more likely to be part-time than men's, and concentrated in a small number of occupational categories. In addition, women tend to enter and remain in low paying, low status positions. These differences are suggestive of structural opportunity differences operating in relation with gender differences. In addition, women remain the primary carers in families, of children and the aged, and still complete the significant majority of household tasks. Indeed Fitzgerald and Harmon (2001) asserted that the ongoing role of women in unpaid care work in addition to their increased participation in market work is "one of the most intransigent conditions affecting women's career development; that is the dramatic increase in their work participation implies that they are now expected to cope simultaneously with two full-time jobs" (p. 215). The next section contextualises these ostensible

differences in the workforce through an overview of the definition of career in the contemporary world.

CHANGING UNDERSTANDINGS AND DEFINITIONS OF CAREER

Definitions of career have until recently been separate for females and males, with males' careers being assumed to be chosen during post-adolescence and remaining quite static throughout life. Females' careers were expected to be chosen as a temporary measure, until the full-time "career" of motherhood and homemaking. Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) and Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) maintained that defining homemaking as a career choice, that is "equating of a nonstructured noncompensated set of activities (i.e., housekeeping, which has no requirements for entry, no structured standards for performance, nor even necessarily any broad agreement on the nature and extent of the tasks involved) with the standard notion of occupation appears to render the terminology scientifically useless" (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987, p. 89). While one of the arguments proffered for not accepting this definition is that women will continue to be undervalued in the paid workforce, other writers have suggested that valuing traditional women's work only by the rituals of traditional notions of male employment is also a gross underestimation (Gallos, 1989; Marshall, 1989).

Empirical reports have shown consistently that the meaning of work is as potent for women as it is for men. Astin's (1984) model was one of the major attempts to propose a comprehensive theory to explain the career development of women and men. She believed that her subsequent sociopsychological model (discussed later in this chapter) was able to explain the occupational behaviour of both women and men, maintaining that "work motivation is the same for men and women, but they make different choices because their early socialization experiences and structural opportunities are different" (p. 118). The scholarship of a number of authors (e.g., Betz, 1993, 1994a; Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Cook, 1993) has more fully confirmed the notion that female aspiration "was not absent or deficient, but blocked" (Fitzgerald & Harmon, 2001, p. 218).

The broad and radical changes in the workforce generally have prompted changes in our understanding of the meaning of work in individuals' lives. Parallel to the increasing focus on women's career behaviour is the increasing reconceptualisation of the notion of career. The literature is consistent in emphasising that the nature of future careers will be increasingly nonlinear, indeed that a combination of a number of positions, projects and roles, or of jobs, may constitute a career (Hall, 1996). In this context, a career relates to the meaning an individual gives to this pattern of work and nonwork opportunities. Herr (1992) emphasised that careers need to be construed as the creations of individuals; the word career can no longer be regarded as synonymous with job or occupation. Individuals need to "regard themselves as being self-employed" (Collin & Watts, 1996, p. 391), as they are expected to "manage their own career" (Savickas, 1997a, p. 256). Collin and Watts (1996) also asserted

that "the concept of career needs to be reconstrued as the individual's development in learning and work throughout life" (p. 393).

The current thinking about career is similar in many ways to the experience of many women. Traditional definitions of career have assumed male hierarchical careers, chosen during post adolescence and remaining quite continuous and static throughout life. Females' careers were expected to be chosen as a temporary measure, until the full-time 'career' of motherhood and homemaking. Rather, many women's career patterns can be conceptualised as a range of working positions interspersed with periods of child care. Women's vocational behaviour is arguably more complex than men's as it is frequently characterised by child-care responsibilities resulting in different employment patterns (Bimrose, 2001). Other careers such as motherhood, paid full-time and part-time employment, voluntary work, are then eligible to be included in the structure since these too provide opportunities for self-growth and may be viewed as potentially meaningful lifecareer experiences. Crompton and Harris (1998) proposed an alternative framework for explaining women's career patterns which allows the possibility of women "desiring both 'employment' and 'family' careers" (p. 123), with their work commitment varying according both to the stage reached in their lifestyle and context, emphasising that women's orientations to employment and family life were complex and variable (Crompton & Harris). More recently, in a study of professional women who had left organisational life to develop portfolio careers, Cohen, Duberley and Mallon (2004) reported that while the majority of women "continued to describe a fundamental attachment to work and to vertical progression in their career … they framed the move to self-employment as a desire for independence, autonomy, personal growth, learning, and balance" (p. 418), not a last ditch effort to leave the complexity of conforming to prevailing male career norms within organisations.

Overall, it would seem then, that the traditional linear developmental and hierarchical conception of career in the vocational literature is not adequate to explain women's perceptions of and experiences of their working life. It can be seen that the concept of career varies for women depending on their life context and life stage. New perspectives and construction of a career theory that takes into consideration life experiences and broader contexts are needed.

Fitzgerald and Weitzman (1992) have argued that "the career development of women, although not fundamentally different from that of men, is demonstrably more complex due to a socialization process that has emphasised the dichotomy of work and family since at least the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century" (p. 125). Another important issue is the heterogeneity of women; they also differ from each other. Fitzgerald et al. (1995) raised questions about the dearth of information we have about women of colour, lesbians, and poor women, and emphasised that in learning more about the career psychology of individual differences, we will also learn more about commonalities. Indeed in a response to a model depicting an ecological approach to the career development of women, Betz (2002) emphasised that "the concept of individual differences within, as well as between, the genders

must remain paramount in career theory and counselling approaches" (p. 335). The breadth and complexity of the definition of career for women needs to be emphasised within the framework of the competency and contribution of all women's work, market and unpaid, as acknowledged and undertaken by each individual woman.

Blustein (2001, 2006) and Richardson (2000) emphasised the lack of consideration in much of the career literature of a focus on work experiences for individuals who are self-employed, who have broken careers and who engage in part-time or unskilled work. The inclusive psychology of working paradigm developed by Blustein emphasises inclusion of groups traditionally marginalised in discussions about "career", including women, people of colour and non-middle class individuals. Blustein asserted the need to reconceptualise our notion of work and to emphasise its interconnections to other domains of human experience – noting that doing this "would go a long way to contextualising the psychological study of working, which is consistent with its integrative location in contemporary life" (2001, p. 178). Richardson (2012) proposed an extension of her work and relationship perspective (Richardson, 1993, 1996, 2000), suggesting that there are two major contexts of work, market work and unpaid care work, and that these exist in addition to relationship contexts. Within this perspective, women's working lives are not measured or defined within the traditional notion of a linear career and Richardson emphasises the imperative that we embrace a much more flexible way to define and propose the meaning of career which also acknowledges women's diversity. Richardson proposes that the key question which should guide our thinking is "How do women construct lives of meaning through work and relationship?" (Richardson, personal communication, June 10, 2010).

However, Richardson (2000) cautions that the new career ideology leads to a greater potential for placing individuals, many of whom will be women, at risk of not succeeding—that is, the emphasis on the "new career entrepreneur" represents another opportunity for the strong to prosper and the weak (e.g., poorer, less educated, unskilled) to be additionally disadvantaged. She emphasises that "workers, more than ever, are on their own" (p. 203) and asserts that "the world is changing and people need to be empowered to adapt to this world and to influence the world to adapt to their needs, desires, and goals" (p. 206).

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S WORKING LIVES

Not all writers are convinced that a separate theory for women's career behaviour is necessary. Osipow (1983) concluded that "substantial differences exist to warrant attempts to develop distinctive theories for each gender" (p. 263). Similarly, Gallos (1989) emphasised that women's distinctively different voice and needs lead to a different perspective on career, and different choices, priorities and patterns, all of which need to be recognised and understood. This section of the chapter will present an overview of the theoretical literature.

Early Theorists

Early theorists focused on women's careers as being connected to marriage and child rearing (Psathas, 1968; Zytowski, 1969) and indeed as a "fill-in" between education and these roles. These limited theoretical discussions have been criticised for the limited roles afforded to women, for the suggestion that work role and home role are mutually exclusive, and for the suggestion that career roles for women are less important than home roles. However it needs to be acknowledged that these theories are a product of their time and context where powerful influences reinforced gender based socialisation in limiting choices for women, both in the choice between career and homemaker, and within the range of available occupations.

Major Post-War Theories

Both of the major theoretical formulations of the post-war period, the work of Super and Holland, made some attempt to recognise career behaviour of and for women (see Patton & McMahon, 2006 for a more detailed discussion). The 1957 original theory formulation of Super acknowledged the central role of homemaking in women's lives and the post-war increase of women entering the workforce. Super identified seven categories for explaining women's career patterns. These included the stable homemaking pattern (women who married early into full time homemaking); the conventional career pattern (work until marriage and then homemaking); the stable working pattern (work in the paid workforce for life); the double track career pattern (ongoing combination of career and homemaking roles); the interrupted career pattern (a return to work, usually following children leaving home); the unstable career pattern (irregular movement in and out of the workforce); and the multiple-trial career pattern, indicating a multiple change in work life. While these patterns have changed since their first formulation, they were an important early attempt to illustrate the relationship between work and family throughout women's lives.

Super also proposed specific developmental stages through which an individual passes in formulating career decisions. Each of these stages required the completion of developmental tasks prior to their successful completion. Later statements (e.g., Super, 1980) acknowledged that these stages may be encountered at more than one time in life. The stage approach was less than satisfactory in understanding women's work behaviour as they were based on male career planning uninterrupted by marriage and childrearing. Osipow (1983) noted that the exploration stage, for example, was often not truly engaged in by most women as career plans were made pending marriage plans; rather, women often engaged in exploration and career planning following childrearing if they were entering or re-entering the paid work force.

In 1980 Super proposed a reformulation of his work. Within this modification he suggested the notion of a life-space, in which the many varied roles which contribute to a broad notion of career (child, student, leisurite, worker, citizen, homemaker)

could be acknowledged. These additional classifications served to offer a useful way of understanding the complexity of women's career patterns. However explaining women's career motivation posed some questions. Super's empirical work suggested the importance of self-concept and work importance, however Perun and Bielby (1981) suggested that women's self-concept may be affected by the work-family decision and subsequent role conflict. Although Super and Nevill (1984) indicated that importance of work as a major life role is more significant in relation to career maturity than either gender or social class, Fitzgerald and Weitzman (1992) have reiterated that "traditional socialization processes do not prepare women for the complex nature of the choices they will make or the life roles they will face" (p. 135).

Holland's theory (1985, 1992, 1997) of vocational choice posited that an individual's knowledge of self and the world of work interact to facilitate career choice. The individual engages in a complex process during which elements of personality are related to specific occupational frameworks. The theory proposed a hexagonal model of individual and workplace personalities (Realistic, Individual, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional [RIASEC]). Holland (1996) described his theory as a "one-size-fits-all-groups approach" (p. 9). While he suggested that research supported this proposition, he acknowledged somewhat provocatively that "some people, including some well-educated middle-class White women, disagree" (p. 9). It is indisputable that the pervasiveness of gender role socialisation continues to concentrate women in low level jobs, and out of jobs that require, in particular, thorough grounding in Mathematics and Science. Further, Fitzgerald and Weitzman (1992) pointed out that certain occupational environments essentially remain closed to women, in particular the Realistic and Investigative environments, while women are found in large numbers in clerical and service occupations. These authors also raised questions about the notion of congruence between personality and occupational characteristics for many women. For example, personal preference may be compromised because of family or financial security demands. Fitzgerald and Weitzman referred to the concepts of *satisficing* and *optimization* to explain the compromise between choosing a job which is not wholly congruent with career interests on the basis of congruence with other role (e.g., family) demands.

The major theoretical basis of stereotypes in formulating decisions about occupational interests remains a major limitation in applying Holland's theory to women. While his 1985 work attempted to illustrate the application of the typology to distinguish between women who became homemakers and those who became career women, it remains limited in failing to acknowledge the powerful restrictive impact of gender socialisation. A large body of research (see Betz, 1994a) has emphasised the impact of early socialisation of girls into certain occupational fields.

Theories for Women and Men

During the 1980s a number of attempts to develop theories applicable to both men and women were made. Both attempts (Astin, 1984; Gottfredson, 1981, 1996)

also reflected early attempts to integrate individual and environmental influences in explaining career behaviour. Astin's (1984) model was based on an invitation to prepare "a comprehensive yet parsimonious theoretical statement" (p. 117) on women's career development. She believed that her subsequent sociopsychological model was able to be used to explain the occupational behaviour of women and men, maintaining that "work motivation is the same for men and women, but they make different choices because their early socialization experiences and structural opportunities are different" (p. 118). Astin's model incorporates four major constructs: motivation, work expectations, sex role socialisation, and the structure of opportunity. She proposed that an individual's motivation for work behaviour is related to the need for survival, pleasure and the making of a societal contribution. Career choices therefore are related to accessibility of various occupations, and the expectation of the individual that these three needs will be met. She acknowledges that these expectations are related to early gendered socialisation, and the structure of opportunity, each of which interact with the other. Factors incorporated within the structure of opportunity include distribution of jobs, sex typing of jobs, discrimination, job requirements, the economy, family structure, and reproductive technology. Astin emphasised that changes in the structure of opportunity (for example in reproductive technology) can lead to considerable change in women's career expectations.

Although Astin's work introduced new concepts into the women's career behaviour field (e.g., structure of opportunity), it drew mixed responses. Gilbert (1984) suggested that any discussion of women's careers needed to move away from a male model as the starting point; while in a similar vein Farmer raised the need for "caring values" to be incorporated into the career domain "rather than [be] at odds with it" (Farmer, 1984, p. 142). Kahn (1984) lamented the reduction in importance of the family role at the expense of the work role.

Very little empirical work has attempted to test Astin's model (Brown & Brooks, 1990; Hackett & Lent, 1992). Poole, Langan-Fox, Ciavarella and Omodei (1991) noted support for Astin's model in confirming the importance of socialisation, structure of opportunity and expectations, and in supporting the need to consider gender differences in socialisation and structure of opportunity. These authors recommended refinement of Astin's model and suggested a contextualist framework which links individual development to location in historical time. Fitzgerald et al. (1995) noted that there is a general difficulty in operationalising the theory's constructs, in particular structure of opportunity, and suggested that it may be more useful to view it as a general conceptual framework rather than a theory.

The second model to be discussed, that proposed by Gottfredson (1981, 1996, 2002, 2005), focused on processes of *circumscription* and *compromise* relevant to women and men. Gottfredson developed self-concept theory further, and also extended the integration between psychological and environmental variables, by proposing that self-concept is a merger between the psychological variables and environmental variables involved in career choice. She proposed that self-concept (being derived from and related to gender, social class, intelligence, interests and

values) interacts with occupational images (sex type, prestige, and field of work) to determine an individual's occupational preferences. Together with perceptions of job accessibility which incorporate perceptions of opportunities and barriers, a range of acceptable alternatives is formulated. Her model highlights the relevance of sex role socialisation of women and men, whereby individuals make decisions based on sex type of occupations and perceptions of opportunities and barriers. Gender type, for example, influences career choice because individuals narrow their perceived appropriate occupational alternatives based on societal notions of gender appropriate careers. In addition, Gottfredson asserted that the age at which individuals will narrow their occupational alternatives is between 6 and 8, and that once this circumscription (narrowing) is set, individuals will rarely consider outside it. Gottfredson also maintained that individuals make compromises between preferences and employment realities, and that when these compromises are made, individuals sacrifice first their interests (field of work), then their desired prestige levels, and last their preferred sex type. This proposition reinforces the perceived importance of gender role stereotypes in career choice.

Individual Differences Models

The 1980s also saw a number of models which were attempting to develop explanations about women's career behaviour through a focus on individual differences between women and men on specific variables. These include the work of Farmer (1985), and Betz, Fitzgerald and Fassinger (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Fassinger, 1985, 1990). Farmer (1985) proposed that background characteristics and personal variables interact to foster achievement and career motivation. Background variables (e.g., gender, race, social class, school location, age), interact with personal psychological variables (e.g., self-esteem, values, homemaking attitude and commitment, success attributions), and environmental variables (e.g., societal attitude to women working, support from teachers and parents). These variables in turn are hypothesised to influence three motivational factors: level of aspirations, mastery strivings, and career commitment. Research testing this model has generally supported the salience of background factors such as gender-based attitudes, support, and commitment to career and family in career aspirations and choices. Farmer (1997) reported data that found that many women do not consider career as either/or in relation to family, but plan careers mindful of integrating them with home and family.

In their major review of career psychology of women, Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) summarised the literature and identified four sets of factors which influence women's career choices. These authors believed that theoretical models needed to be specifically focused on women's issues so as not to neglect any important variables. The factors deemed to be particularly crucial in promoting realism of career choice included individual variables (e.g., self-concept, ability, liberated sex role values); background variables (e.g., parental support, parents' education level and occupational status, work experience); educational variables (e.g., women's schools,

higher education, continuation in Mathematics); and adult lifestyle variables (e.g., timing of marriage, number of children). These variables were hypothesised to be causally ordered.

Fassinger (1985, 1990) tested the Betz and Fitzgerald model and proposed several refinements. Her 1985 study found ability, achievement orientation, and feminist orientation to be independent variables influencing family and career orientation and career choice. In her 1990 study, higher ability levels interacting with aspects of personal agency (e.g., instrumentality and self-efficacy) and sex role attitudes, specifically a feminist orientation, influenced career orientation and career choice.

Extensions from Existing Theories

A number of other theoretical discussions have attempted to either draw from existing theories (e.g., Hackett and Betz, 1981; Betz & Hackett, 1981) and Bandura's (1977) sociocognitive theory, or have attempted to draw from ecological or systems models to develop explanations of women's career behaviour. A more recent theoretical formulation, social cognitive theory of careers (Lent et al, 1994, 1996, 2002) has drawn on the revised work of Bandura (1986). Each one has direct application to our understanding of the career behaviour of women.

Self-efficacy theory refers to the belief or expectation that one can successfully perform a certain task or behaviour. Hackett and Betz (1981) recognised that women's socialisation mediates the cognitive processes which are crucial in career decision-making – "(Women) lack strong expectations of personal efficacy in relationship to many career related behaviors and thus fail to fully realize their capabilities and talents in career pursuits" (p. 326). Betz (1994b) continued in this vein in describing the importance of self-efficacy in career behaviour – "Because many behaviors or behavior domains are important in educational and career development, efficacy expectations are postulated to influence choice, performance, and persistence in career related domains" (p. 35).

Hackett and Betz (1981) attempted to explain the process of influence between socialisation and career behaviour using the four sources of self-efficacy developed by Bandura (1977). These sources include performance accomplishments, vicarious experiences (e.g., through role models), verbal persuasion, or the support and encourage of others, and emotional arousal with reference to a behaviour or domain of behaviour (the higher the arousal or anxiety, the reduction in self-efficacy). As an example specifically related to women's educational and career behaviour, if a woman had a level of success in mathematics, was aware of other women successful in mathematics related fields, received support and encouragement from others and had a low level of mathematics anxiety, she would be expected to develop high self-efficacy expectations in relation to mathematics.

In formulating their theory, Hackett and Betz (1981) reviewed evidence which showed the differences in relation to the efficacy information received by women and men. This information difference resulted in a broader variety of career options

exposed to men than to women, for example, significant gender differences were found in occupational self-efficacy expectations when traditionality of occupation was taken into account. Men's occupational self-efficacy was equivalent for both traditionally male and female dominated occupations, whereas women's occupational self-efficacy was lower than men's for traditional men's occupations and higher than men's for traditional female occupations. In addition, these gender differences were predictive of the range of occupations considered. Research reviewed in Betz and Hackett (1997) has supported the original contention that women's lower self-efficacy expectations with respect to a number of career variables serve as a relevant barrier to career choice and development. A considerable number of studies have supported these findings (see Betz, 1999, 2001), emphasising the theoretical and empirical support for the role of perceived self-efficacy as a mediator of gender differences in career and educational behaviours. In particular, Betz (1999) presented a theoretical and empirical argument for the mediation of self-efficacy expectations in the development and/or exploration of interests; that is that interest may be increased through success at related tasks.

Lent and Hackett (1994; Lent et al, 1994, 1996, 2002) have formulated a social cognitive theory of career to explain how academic and career interests develop, how individuals make and enact career-related choices, and how the construct of personal agency operates in terms of career outcomes. Drawn from Bandura (1986), this theory focuses on self-efficacy, expected outcome, and goal mechanisms, and how these reciprocally interact in an ongoing manner with individual factors (such as cognition), environment factors (such as support structures), and behavioural and learning factors.

Ecological or Systems Theories

A number of theoretical frameworks have been derived from ecological or systems theories and have tried to be encompassing in the what and how of women's career behaviour. The development of the Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006) has enabled a coherence to be given to the myriad of influences on the career development of all individuals. In addition, drawing on tenets of constructivism, this framework ensures that each individual's life construction is at the centre of the career development process, not a body of theory. The potential for this theoretical framework to fully enhance the usefulness of all theory in relation to women's career development continues to be explored.

Following the exploration of the utility of systems approaches to explaining the complexity of career development, Cook, Heppner and O'Brien (2002) developed an ecological model of women's career development. In focusing on women's multiple life roles and responsibilities, and the notion that many women may define themselves within a relational or collective context, as opposed to an individualistic perspective, these authors asserted the need for career development theorists to focus more on the contribution of individual and contextual influences to women's career behaviour.

Relational Theories

A focus on relational identity in understanding women's career behaviour has been derived from the notion of relational from the work of Chodorow (1978), Gilligan (1977, 1982), and Lyons (1983). Forrest and Mikolaitis (1986) noted that "women reflect their sense of identity primarily in terms of their connection to others" (p. 80); men on the other hand describe their sense of self by "differentiating themselves from others in terms of abilities and attributes" (p. 80). Because this construct is central to the self for both women and men, Forrest and Mikolaitis emphasised the importance of its incorporation into existing theories of career development. They offered an example by studying the theory of Holland, noting that women and men whose self-descriptions were connected or separate would be likely to choose related occupational fields. For example, women and men who would describe themselves as "connected", or who view relating to people as important, would be likely to choose occupations within the service area, for example teaching or nursing. However, the imbalance of women and men within these occupations may be explained by the greater support for women to be connected in their self-descriptions and for men to be separate. Such differences may go some way toward explaining some of the differences in the numbers of women and men in various occupations. In a similar vein, a mismatch between self-identity and work environment may also explain job dissatisfaction for females and for males.

More recently, a number of authors have extended our understanding of relationships and career development (Blustein, 2001, 2006; Blustein, Schultheiss & Flum, 2004; Schultheiss, 2003, 2009), emphasising that their theoretical ideas have been derived from a number of theoretical perspectives. The term *relational* is largely associated with the assumption that human beings are relational beings for whom developing and sustaining meaningful connections with others is a core activity. Theorists who adhere to these ideas "typically endorse the view that many aspects of interpersonal and intrapersonal struggles reflect human strivings for connection, affirmation, support, and attachment" (Schultheiss, 2007, p. 170). Blustein (2001) emphasised that relationships are central to human functioning and that relational systems are crucial throughout our lives. This focus on relational aspects in understanding women's work behaviour is evident in fields outside the psychology of working field. In a model which is reminiscent of the early work of Astin and Gottfredson, Mainiero and Sullivan (2005) developed the kaleidoscope career model (KCM) to provide a framework to understand women's career choices. This model emphasises that women make holistic choices which consider relationships, constraints and opportunities and that any understanding of women's careers needs to understand that women's relational lives and working lives are interconnected.

A number of new perspectives which provide insight into understanding women's working lives are also relevant in this discussion. The psychology of working paradigm (discussed earlier in this chapter: Blustein, 2006; Richardson, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2012) emphasises a more inclusive approach to understanding

work in individuals' lives. These authors argue for the refocusing of career theory, research and practice on all work and thereby addressing the lives of those ignored with a focus on a limited notion of career. Viewing work in this broader way can address the limited way existing careers literature has addressed gender, social class, family background and cultural characteristics. Richardson has argued that career is a limited and irrelevant concept subject to a middle class bias; she proposes that theoreticians and practitioners explore the meaning of work individuals make for themselves. Richardson (1993) defined work as human activity that is initiated "for individual success and satisfaction, to express achievement and strivings, to earn a living... to further ambitions and self-assertions... and to link individuals to a larger social good" (p. 428). Within this framework voluntary and unpaid work, and new understandings of care work, are included in individuals' understandings or work and career. More recently Richardson has extended our understanding of the discourse of care work (2012; Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013) to propose a broad model of working for both women and for men.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS

It is evident that the construction of a unified theoretical understanding of women's working lives and careers remains incomplete – and perhaps it always will. The above discussion presents a field that remains complex, disparate and evolving, with existing theorists continuing to incorporate women's issues into their frameworks or rejecting the value of doing so, and individual differences models addressing different dimensions. For example, Farmer (1985) focused on three dimensions of achievement motivation, Astin (1984) elaborated a more broad sociopsychological model, and Betz and Fitzgerald's (1987) factors relevant to the realism of women's career choices continue to be refined (Fassinger, 1990). Richardson's recent work reconceptualises how we view "career" and "work" (2012; Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013). The frameworks discussed in this chapter have highlighted the importance of relevant background factors such as gender, ethnicity, educational and occupational level of parents, and socioeconomic status to women's career related behaviour. Similarly, they have addressed in different ways the importance of socialisation processes. While internal traits and attitudes have also been shown to be important in women's career related behaviour, the interaction of these with processes of socialisation has not been adequately addressed. For example, if relational identity is socially constructed, can it be incorporated within a male identity? How do women learn gender role attitudes which are career positive, family positive, or amenable to a balance of both with minimal conflict? Betz (2002) expressed caution about the traditional expectation that work/family conflict is a reality for all women, noting that not all women are relationally oriented and that for some women there is no conflict between career and family – "career *is* [italics in original] the top and in some cases the only priority" (p. 338). Within the same framework, Fitzgerald et al. (1995) cited research which continued

to show an inverse relationship between being married and number of children with every known criterion of career involvement and achievement and that "this continues to be the main difference between women's career development and that of men" (p. 73).

Much existing work includes "point in time" descriptions and explanations. Hackett and Lent (1992) discussed this succinctly when they reminded us that "social changes impact social roles generally, and women's roles in particular. These shifts may shorten the shelf life of past research findings; they also highlight the need for researchers to attend to current social realities and their interaction with career development processes" (p. 439). The world continues to undergo repeated and ongoing change and the importance of the inclusion of change in theorising about career and individuals' lives is crucial.

Despite these issues, theoretical work in the career psychology of women has drawn attention to variables which were previously unspecified. An important contribution of this work has also been the increased understanding of issues relevant to the career development of men. In focusing on gender as a group variable, theorists have also identified the importance of the heterogeneity of each gender group, and indeed of individuals generally. Fitzgerald et al. (1995) presented this important development as follows:

> Thus from a focus on the ways in which women are different from and similar to men, the question arises, How are we different from – and similar to – one another? And what implications does this have for our relationship to work and family? (p. 102).

In addition to focusing on gender as a variable, recently theorists have argued for a broader conceptualisation of career development. Noting the demise of the recognition of care work with the industrial revolution, and the increasing focus on career development as relevant to paid work only, these authors have suggested that we need to emphasise the public and private spheres of work and re-emphasise the importance of care work *and* market work (Richardson, 2012, Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013; Schultheiss, 2003, 2009, 2013). For example, in this volume, Richardson and Schaeffer (2013) propose a dual model of working for women's and men's lives. Similarly, Schultheiss (2013) affirms the need for career development to include a broadening recognition of women's work than paid work alone, describing a relational cultural paradigm to set a framework for this broader discussion.

To enable full recognition of women's contribution to work, and to facilitate full choice for women in the future, it is evident that career theory needs to broaden its definitions and its conceptualisation of variables. It is also imperative that adaptability to change and a less restricted worldview of women's place in and contribution to public and private spheres needs to be incorporated into the discourse of career theory and practice. These developments in our field will be ongoing; indeed, the current volume contributes to these broader discussions.

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CHAPTER 2

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EXPANDING THE DISCOURSE: A DUAL MODEL OF WORKING FOR WOMEN'S (AND MEN'S) LIVES

In this chapter we propose a dual model of working as a conceptual lens through which to examine women's (and men's) working lives (Richardson & Schaeffer, in press). This dual model encompasses market or paid work in the market economy and unpaid care work in personal lives that includes care of persons (including the self), of relationships, of communities and organisations, and of the physical world (Tronto, 2009). This dual model of working expands the traditional meaning of work beyond work that is paid. It represents an extension of the counselling for work and relationship perspective that posits two major contexts of work, market work and unpaid care work, in addition to relationship contexts through which people co-construct their lives (Richardson, 2012a, 2012b). We propose this dual model of working in the spirit of advancing gender equity. That is, we hope that a dual model of working will facilitate the emergence of working practices across both market and unpaid care work that reduce gender differences and inequities.

The danger in proposing a dual model of working for women that includes care work, the traditional domain of women, is that it can be seen as potentially contributing to, reinforcing, or redoing traditional gender roles. Our aim is not to redo gender but to undo gender, that is, to degender working practices across both domains of working (Deutsch, 2007; Risman, 2009). Although working practices in market work contexts have been significantly degendered, this is not the case with respect to unpaid care work that continues to be done mostly by women. The success of this project to undo gender in working practices depends upon the engagement by men in care work (Connell, 2011).

Our proposal for a dual model of working begins with a discussion of the power of discourse followed by a historical and social analysis of the forces that have led to the crisis of care. The crisis of care, in turn, is associated with the emergence of the discourse of care. We then describe contemporary meanings of care that provide the basis for expanding the single model of working in market work contexts to a dual model of working in both market work and unpaid care work contexts. Following this discussion, we situate the dual model of working within the holistic counseling for work and relationship perspective as a template useful for counsellors and

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psychologists engaged in the process of helping both women and men co-construct their lives going forward. Finally, we conclude with some thoughts about the potential for a dual model of working to advance gender equity and social justice.

THE POWER OF DISCOURSE

The use of the term *discourse* signals that a social constructionist understanding of the ways that prevailing power structures are embedded in and conveyed by language is in play. Social constructionism is a philosophical perspective and position that has had a major impact on the social sciences, including psychology and counselling (Rorty, 1999; Gergen, 1994, 1999, 2001). While there is a range of positions within this philosophical perspective, social constructionism basically posits that subjective experience, our own visceral and embodied experience of the world we live in, is a product of selves interacting in social worlds. That is, experience does not arise primarily from within us: rather, experience is co-constructed as we engage with the social contexts in which we are embedded and in which we participate. This engagement in social contexts produces our experiential worlds.

Language, in turn, is a major aspect of this social context (Harre, 1994; Harre & Gillett, 1994; Henrique, Holloway, Unwin, & Venn, 1998; Shotter, 1993). We typically don't think about the language we use in our interactions with others or in the private conversations we have within ourselves. Most people naively think that language or the words we use are, more or less, representations of what exists in the world. For example, the word *tree* represents a tree: We would not think of referring to a chair as a tree. When we get to more complex constructs, however, what we call things or objects in the world is not so much a representation of what exists in the world, but how we have been led to talk and think about this world. In other words, our experience of the world is socially constructed through language. Our habitual ways of talking and thinking, in turn, are responsive to how power operates through language (Foucault, 1980; Parker, 1992, 2002, 2007). For example, the dictator trying to hold onto power in the face of street protests will label the protesters *an unruly mob*. Those who are protesting, in contrast, will see themselves and label themselves accordingly *freedom fighters*.

In relation to this chapter, many people, in the Western world at least, talk about and experience the work they do for pay as a career. As we will see, this terminology is a historical artefact of the rise of capitalism in the 20th century (Richardson, 2012). Conversely, no one really talked about care work until relatively recently. It is a term that is suffused with meanings that challenge a capitalist hegemony regarding central social values. It is a term that calls into question the univocal or unbridled power of markets and insists on equal attention to values having to do with care and connectedness. Thus, in proposing a dual model of working that addresses both market work and unpaid care work, we are proposing a language that posits, first, that there are two kinds of work and second, considers both kinds of work equally important. The language of the dual model of working reflects and encourages acceptance of and adherence to two competing sets of values, both of which are

important. Thus, this model is not anti-capitalistic; rather, it broadens the value base of what we consider to be progressive capitalistic economies.

The new model we propose is not a model that simply stitches together prevailing ways of talking and thinking about work and career into some kind of new arrangement or organisational structure. Instead, this new model challenges the prevailing discourse regarding how most people talk about and experience the work in their lives, that is, as career, and proposes that they talk about and experience this part of their lives as market work instead of career. It also proposes a second domain of work, that is, unpaid care work that most people, at least at this point, are not likely to talk about or experience as work at all. What we are proposing then is a radical reconfiguration of how people talk about and experience essential components of their lives having to do with the work they do.

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CRISIS OF CARE

Discourse about care work does not exist in a vacuum. The only reason that we can propose a dual model of working that encompasses market work and unpaid care work is that it is a conversation that is timely. Historical and social conditions are such that the issue of care work can be construed as a crisis in contemporary societies across the world (Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2002; Heymann, 2006; Lewis, 2001; Moen & Roehling, 2005; Perucci & Perucci, 2009). This crisis of care is associated with the emergence of a discourse about care work. How we respond to the crisis can be viewed as central to social progress in the 21st century. Although gender equity is a primary concern of ours, the significance of issues of care work, deeply intertwined with gender equity, transcends gender equity. We propose that a dual model of working encompassing market work and unpaid care work for both women and men can make a significant contribution to the degenderisation of working practices, the revaluation of care work, and an improvement in the lives of all.

This review of the historical and social conditions that have given rise to the crisis of care and the emergence of care work discourse begins with a discussion of the ways that career, and work and family discourse mirrored changes in the capitalist and industrialising economies of the western world in the 20th century that led to the disappearance of care work as work. A brief history of the revolution in women's roles and the recognition of the interdependence of work and family in the latter part of the 20th Century follow. We then turn to an examination of two major social factors, social policy and the commodification of care work that affect this interdependence. We conclude this section with a discussion of several contemporary social changes that contribute to the crisis of care.

The Rise of Career and Work and Family Discourse

The language and discourse of career emerged in the 20th century as capitalist economies developed, industrialised, and matured, characterised by a vast expansion

in the kinds of paid work that needed to be done. Although Frank Parsons (2009) can be credited with introducing the term *vocational choice* in response to the earlier stages of industrialisation and the need to find ways to sort people into new occupations, Donald Super (1957) appropriated the term *career* from the extant sociological literature to describe the developmental progression of people's paid work pathways over time (Barley, 1989). The normative pattern of careers that he proposed encompassed progression over the course of a lifetime from early entry to later establishment and finally decline in post-retirement years. While Super (1980) later nested this vision of paid work over a lifetime in a broader and more holistic conception of career, the common usage of *career* in vocational psychology and various career-related fields has continued to reference paid work. The career development literature, including that for women's career development, mirrors this emphasis on paid work.

At the same time as career discourse became ensconced in professional practices having to do with vocational psychology and diverse career-related fields that evolved in the westernised world, and in the everyday parlance of many people throughout the world, the discourse of work and family evolved as a way to understand the social world that resulted when pre-industrial household economies were torn asunder as capitalist economies industrialised (Boris & Lewis, 2006). This discourse, in turn, has powerfully shaped our experience of the social structure. Industrialising economies required people to leave their homes and farms to work in the rapidly proliferating jobs and occupations that became available. The reigning ideology was that men left home to go to work, leaving women at home to care for families. The world of work was gendered male: Home and family were gendered female. Work became equated with paid work. Instead of work, caregiving was considered to be an expression of love and nurturance. In short, care, as work, disappeared. While, in fact, many women, especially women who were young or poor, and women of color had to work in jobs and occupations for pay, this reality was shrouded in the cult of domesticity that enshrined women in "non-working" family roles (Boylston, 1990; Cott, 1977). Sociologists such as Parsons and colleagues (Parsons, 1994; Parsons & Bales, 1955) legitimised this social and economic model as one comprised of mutually enhancing instrumental (male work) and expressive (female family) domains. It came to be known in the social science literature as the male breadwinner/female caregiver model.

What is most important about this narrative for our purposes is the extent to which work became equated with jobs in the market economy and disappeared in families while work and family became embedded in our minds and experience as two separate spheres of life. Career discourse added to this the designation of work as career that further enhanced the value placed on work for pay (Richardson, 2012).

Just as career discourse gave rise to a substantial scholarly literature and a wide range of related professional practices, work and family discourse also spawned a vast scholarly literature that encompassed such fields as developmental, social, and industrial-organisational psychology, history, anthropology, sociology, occupational

health, economics, and social work (Barnett, 1998; Pitt-Catsouphes, Kossek, & Sweet, 2006). What is most interesting here is that the scholarship in career-related fields has always been associated, in theory if not always in practice, with interventions designed to help people choose and progress in their careers (Brown & Lent, 2005; Savickas & Walsh, 1996). Work and family literature, situated in a more multidisciplinary location, does not have a comparable direct intervention focus. As social science, however, it has had a significant impact on people's lives in areas such as the design of workplace family-friendly policies.

The Revolution in Women's Roles

The revolution in women's roles refers to the movement of women into market work through the second half of the 20th century. This is a story that is well known. Although England (2010) suggests that this revolution has stalled in recent years, she provides a chart that depicts the dramatic increase in women's employment from approximately 40% of adult women employed in 1962 to over 70% employed in 2007. According to Wharton (2006) the majority of both men and women across racial groups are now employed full-time, including 60.5% of the mothers of children under 3. Moreover, the overall pay gap between men and women has diminished over time as women have moved into male-dominated occupations, professions, and college majors (England & Folbre, 2005; Cotter, Hermsen & Vannenan, 2004; England & Li, 2006). It is noteworthy, however, that the gender desegregation of middle class and professional occupations is not matched by a comparable desegregation of working class jobs, a pattern that holds across international comparisons (Charles & Grusky, 2004). Although such a radical social change undoubtedly is due to many factors, three stand out. First is the drive for gender equity. The women's movement countered the economic dependence of women on men in the male worker/female caregiver model and encouraged women to fully participate in the waged economy (Collins, 2009). The literature on women's career development in vocational psychology mirrored this feminist pushback on patriarchal structures and made great progress in tracking and trying to explain the kinds of patterns that characterised women's movement into the market economy (Betz, 2006; Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002; Heppner & Fu, 2011; Walsh & Heppner, 2006; Walsh & Osipow, 1994). Central to this literature was investigation of women's choices of traditional (female stereotyped) and non-traditional (male stereotyped) positions. This literature continues to investigate critical issues in women's employment patterns. Most recently the research on women and STEM professions (science, technology, engineering, math) is making important progress in exploring the reasons behind the continued underrepresentation of women in these fields and what might be done about it (Fassinger & Asay, 2006).

A second major factor that influenced the move of women into paid employment that is less frequently acknowledged is the erosion of the living wage in most developed economies (Casper & Bianchi, 2002; Warren & Tyagi, 2006; Wharton, 2006). Whereas a single salary was sufficient to support a family in a basic

middle-class lifestyle in mid-century America, by the latter decades of the 20th century this was no longer true across the economic spectrum. This deterioration in the wage structure is part of a more pervasive and radical restructuring of employment that we will address more fully later in this chapter. What is important here is to note that the idea that women "chose" to go to work in the market economy is something of a myth. Most women across the world had to get jobs that paid in order to support themselves and their families.

A third factor is the shift in the political climate and social policy towards support of the adult worker model in which all adults are expected to participate in paid work (Lewis, 2001, 2002; Duncan, Edwards, Reynolds, & Alldred, 2004). The shift towards this model was instrumental in U.S. welfare reform in the 1990's in which economic support for mothers with dependent children was replaced with a demand that all women, including women with young children, be economically independent. Consequently, many poor women in the United States were forced into the ranks of the employed (Boris & Lewis, 2006). While welfare reform is specific to the United States, the adult worker model is endorsed internationally. The difference is that in other developed countries there is more support for the care work of poor women.

The Interdependence of Work and Family

As this radical change in the nature and extent of women's participation in the waged economy was taking place, it became increasingly clear that work and family as enshrined in work and family discourse were not separate spheres. Most scholars credit Rosabeth Moss Kanter's paper published in 1977 as marking a critical shift in the recognition of the extent to which work and family were, in fact, interdependent and interpenetrating domains (Barnett, 1998). This issue most clearly coalesced in the focus on the care of children. If women are participating in market work, increasingly on a full-time basis and increasingly including the mothers of young children, who is caring for the children? On a broader level, the issue is who is doing the care work formerly relegated to women at home?

One of the ways to address this problem is to think about it as a conflict between work and family roles, especially for women. With this question in mind, a burgeoning literature on conflict and strain between work and family roles developed with more recent theoretical models attempting to understand the ways in which work and family might be enhancing for some and in conflict for others (Barnett, 1998; Barnet & Gareis, 2006; Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Byron, 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Voydanoff, 2002; Voydanoff, 2005). Interestingly, issues of care work are marginal in this literature, perhaps due to the ways in which work and family discourse relegates work to the market economy. Rather, the emphasis in this literature is on more general family roles within which care work is embedded. For example, simply knowing if a couple has children or not, does little to address the issue of who is doing the work of caring. A major work-family scholar in this

area notes that this is a major measurement problem in the work-family literature (Voyandoff, 2007). This body of research also tends to address issues for families with two heterosexual parents with or without children. As we shall see, this family form is increasingly uncommon, at least in the United States.

In contrast to the literature on work-family role conflict and balance that largely ignores the problem of who is doing the care work in the family, another body of literature focuses on time-study analyses that measures who actually is doing unpaid work in families. For example, one notable research program in the United States has tracked the unpaid activities and tasks of “working parents” for the past forty years, with “working parents” defined as mothers and fathers with young children who also have paid jobs (Bianchi, Casper, & King, 2005; Bianchi, Milkie, & Sayer, 2000; Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). The language here is interesting. It implies that parents who do not have market jobs are not working. Although this research program does not specifically address unpaid care work, the activities and tasks it measures, including care of children, housework, personal care, educational and community involvements, entertainment, and recreation is roughly comparable to a broad definition of unpaid care work. These researchers found that the gender differential between fathers and mothers has moderated somewhat as men are doing more of the unpaid work in the home including care of children and housework. However, women continue to do more of this unpaid work than men.

Other research in this area, more clearly influenced by the discourse of care work, examines who is doing unpaid care work, not just unpaid work. For example, Budlender (2010), defining unpaid care work as housework, care of persons, and volunteer work in home, neighbourhoods and communities, found patterns similar to Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie (2006) in a sample of five developing and two developed Asian countries. Similar findings have been reported for Australia and other developed countries (Bittman, Craig, & Folbre, 2004; Pacholok & Gauthier, 2004). In other words, although there are differences in the extent to which this body of research consciously attempts to document gender disparities in unpaid care work per se, the gender differences they reveal are fairly comparable worldwide across both developed and developing countries. As women have moved into paid market work, they continue to do the bulk of unpaid care work.

Boris and Lewis (2006) label the social and economic model described by this research the dual breadwinner/female caregiver model. It is a model in which the revolution in women’s role in the world of market work in not matched by a comparable revolution in men’s roles in unpaid care work. Although England (2010) proposes a number of cogent rationales for what has stalled the gender revolution in market work, it seems likely that gender inequity in unpaid care work is a major factor limiting the further degendering of market work.

Before turning to one of the major adaptive strategies contemporary capitalist economies have evolved to deal with the issue of care work, that is, the commodification of care work, we first address the ways that social policy has or has not addressed the problem of care work.

Social Policy on Work and Family

Public policy is a powerful instrument that countries can use to try to respond to the problem of care work and different countries have responded in very different ways. In an overview of the field, Kelly (2006) describes three critical public policy levers and provides an overview of the differences between the uses of these levers in the United States as compared to other industrialised Western countries. The three major policy levers she addresses are family leaves, childcare support, and the regulation of working time. In the United States, workers, both male and female, who are employed in fairly large firms or organisations are entitled to unpaid family leaves to care for self or relatives. In contrast, European countries provide more generous paid family leaves, typically for both men and women. She reports similar findings with respect to policies for child care support. There is no commitment to child care support as a public service in the United States. Instead, the state provides some limited support for childcare for poorer families and some limited tax breaks. In contrast, childcare for children over the age of three is a public service throughout Western Europe. Similar differences between the United States and Western Europe exist with respect to the regulation of working hours by the state. Working hours are more fully regulated in Western Europe than in the United States where there is no cap of the number of hours that can be worked in a week, and where overtime protections do not cover many workers (Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2002).

In contrast to the more developed public sector policies in Western Europe, the United States has focused more on the provision of policies to help with the problem of care work through the workplace and the private sector (Kelly, 2006). As a result there is a proliferation of different kinds of family-friendly policies available through employers in the United States. However, these policies mostly affect more affluent workers and are not available to workers in the lower echelon of jobs. The major point here is that social policies have a great deal of power to affect how people can manage to do both their market work and their care work. The kinds of stresses and strains individuals experience in their working practices are either ameliorated or exacerbated by these policies.

The Commodification of Care Work

While the work-family conflict or balance literature addresses how individuals adapt, a wider lens is needed to understand how the social system has adapted to the problem of care work in the dual breadwinner/female caregiver model. This wider lens requires an examination of care work that is both unpaid and paid. What this wider lens reveals is that capitalist economies, as one might expect, have responded to the problem of care work with a market solution that involves the expansion of paid care work in both the formal and the informal economy (Jacoby, 2006; Razavi, 2007). In the formal economy, positions of home health aides, licensed practical

nurses, and nursing aids and orderlies, all paid care work positions, are included in the list of ten occupations expected to show the most significant growth in the United States in the next decade (Hacker, 2011). In addition to these kinds of paid care positions, there are legions of positions in the informal economy where people work in families as nannies, babysitters, and housecleaners (Razavi, 2007). The people who work in the paid care economy, both formal and informal, are predominantly women, many of them women of colour, poor women, and immigrant women (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006; Helburn & Bergmann, 2002; Hochschild, 2003). To some extent, this feminised labour force has been augmented in recent years with men due to problems of unemployment (Cobble, 2007).

One problem with the paid care economy is that these positions are poorly paid and generally lacking in benefits and worker rights and protections. The devaluation of care work in personal lives extends to its devaluation in the market (Jacoby, 2006; Razavi, 2007). These problems are exacerbated in the informal sector of this economy where employers and employees have a range of informal working arrangements that are rife with opportunities for exploitation of paid care workers (Abel & Nelson, 1990; Razavi, 2007). The problem of poorly paid work with minimal benefits and protections has significant international ramifications in that the paid care work sector is a major factor driving immigration, resulting in global care chains that cross continents, leading to care deficits in the countries that provide the immigrant labour. As women migrate to do care work, they, in turn, are not available to help with the care work for their loved ones and families (Hochschild, 2000, 2003; Parrenas, 2001, 2005). According to Tronto (2006, 2009), the paid care work economy, both domestic and international, results in “vicious circles of unequal care” in which the poorly paid positions in this economy do not enable workers to pay for the care of those in their families who need care. Thus, they are doubly disempowered, by poorly paid market work and by a lack of economic resources to arrange for their unpaid care responsibilities.

A second problem with care work is that it does not lend itself well to capitalist approaches to commodification that value increasing efficiency and economies of scale (Razavi, 2007; Tronto, 2009). Caring for infants, for the elderly, and for the sick is time-intensive and not very amenable to the kinds of labour saving technologies that have revolutionised the market work place. Care work, frequently though not always, involves relationships and affectional ties. It is expensive. Some have argued that it is possible to marketise care work rather than commodify it, meaning that it possible to develop care work jobs that are affordable, are reasonably paid, and have built in ladders to upward mobility (Folbre, 2006; Folbre & Nelson, 2000; Razavi, 2007). Although these are efforts to be encouraged, the bottom line is that care work is fundamentally different from other kinds of market work that are more amenable to efforts to increase productivity (Tronto, 2009).

With respect to gender equity, the commodification of care work has led to a situation in which more educated and professional women are able, to some extent,

to purchase care work to help with their unpaid care work responsibilities. Less educated women with fewer economic resources in an unforgiving labour market, as well as increasing numbers of less educated and resourced men, are then forced to take jobs as paid care workers, a sector of the economy that contributes to the problem of growing inequality that is affecting social systems across the world. The commodification of care is a market-based solution to the problem of care work that is, in turn, contributing to serious gender, socioeconomic, and racial/ethnic inequities.

Before turning to a discussion of the ways in which the discourse of care work is responsive to these issues, we turn briefly to additional factors that are exacerbating the crisis of care.

Other Social Forces Contributing to a Crisis in Care

Three additional factors contribute to the crisis in care. These include the adoption of the adult worker model for most developed economies in the context of a radically restructured labour market that we referred to earlier in this chapter, the ageing of the population, and changes in the composition and meaning of family.

Most analysts of developed economies suggest that policy makers have moved from the underlying model of dual breadwinner/female caregiver model to an adult worker model in which all adults, who are able, are expected to work most of their adult lives, regardless of gender (Lewis, 2001, 2002; Duncan, Edwards, Reynolds, & Alldred, 2004). Social insurance is increasingly tied to paid employment with paid full-time employment in hostage to the myth of the unencumbered worker, that is, someone who is free to devote himself or herself to his or her paid market position. The fact that many workers are, in fact, encumbered with care work responsibilities is ignored in this model.

At the same time as this adult worker model is increasingly endorsed, the labour market itself has undergone radical structural changes (Jacobs & Gerson 2004; Wharton, 2006). First, is the disappearance of the employment contract between workers and employees in which loyalty and hard work translated into job security (Storey, 2000). In a highly competitive, globalised market place, dominated by the concerns of investors and consumers searching for profits and low cost goods, workers' salaries are a cost that can too easily be cut (Reich, 2007). Downsizing and outsourcing have become common corporate strategies that are radically reshaping traditional labour markets and the ways that people think about and experience their employment. This trend coexists with the erosion of labour unions that have long protected workers' wages and jobs. The bottom line for many across the economy is insecurity.

This insecure labour market is further characterised by an erosion of good jobs for average workers, or, in the current political mantra in the United States, an erosion of middle class jobs. This, in turn, contributes to conditions of inequality that, although particularly acute in the United States and United Kingdom, are affecting economies across the world (Judt, 2010; Peck, 2011; Reich, 2007). The insecurity

and inequality of the labour market are further exacerbated by its bifurcation into two different markets (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Wharton, 2006). One market, predominantly for full-time, better-paying jobs requiring higher level education and skills and sometimes referred to as the primary labour market, is characterised by long hours and overwork. Workers who are insecure about their jobs have little recourse when pressed by employers to work harder and for longer hours, especially in the United States where there is no legislation setting a limit to the number of hours that can be required of a worker. The result is a new work ethic in which high value and supposedly unencumbered workers are highly committed to their jobs and frequently work many more than 40 hours per week (Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, & Kalleberg, 2002).

On the other hand, the secondary labour market is characterised by the loss of jobs in their full-time manifestation and includes all who work part-time, seasonal employees, adjunct workers, and those who work on a contract or project basis (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996). For these workers, there frequently is not enough work, requiring some to work one or more part-time jobs and to spend considerable effort on the process of getting enough paid work. Problems resulting from not enough time to attend to their care work responsibilities are frequently exacerbated by inadequate or inconsistent wages. It is hard to do necessary care work when incomes are highly volatile (Gosselin, 2007; Piketty & Saez, 2002). The bottom line is that both poles of the bifurcated work force have to respond to what can be onerous time demands by their paid market work, leaving them insufficient time and/or money to do the care work that is needed in their homes, families, and communities.

A second major factor affecting the crisis of care is the ageing of the population in most developed countries. Whereas the age structure of the population used to resemble a pyramid with more people in the younger generations than in the older generation, Riche (2006) now describes it as a rectangle, with as many old people as young people. Some countries may soon face a demographic transition in which the number of older people will outnumber younger people. On the one hand, this demographic profile suggests that problems of care will be mitigated because the care needed to raise and educate children will affect increasingly smaller proportions of the population. On the other hand, the more compelling argument is that problems of care will be vastly increased due to the demands of care for the elderly. In an analysis of this demographic transition, Keyes (2007) notes that medical care has focused on problems of cure with little comparative attention paid to the problems of caring for people who are living longer, many with chronic conditions and many who can be expected to develop various kinds of dementia in older age. Thus, the problem of who is going to do the necessary care work is magnified by these population figures.

Finally, the notion that all workers have a family in their private life that supports them and enables necessary care work to get done is called into question by data on what is happening to families. Marks (2006) proposes that the "'average family' is most accurately seen as an ideological trope that hides rather than reflects empirical diversity" (p. 42). In the United States, the traditional nuclear family with

parents and their children living in a single household constitutes less than 25% of households. Single parent households are on the rise as are households comprised of single adults. More recent survey data documents that whereas 72% of adults in the United States in 1960 were married, only 52% were married in 2008 (Taylor, 2011). Complementing these statistics are analyses by scholars such as Gonzalez-Lopez (2002), who describe not so much a decline of families across the Western world, but the emergence of alternate and more complex ways of organising personal and intimate relationships throughout the life span. However it is that people are constructing and organising their personal lives, all are experiencing the demands of market work and the struggle to do necessary and desired care work. The automatic support system that was provided by women in the era of the male breadwinner/ female caregiver model with a preponderance of traditional family structures has disappeared.

In the light of these changes in men's and women's roles through the 20th and into the 21st century, changes in the market work economy and family structures, and looming demographic changes, there is a dawning awareness that a crisis has developed in providing the care needed by people and by communities. We now turn to a discussion of how the discourse of care has emerged in relation to this developing crisis.

THE EVOLUTION OF CARE DISCOURSE

While most credit the early second wave feminist scholars with noting the extent to which the unpaid work done by women was being masked and marginalised by the rush of women into market work (Gerstel & Gross, 1987; Glazer, 1993; Lopato, 1971), there are essentially two meanings of care that have emerged recently, one having to do with the social value of care and one having to do with the ethic of care (Mahon & Robinson, 2011). These two meanings of care are the foundation for the meaning of care work in our proposed dual model of working. In the following section, we discuss each of these two meanings of care and how each contributes to the meaning of unpaid care work in the dual model of working we propose.

The Social Value of Care

Turning first to the social value of care, the work of the economist, Nancy Folbre and her colleagues (2001; Folbre & Nelson, 2000; England & Folbre, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2007), is central. Folbre focuses on care for dependent others and radically challenges the split between public and private worlds. She makes the case that the work of caring for dependent others has a significant social value and is not just a matter for private lives. She argues that the care and raising of children benefits society, above and beyond its benefits to parents, in many ways. For example, children are the workers and taxpayers of the next generation. Parenting, according to this perspective, is not solely a personal choice; it is also a commitment that

carries important social ramifications and is a social contribution. Most recently, Folbre (2008) has extended this argument beyond the care of children to the care of the sick, disabled, and elderly. The argument that care activities are a social contribution and benefit the public good is the fundamental rationale for considering these activities to be work.

Folbre's (2001) central thesis is that the invisible hand of the market cannot function without the invisible heart of care work. This meaning of care work is most clearly articulated in the conceptualisation of a mutually interdependent relationship between economic production and social reproduction (Razavi, 2007) with social reproduction referring to the production of people by people (Folbre, 2001). Economic production and social reproduction are each necessary to the other. Without sufficient high quality social reproduction, economic production will fail. Without sufficient high quality economic production, social reproduction will be impaired.

What is crucial in Folbre's (2001) argument about the social value of care work is the challenge to the false split between public and private that was enshrined in social theory in the 20th century. Contemporary scholars of work in general, as well as scholars of care, are developing more complex and nuanced conceptions of the shifting terrain of what is public and what is private (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2005; Glucksmann, 2005; McCarthy & Edwards, 2002; Pettinger, Parry, Taylor, & Glucksmann, 2005; Robinson, 2011). Moving unpaid care work out of a strictly private domain is necessary for it to receive the attention of policy makers. At the same time, bringing unpaid care work into the public domain, as work that has significant social value, requires attention to the interrelationship of paid and unpaid care work.

A further reason to support the extension of the meaning of work to include caring activities is for purposes of social inclusion. To label unpaid caring activities as work that has social value, in addition to whatever personal relevance it might have, is to support the construction of the experience of doing care work as part and parcel of citizenship that contributes to the general social welfare (Standing, 2001). As Sevenhuijsen (2002) notes, social theory has focused solely on paid market work as critical for social inclusion. The designation of caring activities as work enables care work to be another route to social inclusion. In conjunction with the adult worker model, referring to caring activities as work does not absolve anyone of the rights and responsibilities to engage in market work. It does, however, provide a more flexible understanding of pathways to social inclusion that is more in tune with the contemporary vagaries of market work and the demands of care work that can wax and wane over the life course. According to Standing (2001), care work needs to be adequately recognised to be "part of a total person as a working being" (p. 42).

The Ethic of Care

The focus on the care of dependent others by scholars who adhere to the first meaning of care (Himmelweit, 2007; Kittay, Jennings, & Wasunna, 2005; Meyer

Harrington, 2000) is challenged by others who espouse a far more ambitious goal of developing an ethic of care that counters the individualised person making moral decisions based on abstract principles of right and wrong and a related market ethic of individual competition rooted in self-interest (Daly, 2002; Daly & Standing, 2001; Lewis, 2001; Robinson, 2011; Sevenhuijsen, 2002, 2003; Tronto, 1993, 2006, 2009). The roots of this ethic of care can be traced to the work of Gilligan (1982) who describes a situation-based and contextualised ethic of care centred on relationships with others in which the goal is to maximise the provision of care across relationships.

Closely correlated with this relational version of ethics is a conception of human beings existing in relational webs of interconnectedness. Rather than a model of an individualised and autonomous adult who has grown out of dependency, this conception of a person considers autonomy to only be possible in the context of interdependence. A relational conception of human beings clearly challenges a split between autonomous adults and dependent others. If all human beings are interdependent, we all need care, more or less, throughout our lives. Dependency is a condition of our lives. The relational conception of human beings provides the basis for the expanded definition of care used in this chapter. Care is not just for dependent others: It is also for self, for relationships, for communities and organisations, and for the physical world (Tronto, 1993, 2006, 2009). This definition of care, in turn, is derived from Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto's (1990) evocative description of care. In their words, care work is

> a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (p. 103).

The meaning of social reproduction in the ethic of care, thus, extends beyond the care of children, the sick, the disabled, and the elderly, to encompass the care of all aspects of the social world that need care and that are critical for the ongoing social reproduction of the society as a whole. It is not just the reproduction of people that is at issue; it is the reproduction of a social world characterised by interdependent interconnectedness.

To posit an ethic of care is to posit an ethic of moral responsibility that accrues to all. If all people need to abide by ethical principles based on rights and responsibilities, then all people also are responsible for the care work required for social reproduction in its most global sense. The ethic of care shifts care from the responsibility of women to a generalised social responsibility encompassing all men and all women. Furthermore, an ethic of care posits that all have responsibilities for providing care as well as the right to receive care when needed. From the perspective of an ethic of care, caring is an important and deeply human practice (Daly, 2002; Daly and Standing, 2001; Robinson, 2011).

This expansion of the meaning of and the responsibility for care is well illustrated by Sevenhuijsen (2003) who describes the ways in which care has been relocated in social systems across the world along three dimensions. With respect to gender, care is in the process of shifting from women to include men as well as women. Care is also shifting from inside to outside with outside referring to the provision of market or paid care work outside of personal realms of life along with its continued provision in personal lives. She also notes a very important shift in care having to do with health care. Health care increasingly is focused on care and not on cure as chronic illnesses proliferate in aging populations. This broader umbrella of care more easily encompasses those who do care work for pay and those who do unpaid care work in their personal lives and begins to break down rigid distinctions between paid and unpaid care work. At the same time, the ethic of care respects the difference between paid care work and unpaid care work in personal domains of life.

Developing an ethic of care relevant to all provides a platform for espousing a continued social commitment to care and connectedness that has been most associated with the political label of family values. As women struggle for gender equity in market work (England, 2010), the meaning of family is reconstructed (Marks, 2006), and new ways of establishing households and networks of personal relationships and interconnections emerge (Gonzalez-Lopez, 2002), some have worried about the erosion of a sense of personal responsibility and what Lewis (2001) refers to as the "hollowing out" of basic building blocks of social cohesion. An ethic of care seeks to establish a new basis for these essential social building blocks. An ethic of care proposes to replace support for family values with support for the values of care.

The Meaning of Unpaid Care Work

In endorsing Tronto's (1993, 2006, 2009) broad definition and ethic of care and Folbre's (2001) argument that care activities should be considered socially valued work, we encompass both of the contemporary definitions of care in the dual model of working proposed in this chapter. Although our focus in this model is on unpaid care work, or the care work that people do in their personal lives, we acknowledge the importance of and the interconnections between paid and unpaid care work. This is especially important with respect to issues of social justice. Revaluing care as work has significant implications for improving the status and conditions of paid care work.

We also situate this dual model of working in relation to social theorists and political movements who are working to expand an understanding of the ways to assess how well a country or social system is functioning (Halpern, Drago, & Boyle, 2005). Rather than reliance on economic productivity or growth as the sole indicator of progress, there are international efforts to develop a range of indicators that assess broader conceptions of well-being that take into account issues having to do, for example, with health and education in addition to growth (Gertner, 2010). These efforts expand on the work of Amartya Sen (1999) who considered encouragement

of human capabilities to be a social good and a way to assess human progress. A broader set of indicators that assess national well-being along dimensions associated with both paid and unpaid care work in addition to economic productivity will be more reflective of a social theory that posits the mutual interdependence of economic production and social reproduction.

THE COUNSELLING FOR WORK AND RELATIONSHIP PERSPECTIVE: A CONTEXT FOR A DUAL MODEL OF WORKING

For counsellors and psychologists, the dual model of working is an extension of the counselling for work and relationship perspective that specifies an approach that can organise our talking and our thinking about how people co-construct their lives going forward (Richardson, 2012). In this section, we describe this perspective, specifically focusing on the four major contexts of development it proposes, the implications of contextualism, and the centrality of narrative theory. Our aim here is to encourage counsellors and psychologist who work in vocational and career practices to frame the dual model of working we are proposing within this broader repositioning of their work. It is also our aim to encourage all counsellors and psychologists to consider the counselling for work and relationship perspective and the dual model of working as a way of talking and thinking that may be helpful in facilitating the co-construction of clients' lives going forward. It is our belief that issues of work, having to do with both market work and unpaid care work, increasingly impact people across the world, frequently in disruptive and discontinuous ways, and are likely to be relevant across all counselling practices. Although we focus on the implications of the counselling for work and relationship perspective for counselling practice in this chapter, it is important to note that this perspective has significant research implications as well (Richardson, 2012).

Four Major Developmental Contexts

The counselling for work and relationship perspective posits that there are four major social contexts through which most people co-construct their lives across the life span. These contexts are market work, unpaid care work, personal relationships, and market work relationships. The dual model of working described in this chapter corresponds to the contexts of market work and unpaid care work and reflects a contemporary rendition of the historic commitment of vocational and career fields across the world to the importance of work in people's lives (Blustein, 2006). However, this model encourages counsellors to embed this historical commitment to helping people with their work in a more holistic frame that is about helping people co-construct their lives, in general, rather than a more narrow focus on their work lives.

That relationships, in addition to work, are major contexts through which people construct their lives reflects relational theory in contemporary clinical practice that has so well described the significance of relationships in emotional and social

development (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Jordan & Hartling, 2002; Mitchell, 2000; Wachtel, 2008). To include market work relationships as well as personal relationships as a major relationship context is responsive to current theory and research on the importance of all kinds of relationships and social connections in the domain of market work (Arnold & Cohen, 2008). For example, mentoring is a kind of market work relationship that has been the focus of research and theory in the vocational fields. What is important to note here, is that the labelling of two major relationship contexts is a deviation from the more traditional practice and discourse that collapses relationships into *family*. Personal relationships may certainly include family relationships, but is more inclusive of the complex web of intimate relationships that people co-construct across their life spans as described by Gonzalez-Lopez (2002). It is also important to note that these four categories of contexts have permeable and shifting boundaries. Parenting is a personal relationship and an important unpaid care work commitment. Market work relationships may become personal relationships, and vice versa.

Within these four major contexts, people may pursue and evolve multiple pathways of development at the same time and over time. Rather than the discourse of career, the counselling for work and relationship perspective uses the discourse of pathways to describe how work commitments evolve over time. For example, a person might have several different kinds of market work jobs and multiple unpaid care work commitments at home and in the community, each of which constitutes a developmental context and each of which can be described as a pathway. Certainly people have multiple personal relationships and market work relationships, each of which can also be described as a developmental pathway. Finally, it is most important to acknowledge that work and relationship pathways are interdependent. The course of a person's market work pathways is likely to have a major impact on their personal relationships. Conversely, personal relationships significantly affect the evolution of market work pathways. The interdependence of work and relationship pathways is a particularly rich and important area of theory and research in contemporary vocational psychology (Blustein, 2001, 2011; Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004; Motulsky, 2011; Phillips, Christopher-Sisk, & Gravino, 2001; Schultheiss, 2003, 2006, 2007).

Implications of Contextualism

In contrast to Super's (1980) holistic model of life development that was influenced by role theory and focused on the development of lives structured around diverse life roles, the counselling for work and relationship perspective is based on contextualism. Contextualism conceives of development as evolving and emerging through transactions between people and the social contexts in which they participate. Basic tenets of contextualism are that development can proceed in any direction depending on the nature of the interactions and transactions that occur between people and context, change is more likely to be continuous than episodic, and what is most important to the change that occurs is what is happening in the moment

(Lewis, 1997; Pepper, 1942). It is an understanding of change that is radically different from more traditional developmental paradigms (Lerner, 2006).

One of the advantages of contextualism for counsellors and psychologists attuned to the radical changes in the social context of work and relationship considered earlier in this chapter is that it allows for constant change and promotes the flexibility that is needed to respond to these changes. It also supports the understanding of identity as transactional, that is, as a product of the interactions of persons in contexts as opposed to a psychologised identity considered to be a property of the self or the person. This is especially important for market work contexts given the instability of market work and the need that many may have to develop and redevelop market work identities in relation to changing market work contexts. Further, the designation of two work contexts broadens the scope of possible work identities, again an advantage in the face of insecure and inequitable labour markets. A person who loses a job may still have important work commitments in their personal lives. A person whose job provides little in the way of meaning or satisfaction may find greater meaning and satisfaction in his or her unpaid care work (Byars-Winston, 2012).

As counselling theories and models have responded to the collapse of developmental regularities in people's lives and constructivist positions, we have become accustomed to the language of construction in which it is acknowledged that people don't just develop; they construct their lives in relation to opportunities and constraints they encounter. In the vocational field, this is exemplified in Savickas' (2005) model of career construction. Contexualism pushes this notion of construction one step further. According to contextualism, it is more accurate to describe lives as co-constructed by both the people and the social contexts in which they participate. Both are equally important. For example, a market work pathway is a co-construction of the efforts of a person and of what they encounter in that specific market work context. Similarly, we are constructed by our relationships just as much as we construct them. In other words, contextualism decentres us as the primary locus of change in our lives. We do not have control over what happens to us: We can have some control over how we respond to what happens to us. This decentring of responsibility mitigates the credit we can take for our successes and the blame for the failures we might experience in the social contexts in which we participate. This may be particularly important again for helping people to cope with the instability and insecurity of market work. Contextualism also promotes greater attention on the part of counsellors and psychologists to the impact of the work and relationships in which people participate on their developmental pathways and on the overall course of their development.

Centrality of Narrative Theory

The counselling for work and relationship perspective posits that time has always been an implicit and central dimension of vocational theory and practice. That is, the traditional emphasis in the field on vocational choice and career development,

helping people make vocational and career choices and develop their careers, is essentially future-oriented. It is about helping people figure out what they are going to do with their market work in their future lives. The counselling for work and relationship perspective takes this future orientation, makes it explicit, and extends it holistically to other major contexts of development beyond market work. In other words, the counselling for work and relationship perspective is about helping people co-construct their lives going forward through work and relationship contexts.

Narrative theory is foundational to the counselling for work and relationship perspective because it is about lives lived in time. Although there is tendency to think about narrative as stories told about what has already happened, both past and future are central to narrative theory, especially as formulated by Crites (1986), Ricouer (1980), and Polkinghorne (1988). According to these theorists, it is in the construction and reconstruction of the stories of the past in the present that the story lines of the future emerge. Conversely, as the story lines of the future evolve and emerge in the present, they will stimulate the construction and reconstruction of the stories of the past. This understanding of narrative theory is in line with other work that has espoused the use of narrative in vocational and career counselling (Brott, 2001; Cochran, 1997; Cochran & Laub, 1994; Jepsen, 1993; McIlveen & Patton, 2007a, 2007b; Savickas, 2005).

Closely associated with narrative theory is the significance of agentic action. Action is behaviour infused with intentional states on both conscious and unconscious levels (Brandtstadter, 1999; Young & Valach, 2004). Action also is behaviour infused with the meanings of culture and the multitudinous ways that culture shapes intentions to act in the world (Bruner, 1990). Agentic action is action that has a specific quality. “It is action characterised by purpose in which people pursue their aims in response to the circumstances of their lives….It is about having and using some level of personal power to influence the course of one’s life” (Richardson, 2012, p. 215). It is through action that people co-construct their lives going forward. It is through taking action that the story lines of the future emerge. It is through taking agentic action that the story lines we desire are most likely to come to evolve.

Agentic action, frequently referred to simply as agency, has long been a primary concern of social theorists in that it epitomises a nondeterministic view of human beings. It is a conception of human beings that endorses the possibility of creativity and innovation in human affairs. While acknowledging the influence of power from both the sociocultural milieu and from personal history as a constraint on human action (Richardson, 2012), the counselling for work and relationship perspective follows those who argue for the capacity of human beings to struggle against the constraints of power to pursue agentic aims (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Chodorow, 1999; Martin & Sugarman, 1999).

The centrality of narrative theory for the counselling for work and relationship perspective encourages counsellors and psychologists who are working to help people co-construct their lives going forward to engage with their clients in a deep narrative process, attentive to needs to reconstruct stories of the past, as well as, and

in order to stimulate the emergence of the agentic actions that constitute the story lines of the future. It is an approach to counselling that mitigates against a split between vocational counselling and psychotherapy or personal counselling. In this deep narrative process, both therapeutic aims regarding problems from the past and aims having to do with co-constructing future lives are intertwined.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we situate this proposal for a dual model of working in relation to the call for activist social science and feminist theory espoused by the feminist theorist, Barbara Risman (2004). She argues that social science needs to be concerned not only with understanding structures of inequity, but also with helping to transform these structures. Gender is one of these basic structures of inequity. The collapse and disappearance of care work into the female gender role following the industrial revolution and the relegation of women to caregiving as a labour of love and not of work set up a stark situation of female economic dependence and gender inequity. As women have moved into market work and economic independence, the values of caring and connectedness and the importance and meaning of care that were equated with the feminine have come into focus as central social values relevant to men as well as women. Following Tronto's (2009) evocative language, the "making of livable lives" (p. 3) requires social valuation of both market work and care work and the full participation of both women and men in the complex and shifting contexts of market and unpaid care work that occur over a lifetime.

Proposing a dual model of working for both men and women is an attempt to reduce the genderisation and devaluation of care work across the board, including both paid and unpaid versions. The degenderisation and revaluation of care work positions care work as an important human practice, critical to the well-being of contemporary societies, that is relevant to all as opposed to sequestering it in the feminine. Because of the historic and powerful linking of theory and practice in vocational and career fields, a dual model of working has the potential to transform practices of vocational and career counselling that, in turn, will affect the lives of many across the world. While social policies supportive of both market and care work are certainly needed and are, in fact, a very active focus of social policy analysis across the world, the dual model of working we propose is another route to social justice and the effort to improve lives for all.

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CHAPTER 3

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A RELATIONAL CULTURAL PARADIGM AS A THEORETICAL BACKDROP FOR CONSIDERING WOMEN'S WORK

A relational cultural paradigm for vocational psychology has been introduced as a novel paradigm that emphasises the cultural shaping of meaning-making through relationships as central to the understanding of work in people's lives (Schultheiss, 2007). This paradigm marks a critical shift in ideology from one that speaks of cultural contexts to one that highlights the significance of culture in human action. Although culture has been alluded to in earlier writings of relationships and work (e.g., Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004; Flum, 2001; Richardson, 1993), the relational cultural paradigm was the first to grant culture a central location. By recognising the interwoven nature of culture and relationship, this paradigm provides a lens through which to view the multifaceted webbed connections that construct worklife. It also presents a viable foundation for movement towards a more inclusive study of working across culture, race, gender, sexualities, and social class. Indeed, this foundation has been built upon by considering women's mothering work (Schultheiss, 2009), migrants' worklife (Schultheiss, Watts, Sterland, & O'Neill, 2011), and feminist perspectives on the relational cultural paradigm (Schultheiss, 2012). The current chapter advances this work by integrating the concept of intersectionality (i.e., the mutually constitutive relations among social identities, as well as the consequences (e.g., inequality, oppression, and power relations) of multiple categories of identity; Crenshaw, 1994; Shields, 2008) with a feminist perspective on the relational cultural paradigm to provide a close examination of women's work. This perspective responds to a need to more broadly consider women's work in the 21st century, and furthers the development of alternative epistemologies in vocational psychology that have challenged established understandings of career (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Collin & Young, 2000; Savickas, 1995). Emerging postmodern influences such as social constructions have been used to emphasise subjectivity, perspectivity, multiple truths, interpretivism and context in vocational psychology (Watson & McMahon, 2004). What follows is an extension of this work.

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RELATIONAL CULTURAL PARADIGM

Informed by a social constructionist perspective (Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004), the relational cultural paradigm for vocational psychology (Schultheiss, 2007) emphasises relationships as central to the understanding of work in people's lives. Relationship is seen as a space where knowledge, understanding, and multiple perspectives are created and transformed through dialogue and lived experience. This paradigm provides an integrative perspective of work by highlighting the nature and inevitable cultural shaping of meaning-making through relationships. By giving culture a central location, a more complete picture of human experience emerges (Jordan & Walker, 2004). An understanding of connection as a complex pluralistic process acknowledges that relationships do not exist as units separate and distinct from the larger culture (Jordan & Walker). This paradigm draws attention to the significance of culture as a relational process. Thus, relationships are understood to both represent and reproduce culture (Jordan & Walker, 2004).

The relational cultural paradigm highlights the nexus of work, relationships and culture as a means of understanding and mattering in worklife. Mattering is an essential component of worklife that provides individuals with a sense of social meaning and relatedness. It establishes one's meaning to others and influences one's sense of belongingness. For many people, the work they do is socially valued and is therefore one means by which they matter to others. However, not all work women do is acknowledged and socially valued. The relational cultural paradigm holds a non-essentialist view of work unbound by dichotomous distinctions of market and personal work. Dichotomies draw upon socially and culturally available discourses that uphold existing power dynamics by overvaluing one aspect of the dichotomy while disempowering the other (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). Conventional definitions of work that reflect a split between the public and private domains of life along gender lines render invisible much of the work that women do for their family and community. This leaves the feminised sphere of work open to marginalisation, and sustains gender-based inequities (Able & Nelson, 1990; Dillaway & Pare, 2008).

Feminists have long called for the deconstruction of the public-private dichotomy of work (e.g., Daniels, 1987; Glen, 1994), yet this dichotomy persists, resulting in the invisibility of women's work in traditional theories of career development (e.g., Holland, 1997). The voluminous work on career choice and development has focused almost exclusively on paid work, not on the experiences, adjustment, or satisfaction associated with unpaid work, such as caregiving (Schultheiss, 2009). This leaves many women with few guideposts or tools to navigate the obstacles and rewards associated with caregiving work. As argued elsewhere (Schultheiss, 2009), many women define motherhood as a career, yet none of our career development theories do so. This leaves crucial aspects of women's work experiences invisible in the face of mainstream discourse in the career field. Failing to dignify women's caregiving work ignores a crucial aspect of the identity of many women (Bailey, 2000; Oberman & Josselson, 1996; Stiver, 1991). The exclusion of caregiving from

psychological considerations of working has had a markedly limiting effect on our ability to develop a broad understanding of work and existing social and economic disparities related to work (Blustein, 2006; Schultheiss, 2009). Relational process is at the heart of unpaid work done for one's family and community. For example, often this work involves supporting and encouraging family members, and includes work that involves warm and caring aspects in facilitating and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Hochschilds, 1979). As such, the relational cultural paradigm provides a useful theoretical backdrop from which to understand women's work.

FEMINIST THEORY

A fundamental aspect of feminist epistemology (particularly feminist standpoint theory) is that one's location in the world as a woman makes it possible to perceive and understand different aspects of the world and human activities in ways that challenge the male bias of dominant perspectives (Narayan, 2004). Feminism emerged from a recognition that women's experiences and contributions to work, culture, and knowledge had been systematically ignored or misrepresented in dominant discourses (Narayan). It assumed that integrating women's perspectives would not simply add knowledge and understandings, it would transform them. Feminist epistemology is not an homogeneous and cohesive endeavour. Instead, one of its aims is to depict an experience different from the norm and assert the value of this difference (Narayan).

First-wave feminism emphasised the equality of men and women by attempting to fit women into the universal category of citizen (Hekman, 2000). Second-wave feminism (cf., standpoint theory) recognised this category of citizen as inherently masculine, and instead emphasised the difference between men and women (Hartstock, 1983). Original formulations of feminist standpoint theory were based on two assumptions: that all knowledge is located and situated, and that the standpoint of women is privileged because it provides a vantage point for knowledge. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, criticisms of the theory emerged. As initially presented, second wave feminist theory did not recognise difference and instead represented women as an homogeneous group that inherently implied a dominant white, middleclass, heterosexual woman. Thus, the differences between men and women were predicated on the assumption that there is a universal "woman". Discussions of difference within the feminist community led third wave feminists to reassess feminist standpoint theory. Notably, Collins (1990) put forth a black feminist standpoint. Third wave feminism emphasises multiplicity, ambiguity, and difference (Renegar & Sowards, 2009), and is distinguished from second wave feminism through its emphasis on paradox, conflict and multiplicity (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003).

Hirschmann (2004) argued that feminist standpoint theories share important features with postmodernism and argued for a postmodern potential in the notion of multiple feminist standpoints. Arguing by example, she noted that having exclusive responsibility for raising children or performing uncompensated household labour

might point to a shared a standpoint. However, the degree to which these childcare practices differ, perhaps by culture, these standpoints would differ as well. This view of difference within commonality is said to provide a means for women to resist their oppression by relying on the epistemological power that can be drawn from their shared experiences. Although the substance of a particular standpoint might differ, some feminist standpoint theorists accommodate difference and thereby argue for a multiplicity of feminist standpoints (Hirschmann). Differences by history, race, culture, class, and sexualities does not undermine the commonality (Hirschmann). Both feminist standpoint theory and postmodernism see identity as socially constructed within historical and cultural contexts. This perspective can lead to generative discourses that acknowledge activities performed in the home as work with productive value.

Many feminist scholars recognised the contradictions in much of third wave feminism (e.g., Bailey, 1997; Orr, 1997; Renegar & Sowards, 2009). Noting that these contradictions are often informed by postmodernism, Renegar and Sowards (2009) explored the use of contradiction as a strategy for women to understand identities, diversity, and feminism. They argued that ambiguity allows individuals to challenge old notions, sample competing interpretations, create new meanings, and counter dominant ideologies and demands for consistency. Postmodernism, therefore, introduced useful tools for negotiating complex lives in a complicated world (Renegar & Sowards). It provided a means of creating flexibility and transcending dichotomous or forced positions, and allowed for choices that transcended the commonly accepted, usually dichotomous, options (Renegar & Sowards).

A view of commonality across differences is consistent with conclusions reached by Cheung and Halpern (2010) in their study of women who rise to the top of their professions. They found striking cross-cultural similarities in how women leaders successfully integrated work and family roles. They concluded that notwithstanding cultural differences, there were gender role norms across cultures that created opportunities and constraints for all women leaders. They used this evidence to expand current understandings of leadership based in Western male models by proposing a more integrated theory that includes the process of integrating work and family domains across different developmental stages of the leader's life course. Their model highlights the contributions of relationships, contexts and cultures by emphasising the interpersonal and relational dimensions of leadership. They proposed this as a more comprehensive and inclusive model that takes into account the gaps in existing models, and highlights how women define their success in work and family. Cheung and Halpern concluded that "filling family roles such as those of mothers and caregivers, becoming leaders at work, and making these roles compatible have helped women to cultivate the transformational style of leadership" (p. 192).

INTERSECTIONALITY

Scholars have emphasised how the impact of race, class, and other aspects of inequality are obscured when gender is considered in isolation (Collins, 1991; Crenshaw, 1994;

Duffy, 2007; hooks, 1984). Collins (1990) asserted that gender must be understood in the context of power relations embedded in social identities by identifying the ways that race, class and other identities shape the meaning of gender (cf., Cole, 2009). The concept of intersectionality supports the view of constructs such as race and gender as social processes, rather than primarily characteristics of individuals. Thus, this concept offered a means of conceiving of race, gender, class, sexualities, and other systems of oppression as interconnected processes. This added to the understanding of inequalities because to understand any one of these dimensions, one must address them in combination (Cole). Thus, intersectionality emerged as a central aspect of feminist thinking about gender (Crenshaw, 1994; McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008).

Intersections create both oppression and privileged opportunities depending on the intersectionalities involved (Cole, 2009; Glen, 1985). Glen embraced a feminist perspective that recognised difference as an essential part of commonality. She emphasised the plurality of standpoints and intersections with race, ethnicity, class, sexualities, and ability in addition to gender. Thus, intersectionality can be used to consider the meaning and consequences of difference across women's intersecting identities and marginalisation. Social constructionism adds to the standpoint view by providing a means by which multiple perspectives and meanings can be considered (Gergin, 1985).

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE RELATIONAL CULTURAL PARADIGM FOR VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Consistent with contemporary readings of feminist standpoint theory (e.g., Harding, 2004), the feminist perspective on the relational cultural paradigm for vocational psychology (Schultheiss, 2012) embraces difference (e.g., race, class, sexualities) as a part of commonality (e.g., gender). It emphasises the plurality of standpoints and intersections with race, ethnicity, class, sexualities, and abilities in addition to gender (Glen, 1985). Thus, despite a shared experience of gender, there are important differences that lead to various standpoints. This theoretical perspective can be useful in understanding women's work from a broad inclusive perspective. The points of view of marginalised people are critical in the development of more well-informed theories and practices within vocational psychology. Hence, the integration of intersectionality with a feminist perspective on the relational cultural paradigm provides a unique framework for understanding how gender, culture and the intersection of other identities are experienced and practiced in relationship, and in turn, how from these relational cultural practices emerge identities, work-family integration, and work and life satisfaction (Schultheiss).

CONSIDERATIONS OF WOMEN'S WORK

Early women career theorists (Astin, 1984; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980; Grimstad, 1992) challenged the assumption that women's vocational experiences could be

understood from male defined constructs and experiences, and argued that they resulted in inaccurate reflections of women's work. Instead, they asserted that women's work activity should be understood through concepts that came from women's work experiences (Grimstad). Although the importance of socially valued work to women's sense of personal worth, purpose, achievement, and contributions to society has become clear in the literature (e.g., Grossman & Chester, 1990), not all work that women do is acknowledged or socially valued.

Many feminist scholars (e.g., Daniels, 1987) have argued that women's work is devalued, either because it is unpaid or limited by the demands of unpaid work in the home. Consequently, much of the work women do lacks social validation and remains invisible. Moreover, the lack of social validation with regard to women's work contributes to a woman's devaluing of her own work. All of this has formidable consequences for women. Work implies a person's worth and status in society, and contributes to identity and self esteem. The lack of social validation for women's work is a hidden factor impeding many women's development and functioning. This concern is particularly salient to women's unpaid caregiving work.

The closer women's work activities come to nurturing, comforting, or encouraging, the less women's efforts are seen as work (Weeks, 2004). Weeks labelled this set of practices that involve personal service "caring labour". She included "maternal labour" (the work of raising children) and "kin work" (the work of maintaining relationships among friends and extended family) in her conceptualisation. Consistent with Weeks' assertions, the gendered labour discussed in this chapter is considered to be "the product of culturally and historically specific determinations, not the inevitable product of sex differences" (p. 184). She suggested that standpoint theory can lead us towards models of collective subjectivities that emerge from women's labouring practices situated within the larger field of social relations within particular historical and cultural contexts, and that alternative methods or knowledge that emphasise relational thinking can result. Such collective subjectivities are not assumed to be unitary and homogeneous, nor an essential or natural element. According to Weeks, what is valuable in standpoint theory is its commitment to make connections among who women are, what women do, and the larger framework of social relations and its efforts to assemble a collective feminist subject. She refers to a multiplicity of feminist standpoints vs. "the" feminist standpoint evident in early conceptions of standpoint theory.

Important earlier conceptualisations of caring labour are also evident in the literature. Hochschilds (1979) brought attention to emotional work, which she defined as work that involves warm and caring aspects in the construction and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. This included supporting and encouraging family members in their activities in the home and supporting them in their encounters in the public world, as well as the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling. Emotional work referred to the effort expended in the act of evoking or shaping emotion, as well as the suppression of feelings in oneself to bring one's emotions in line with what one thinks are appropriate emotions for the

situation. Also referred to as emotional management, Hochschilds acknowledged that emotional work could be applied to oneself or be used to create the desired or expected emotion in others. Garey and Hansen (2011) extended Hochschild's (1979) work by focusing attention on how people manage their feelings to negotiate tensions that arise within and between the spheres of work and family.

As Daniels (1987) argued, viewing work as only those activities which are paid, leaves much of women's work invisible. Women often discount the time and effort involved in carework and view it as an expected expression of love and interpersonal intimacy. Thus, the provision of emotional work in the family which includes expressing empathy, comforting, encouraging, and facilitating social interaction remains out of view (Daniels).

Glenn (1994) and others (e.g., Daniels, 1987) have asserted that the public-private opposition of work needs to be deconstructed. Collins (1994) pointed out that work and family have rarely functioned as dichotomous spheres for women of colour, and emphasised that the two spheres are actually interwoven. For many women, mothering and work experiences occur at the boundaries, erasing the dichotomy of separate spheres. Glenn (1994) argued that mothering often requires mediating private and public (e.g., coordinating family and school schedules, negotiating service). Thus, mothering takes place not only in the private sphere, but also outside the family and at the boundaries of private and public. She also argued that mothering in the private sphere is crucially affected by what goes in the public sphere. Moreover, it takes place in social contexts with unequal power relations between men and woman, and between other dominant and subordinate groups. Flexible workplace practices of the 21st century have contributed to blurred boundaries between home and the workplace, further obscuring the line between private and public.

Emotion and emotional labour has had very little application to the career literature. Kidd (2004) concluded that emotions and emotional labour have potential in understanding career development and management. She recognised the potential of constructionist approaches in the development of relational perspectives on career to further understanding of interpersonal communication processes in career contexts.

A WAY FORWARD THROUGH RELATIONAL CULTURAL PRACTICE

The current challenge for career theorists and practitioners is to recognise broad-based conceptions of women's work. A feminist intersectional perspective on the relational cultural paradigm for vocational psychology provides a theoretical perspective from which recommendations for counselling practice can emerge. This perspective supports an holistic integrative approach that recognises and supports the value of relational connection as an opportunity to enrich work and relational lives (cf., Schultheiss, 2003, 2009). Recommendations suggested by Schultheiss (2003; 2009) are summarised and elaborated on below to provide a starting point for the consideration of new career and work counselling practices for women.

Relational cultural practice, like other psychological interventions, might best begin with assessment (Schultheiss, 2003). The relationships and career interview (Schultheiss, 2003; Schultheiss et al., 2001) has been proposed as a method of relational career assessment to provide an in-depth examination of the role of relationships in one's life and career. The practitioner assists clients in exploring their relationships and the influence of those relationships on their career development and work lives. For example, one might help the client explore how she involves others and how others involve themselves in her career exploration and decision making (cf., Phillips, Christopher-Sisk, & Gravino, 2001). Using guided exploration, the practitioner encourages clients to discuss how their relational and work worlds intersect. This includes consideration of specific influential aspects or qualities of relationships, including those that are positive and facilitative or growth-oriented, as well as those that are neutral, negative, or conflictual. Using the relationships and career interview, clients are also asked to consider how they have made educational, career and work decisions in the past, to assess their decision making style and the role of relationships in their career decision making process. Clients are asked to describe a difficult decision that they have made in the past, and to describe what role relationships had in that decision. Calling to mind a specific example facilitates a closer examination of relational processes. Throughout the relationships and career interview, practitioners identify relational themes, validating their role and importance in decisional processes. This might be particularly important given a common emphasis on autonomy and individuality both in Western cultures and existing career theories and interventions. By assessing clients' relationships and their interface with career and work, both counsellor and client can come to a more insightful understanding of the role of relational process in the client's worklife.

Following the relational assessment, relational interventions can assist clients in becoming better equipped to face relational and work dilemmas and progress effectively in their work and relational lives. Schultheiss (2003) offered a number of recommendations to enrich current career counselling methods. Consistent with relational theories (e.g., Surrey, 1991), these recommendations for practice support the notion of healthy development of the self through relationships with others. Practitioners are encouraged to assist clients in accessing relational support and guidance from their closest relationships. Clients could be encouraged to nurture healthy and productive interactions with others, and to engage in mutually enhancing relationships that provide interdependent sources of support, assistance and social validation. This would be particularly effective in negotiating anxiety-producing challenges within one's worklife. One goal of these interventions is to help clients gain insight into their existing patterns of interaction and their impact on career progress. Clients might be encouraged to explore less reliant, unrewarding, and ineffective interactions with others, and to consider relying on those relationships with the most potential for mutually beneficial interactions. Interventions that facilitate the development and maintenance of mutually beneficial interactions could lead to improved relationships and worklife functioning.

It is important to validate, support and nurture the self-worth and competence that can emerge from work. Validation will help to reduce the dissonance that some women may experience when confronted with dominant discourses that disregard women's activities as work. Interventions aimed at self-exploration of accomplishments and contributions can enhance self-knowledge and empower women in their worklives.

The approach outlined above is consistent with the work of scholars who have explored how women define success in a culture of gender (Cheung & Halpern, 2010). Cheung and Halpern proposed an expanded model of leadership that operates in a culture of gender. In particular, they adopted a cross-cultural perspective to highlight the importance of a relational orientation and work-family integration in collectivist cultures to supplement Western male models of leadership.

From this perspective Cheung and Halpern (2010) recommended a step-by-step model of leadership development that has important implications for practice. The model incorporates work and family roles, and points to the importance of parental encouragement, the development of self-efficacy and motivation, and organisational and family support. Recommendations for practice that stem from this model include psychoeducational and counselling interventions to facilitate the provision of encouragement within the family, the development of skills in seeking and benefiting from role models and mentors, as well as skills to enhance supportive interactions from intimate partners, family members and significant others in one's life. The model also suggests the development of strategies to integrate relational components into one's developing leadership style.

SUMMARY

A core aspect of the proposed recommendations for assessment and practice is the inclusion of a sensitive awareness to difference across the commonality of shared experiences of gender. Thus, assessment and intervention is informed by an intersectional feminist perspective on relationships and work. The relational cultural paradigm is proposed to further our understandings of gender and other identities within social and historical contexts. It highlights how these understandings are constructed in relationships and brought to bear on women's competence, self-worth, and life satisfaction (Schultheiss, 2012). This perspective is offered as another brick in the path towards more inclusive and equitable conceptions of women's work.

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CHAPTER 4

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PATTERNS AND PARADOXES IN WOMEN'S CAREERS

INTRODUCTION

Women have transformed the world of work and now comprise 40% of workers in the global economy (Carter & Silva, 2010). Accordingly, women's careers and the impact of women in the workforce continues to be an important research topic. Although the number of women in organisations has increased exponentially in the last quarter century, organisations are still primarily dominated by men in senior level positions. According to Catalyst (2011), men hold 82% of board seats in Fortune 100 firms and 85% of board seats in Fortune 500 firms. The number of women CEOs in the Fortune 500 have increased from two in 2000 to 18 as of January 2012; overall, 3.6% of Fortune 500 CEOs are now female (Catalyst, 2011). While there has been progress in the upper ranks as demonstrated by these data, it has been slower and inequity has been more firmly entrenched than anyone would have predicted or desired (Carter & Silva, 2010). This trend of men in power continues even in the face of mounting evidence suggesting that organisations must utilise the skills and knowledge of all employees in order to compete in the global race for talent. Those organisations that recruit, develop, support and retain their female workers will likely realise the most success in an increasingly global world (Hewlett & Luce, 2005; Hewlett & Rashid, 2010; Schwartz, 1992).

In this chapter we update and expand on our *Journal of Business Ethics* article (O'Neil, Hopkins & Bilimoria, 2008) that reviewed the extant literature on women's careers appearing in selected career, management and psychology journals from 1990 to 2007. We undertook this updated review of the women's careers literature from 2007 to 2012 to determine three things: 1) if the patterns and paradoxes we identified in our original article are still the predominant discourse on women's careers; 2) if additional patterns and paradoxes can be discerned; and 3) overall conclusions that can be drawn about the current state of the research and the practice of women's careers based on our combined twenty year review of the literature.

W. Patton (Ed.), Conceptualising Women's Working Lives: Moving the Boundaries of Discourse, 63–80.
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Table 1. List of Journals and Articles

Careers (14)	*Management (54)*	*Applied Psychology (8)*
Career Development International (4)	Academy of Management Executive/ Perspective (5)	Journal of Applied Psychology (4)
Journal of Vocational Behavior (10)	Academy of Management Journal (6)	Journal of Counseling Psychology (3)
	Academy of Management Review (2)	The Counseling Psychologist (1)
	Administrative Science Quarterly (2)	
	British Journal of Management (3)	
	Harvard Business Review (4)	
	Journal of Business Ethics (4)	
	Journal of Management (5)	
	Journal of Management Inquiry (4)	
	Women in Management Review (19)	

Total Articles – 76; Total Journals – 15

THE ORIGINAL PATTERNS AND PARADOXES

Our original intent in 2007 was to conduct an illustrative review of recent research and theory to discern patterns that would help us understand the body of knowledge related to women’s career experiences. As we discovered during our original review, studies relevant to women’s careers inhabit a wide variety of fields and publications, including business and management, organisational psychology, counselling and vocational behaviour, psychology, industrial relations, sociology, and gender studies.

In order to draw reasonable boundaries around our search parameters, we examined research on women’s careers appearing from 1990 to 2007 in academic journals in the areas of careers, management, and applied psychology. (See Table 1 for a list of the original search journals.) We targeted journals in these three fields because, in addition to career related outlets, careers research is primarily found in the management and applied psychology literature. Our original sample comprised 76 articles from 15 journals in the 18 year time period studied. From this review we identified common themes and patterns that we believed categorised the current state of the literature on women’s careers. We then identified associated paradoxes that highlighted the disconnections between the conclusions being drawn in the research on women’s careers and the reality of how women’s careers are enacted in our current organisational systems. In other words the patterns identify what is known about women’s careers through systematic research while the paradoxes represent the inconsistencies between this knowledge and organisational practice.

Pattern and Paradox 1 – The first pattern we identified was that “Women’s careers are embedded in women’s larger life contexts; they are comprised of more than just paid work”. Powell and Mainiero’s (1992) conceptualisation of women’s careers as ‘cross currents in the river of time’ noted the dual focus on both work and relationships that women strive to balance and manage over the course of their lives.

O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) found that women's career and life responsibilities revolved around salient life stage concerns and that women's careers proceeded through three age-related phases – idealistic achievement, pragmatic endurance, and reinventive contribution. Their findings concurred with prior research that suggested that all women, no matter their career phase, desired success in both careers and relationships. Mainiero and Sullivan (2005) proposed a kaleidoscope career model in which women make holistic choices about their careers taking into account their relationships, constraints and opportunities, continually seeking the best fit. They noted that authenticity, balance and challenge are key elements that will alternate in importance depending on women's career phase and life context. As evidenced by the previously mentioned studies, scholars engaged in the study of women's careers have acknowledged that women's working lives and private lives are interconnected. Based on our review we concluded that effective career advancement for women must consider women's work and life context.

The paradox associated with pattern 1 is *"Organisational realities demand the separation of career and life"*. These organisational realities seem to have a firm foothold in a bygone era when male workers with stay-at-home wives were the norm (Burke, 1999; Drew & Murtagh, 2005; Schein, 1993, 2007; Schneer & Reitman, 2002). This paradox continues to disadvantage women who are focused on realising success in work and non-work realms. As scholars have noted, a single-minded devotion to work is not in synch with the multiple responsibilities faced by the working women of today (Mavin, 2001; McDonald, Brown & Bradley, 2005; Pringle & Dixon, 2003), yet the demand for such devotion still exists in the organisational practice of careers.

Pattern and Paradox 2 – We proposed in pattern 2 that *"Families and careers are central to women's lives"*. The implications of pattern 1 suggest that the impact of family responsibilities on women's careers cannot be ignored or understated. Research on women's careers often considers work-family conflict and work-life balance. Researchers have examined the influence of family structure on career advancement and success (Kirchmeyer 2002; Schneer & Reitman, 2002; Stroh, Brett & Reilly, 1996), the impact of women managing multiple roles (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer & King, 2002; Brett & Stroh, 1999; Burke, 1999; Kirchmeyer, 2002), work-family roles and conflict (Martins, Eddleston & Veiga, 2002; Netemeyer, Boles & McMurrian, 1996; Osterman, 1995; Rothbard, 2001), and the difficult choices women face when making decisions about work and family throughout the course of their lives (Gordon, Beatty & Whelan-Berry, 2002; Hewlett, 2002; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005; Winsor & Ensher, 2002). Each of these studies notes the interdependent and interrelated nature of work and family for women.

The paradox associated with pattern 2 is that *"Families continue to be liabilities to women's career development in organisations"*. While the literature is replete with calls for organisational work-life benefits to assist employees in managing their multiple responsibilities, there is a continuing debate about the impact of utilising such benefits on career success (Drew & Murtagh, 2005; Schwartz, 1996), and whether or not families are truly hindering women's organisational career advancement (Burke,

1997, 1999). Given that the process of climbing the organisational ladder demands unceasing devotion to work, family responsibilities may continue to hamper women as they make their way through the organisational hierarchy.

Pattern and Paradox 3 – In pattern 3 we noted that the *"Career paths of women reflect a wide range and variety of patterns"*. Studies suggest that women's careers are uniquely different from men's and reflect a broader range and variety of paths (Huang & Sverke, 2007; Hurley & Sonnenfeld, 1997; Lepine, 1992) including entrepreneurial ventures (Mattis, 2004). Research on women's careers reflects both traditional career patterns, e.g., hierarchical advancement and corporate ladders (Lyness & Thompson, 2000) along with representations of "snake-like" (Richardson, 1996), "zigzag" (Gersick & Kram, 2002) and "lifestream" career patterns (O'Leary, 1997). O'Neil, Bilimoria and Saatcioglu (2004) found that combinations of career patterns and career loci resulted in three distinct career types for women – Achieving, Navigating and Accommodating. Patterns were characterised as a continuum between ordered (planned, organised) and emergent (serendipitous, circuitous), and loci were on a continuum between internal and external. The Achieving (ordered, internal) and Navigating (ordered, external) patterns reflected more traditional, hierarchical careers while the Accommodating pattern reflected an emergent career pattern poised midway between internal and external career loci reflecting the likely impact of self and other considerations on career choices and decisions.

The companion paradox to pattern 3 is that *"Organisations predominantly organize for and reward upwardly mobile career paths"*. Although careers research has increasingly cited protean (Hall, 1996), boundaryless (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006), and kaleidoscope (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005) careers as evidence of new types of vocational behaviour, organisational career paths remain largely defined by traditional dimensions of length of service, geographic mobility, and progression up the organisational ladder (McDonald, et al., 2005). It appears that a vertical trajectory along with financial, power and status rewards continue to prevail in contemporary organisational systems.

Pattern and Paradox 4 – We defined pattern 4 as *"Human capital and social capital are critical factors for women's career development"*. In an oft-cited study of the perceptions of the facilitators and barriers to women's advancement, Fortune 1000 CEOs believed a lack of human capital (i.e., line experience) was the primary reason women were not advancing to senior levels (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis, 1998). In a study examining men's and women's career success, Melamed (1995) found that job-relevant human capital explained a greater amount of variance in managerial level and salary level for women than for men. She reported that women needed job-relevant human capital to advance but that human capital factors were not significant for male success. Tharenou (2001) found that traits such as career aspirations, masculinity and interpersonal support interacted with gender to predict advancement through the management ranks over and above what could be explained by human capital. She found that advancement for the

junior women in her sample was hindered by male hierarchies and helped by career supports and encouragement. These results did not hold true for men.

Social capital has been proposed as a critical component for women's career advancement evidenced by the plethora of research on mentoring and networking. Women build strong, informal networks particularly with other women (Ibarra, 1993), and establish a network of relationships that provide social support (Singh, Vinnicombe & Kumra, 2006). However the exclusion of women from informal networks has been cited as a primary reason for the lack of career advancement by women (Ragins et al., 1998), and the segregated nature of organisational networks leaves women out of important connections and conversations (Ibarra, 1993).

Although women have continually increased both their human and social capital over the years, paradox 4 represents the fact that *"Women's human and social capital augmentation has not defeated the glass ceiling"*. Although in 2007 women comprised 46% of all U.S. workers (US Department of Labor, 2007), held 50% of all professional positions, graduated with 57% of bachelor's degrees and 58.5% of all master's degrees, and constituted approximately 30% of all MBA students (Catalyst, 2007), very few women were poised at the top of the managerial pipeline (Ragins et al., 1998). "Ways women lead" (Rosener, 1990) including developing relationships, collaborating and promoting the development of others are touted as exemplary managerial behaviours which reflect stereotypically feminine behaviours (Fondas, 1997). However, according to Fletcher (1998), these effective organisational citizenship behaviours are not likely to be rewarded and in fact get "disappeared" when practiced by women. Although women engage in behaviours that add value to their organisations by demonstrating knowledge and expertise and augmenting the social infrastructure through collaboration, affiliation, empowerment and teamwork, these behaviours do not result in appropriate individual level rewards and recognition for women overall.

LITERATURE FROM 2007–2011

Our updated search of the literature was conducted within the same journals in the same fields of careers, management and applied psychology as the original search. Our updated sample consisted of 50 articles from 8 journals in the five year time period from 2007–2011 (see Table 2). From this review we identified themes that fit with our original patterns and searched for additional themes that would suggest emerging patterns or changes to the paradoxes originally identified. We make five observations based on our review and describe each in greater detail below: 1) fewer journals featured articles on women's careers, and we found no articles related to women's careers in five top-tier management journals; 2) our original patterns were confirmed; 3) the gap between research and practice (i.e., the patterns and the paradoxes) still exists; 4) the heaviest concentration of articles are representative of Pattern 4 (human and social capital); and 5) there has been an increase in articles about women workers in the global economy.

Table 2. List of Journals and Articles 2007–2011

Careers (15)	*Management (31)*	*Applied Psychology (4)*
Career Development International (12) Journal of Vocational Behavior (3)	British Journal of Management (4) Harvard Business Review (10) Journal of Business Ethics (1) Gender in Management: An International Journal (16) [Formerly Women in Management Review]	Journal of Applied Psychology (2) The Counseling Psychologist (2)

Total Articles – 50; Total Journals – 8

First, although the recent search parameters covered less than a third as much time as the original search, of the 126 total articles we identified over 23 years, 40% appeared in the five years from 2007–2011. Two additional findings in terms of the raw numbers stand out: first, only slightly more than half of the original journals (8 out of 15 or 53%) contained articles related to women's career development in the last five years. Second, we found no articles that fit the parameters of our search in the following journals: Academy of Management Perspective (formerly Executive), Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review, Administrative Science Quarterly, Journal of Management, Journal of Management Inquiry and Journal of Counselling Psychology. Thus, in the last five years none of these top rated journals and fewer journals overall featured articles focused on the career advancement of women. While management journals still comprised the majority of the venues for research on women's careers (31 out of 50 articles or 62%), 52% of these articles were published in *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, whose editorial objective is dedicated to the topic of gender issues in management and leadership, and therefore we would expect to see articles germane to our search in this publication.

A second notable result of our updated literature search was that the four patterns we originally identified continue to accurately represent the current research on women's careers. Following are examples of research studies that have appeared in the last five years that illustrate the four patterns.

We found studies focused on the complex and integrated nature of women's work lives and career-life issues as stated in *Pattern 1 – "Women's careers comprise more than 'work'; they are embedded in women's larger life contexts"*. A study on successful women in the Americas found that participants reported overwhelmingly subjective measures of success focused on both career success and success in their significant personal and family relationships (Lirio, Lituchy, Monserrat, Oliva-Lugan, Duffy, Fox, Gregory, Punnett & Santos, 2007). In an examination of why women don't make it to the executive levels to the same degree as men, Brizendine (2008) proposed that biology may play a role. She noted that senior management promotions for men typically occur when they are in the 40s, but

that for women the 40s are fraught with responsibilities of home and parenting as well as increased stress as a result of perimenopause. She notes that the 50s might be better timing for women to advance in their careers when other life concerns may be less pressing. In a study of female counselling psychology professors' decisions to pursue full professorships, Pruitt, Johnson, Catlin and Knox (2010) found that many of the women in their sample reported that other life priorities were more important to them than pursuing the next rung of the academic hierarchy, but paradoxically a majority also reported that they were likely to keep trying until they achieved the rank of full professor. Executive women were found to be strategic in devising life course strategies to help them manage both their career advancement and family responsibilities. These strategies included relying on a strong values system that encompassed such factors as hard work, integrity and continuous learning as well as creating a tight network of support in both personal and professional arenas (Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009). Each of the above studies reinforces the pattern that women's careers are part and parcel of their larger life contexts.

We found numerous studies which we categorised as representative of *Pattern 2: "Families and careers are central to women's lives".* For example, Heilman and Okimoto (2008) examined whether or not motherhood biased employment decisions. They found that mothers were likely to be viewed as less competent and as less committed to their jobs than non-mothers. They reported that gender stereotypes are heightened when women are parents concluding that motherhood can indeed hinder women's career advancement. In a study investigating the impact of family and career path characteristics on the career success of working mothers, Valcour and Ladge (2008) found that higher female income earners were those who had less children, had children later in life, had fewer career gaps, less inter-organisational mobility and less part time work in their overall career histories. Cornelius and Skinner (2008) in a study of senior women and men in human resource management found that family was an important consideration in both career choice and success measures for women. The women in their study focused on whether or not they had sufficient time to spend with their children and appreciated flexibility that accrued as a benefit of being in a senior organisational role as it helped them achieve more balance between work and home.

Broadbridge (2010) investigated the careers of female retail executives to determine whether women's careers were determined more by choices or constraints. She found that the women in her sample were simultaneously both career-centred and family/children-centred and were trying to locate their careers in the context of a whole life perspective. She concluded that women's choices are likely constrained by organisational cultures and socialisation processes that continue to reflect a traditional gendered construction of life. In a study of female executives in a Malaysian oil company, Ismail and Ibrahim (2008) reported that the number one barrier to women's career progress was family responsibilities. Almost half of the women in their sample reported that their organisation did not have policies

that would support women advancing to upper management ranks. The women in their study also reported that societal and organisational barriers such as gender bias and a male-dominated organisational culture continued to work against the advancement of women. In a study of female managers in Finland, Valimaki, Lamsa and Hiillos (2009) focused on the impact of the gender role construction between spouses on the female partner's career. They concluded that there are types of spouses that exert significant influence on women's careers running the gamut from "counterproductive" and "determining" which reflect mainly traditional gender roles to "supporting", "flexible" and "instrumental" which reflect more leeway in terms of women being active partners in the marriage. Each of these studies depict the continuing balancing act that women must juggle between career and family.

Pattern 3: "Career paths of women reflect a wide range and variety of patterns" was reflected in studies that examined women's career transitions and whether they were opting in or opting out of the workforce (Cabrera, 2007) and/or aspiring to senior management positions (Litzky & Greenhaus, 2007), whether women followed protean or kaleidoscope careers (Cabrera, 2009), enacted alpha/beta careers in the kaleidoscope model (Sullivan & Mainiero, 2007), followed a labyrinthine path to career success (Eagly & Carli, 2007), or in the case of Arab women managers had progressive, moderate, facilitated or idealistic career types (Omair, 2010).

Litzky and Greenhaus (2007) found that women were less likely than men to aspire to senior management positions partly because women perceived incongruence between their personal characteristics and senior management requirements and partly because they perceived less favourable opportunities for career advancement. The authors noted that the implications of their findings are that women may opt out of the workforce or into less challenging positions thereby depriving organisations of talented employees. Sullivan and Mainiero (2007) proposed that there are two major career patterns for professionals, the alpha pattern characterised by a focus on challenge, then authenticity and finally balance over the life span, and the beta pattern characterised by a focus first on challenge, then balance, and finally authenticity. They found that in general women tended to follow the beta pattern while men were more likely to follow the alpha pattern.

In an empirical examination of the kaleidoscope career model (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005), Cabrera (2007) found that almost half of her sample of 497 highly educated professional women had stopped working at some point during their careers for reasons that included a change in career focus as well as family responsibilities, although 70% of the women in her sample eventually returned to work. Her findings supported the desire for balance in mid-life predicted by the kaleidoscope model. In another study of women who had left and were seeking to re-enter the workforce, Cabrera (2009) found that the majority of her sample were pursuing protean career paths in order to achieve flexibility and balance in their lives. She noted that the traditional organisational career model is not conducive to women's contemporary life circumstances. In a study of mid-career women, Lamsa and Hiillos (2008) found that the careers of the women in their sample were reflective of discontinuities

and interruptions and closely connected to other life sphere concerns. The authors suggested that the "normal" career trajectory defined as men's managerial careers is not characteristic of women's mid-life career experiences. Eagly and Carli (2007) proposed that the glass ceiling metaphor that paints a picture of an ultimate barrier at the apex of a career is less descriptive than that of a labyrinth which suggests the complex and varied challenges that are likely to occur at multiple points over the course of a woman's career. Thus, all of these studies highlight the variety and complexity of women's career paths.

Pattern 4: "Human capital and social capital are critical factors for women's career development" reflected the largest number of articles from the last five years. Studies examined the impact of social capital practices such as networks, networking and mentoring on women's career development and advancement (cf., Hamilton & Murphy, 2011; Ibarra, Carter & Silva, 2010; Motulsky, 2010; O'Neil, Hopkins & Sullivan, 2011; Ortiz-Walters, Eddleston & Simione, 2010; Shortland, 2011; Terjesen & Sullivan, 2011; Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010; Tlaiss & Kauser, 2011), as well as the influence of human capital practices such as advanced education and expatriate experience (Cocchiara, Kwesiga, Bell & Baruch, 2010; Russwurm, Hernandez, Chambers & Chung, 2011; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Kumra, 2010; Orser & Leck, 2010; Tharenou, 2010). A number of studies examined the effects of both social capital and human capital practices as a combined strategy for women's career advancement (Broadbridge, 2008; Duberly & Cohen, 2010; Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2008; Sealy, 2010).

Mavin (2008) offered a critique of solidarity behaviour (the notion that women should collaborate with other women by virtue of their gender identification), and the use of the label Queen Bee (women who are unwilling to assist other women in advancing into senior management ranks). She finds the assumptions inherent in both concepts problematic because both ignore the gendered context of organisations which do not promote environments that reward women as 'natural allies'. She proposes that by expecting women to stand in solidarity with each other the onus of organisational change is placed squarely on women, making them responsible for carrying the "women in management mantle" (Mavin, 2008: S75) and when they do not, they are labelled as Queen Bees. Women are expected to advocate for gender equity even though their senior level peer group are males and there are no organisational rewards for such advocacy, thereby placing women in a double bind.

Numerous articles investigated the role social capital and relationships played in women's career development by examining networking in terms of individual women's networking tendencies as well as formal organisational networks as career supports. Hamilton and Murphy (2011) looked at married women's propensity to exit the workforce through the twin lenses of identity and social networks. They proposed that a reciprocal dynamic of self and others' concerns as well as structural forces contributed to women's decisions to exit the workforce. Motulsky (2010) examined the influence of relationships on women's career transitions. The mid-career women in her sample reported connections that enhanced their career transitions as well as

disconnections that hindered and occasionally stalled their career changes suggesting the importance of examining both the positive and negative impacts of relevant individuals in the lives of women career changers.

O'Neil, Hopkins and Sullivan (2011) investigated the perceptions of a formal women's network in a global food service company. They found that network members and company executives had divergent expectations regarding the purpose of the network. Network members viewed the network as both a vehicle for individual career advancement and organisational competitive advantage, a "best practice" that would enhance the organisation for internal and external constituents. In contrast, the executives viewed the network as a diversity initiative to enable women to become more visible and hence prove themselves worthy of promotion. In a study of networking for women expatriates, Shortland (2011) found that the women in her study engaged in informal networking and viewed the establishment of a formal organisational network as providing supplemental support to those networking processes. However, while they were appreciative of the opportunity to engage in formal networking through the organisational program, a number of women expressed concerns about a women's network reinforcing gender divisions and stereotypes. It seems that depending on one's perspective formal organisational networks offer benefits but may also be problematic. In their research on Lebanese female managers, Tlaiss and Kauser (2010, 2011) found that organisational and societal beliefs and practices influenced women's careers. They found that *Wasta*, a term used throughout the Middle East to describe dependence on social networks or connections versus individual education and achievement, played a significant role in how the women in their samples perceived their opportunities for career advancement. They proposed that *Wasta* was so important it even appeared to trump gender in terms of career progression.

In addition to networking and women's networks, the impact of mentoring relationships on career advancement continues to be a focal area of study. Ibarra, Carter and Silva (2010) determined that men continue to outpace women in promotions because while women are being mentored, men are being sponsored. In other words men have influential senior managers who give them exposure, go to bat for them, and provide damage control and protection from negative impressions. On the other hand women are being provided emotional support, advice on personal and professional development and role models who may help increase their self-esteem. Terjesen and Sullivan (2011) investigated whether mentors who were engaged with their protégés in a corporate setting continued to work with them as they undertook entrepreneurial ventures. The authors found that very few of the corporate mentoring relationships transferred to participants' entrepreneurial employment. An additional finding was that women had substantially less mentors in the entrepreneurial environment than did men.

A focus on human capital was evident in studies that examined women's pursuit of educational and experience-based credentials. Tharenou (2010) investigated women's tendencies to initiate expatriation, as half of self initiated ex-pats are

women but only 1/5 of company assigned ex-pats are female. She determined that by choosing to expatriate women were proactively creating career options to compensate for domestic barriers to career advancement. Unfortunately she also found that women did not benefit financially to the same degree as men when they returned to their home countries. Russwurm, Hernandez, Chambers and Chung (2011) described efforts on the part of global organisations to provide opportunities for employees to develop international thinking in order to better prepare them for the global nature of business. For instance, Walmart has instituted shorter international assignments in order to allow more people including women to obtain global experience without participating in a typical longer-term expatriate assignment. In a study of Canadian executives, Orser and Leck (2010) found that gender moderated the predictive power of international experience in terms of compensation, organisational level and subjective success. The authors proposed that women who aspire to senior leadership would be well advised to pursue both expatriate experience and graduate education in order to improve their chances of advancement.

Ibarra and Obodaru (2009) determined that while women were rated in 360 degree feedback reports as demonstrating significantly higher competence on numerous dimensions than men, they were rated as less visionary. The authors considered this problematic because vision is a key leadership dimension. They offered three possible explanations: women may demonstrate vision differently than men, women may be hesitant to move beyond facts and figures to speculation that vision may require, and women may not have the same value for vision as do men. The authors provide suggestions for women to increase their capacity for visioning. Cocchiara, Kwesiga, Bell and Baruch (2010) examined the perceptions of Masters degree program alumni regarding the impact of their graduate school experience on subsequent perceptions of career success. The authors found that women reported less salary gains but higher organisational levels and job satisfaction than did men. In the same vein as Broadbridge's (2010) study on women's career choices, Kumra (2010) investigated the career choices of women consultants in a professional service firm and found that their choices were impacted by organisational constraints such as the prevailing model of success, and difficulties accessing high level sponsors and networks. The women in her sample were classified as "work-centred" according to Hakim's (2000) preference theory which proposes that women are free of constraints when choosing a preferred lifestyle of either the work-centred, home-centred or adaptive (combining elements of both) variety. Kumra's (2010) findings challenge the central premise of preference theory which puts the onus for women's career advancement on individual women while ignoring organisational systems and structures that constrain women's career choices.

In a study of senior executives in retail, Broadbridge (2008) reported that the women and men in her sample believed that human capital factors (e.g., ambition, ability, performance, work ethic, preparation and results) and social capital factors (e.g., networking, mentoring, access to promotional opportunities) facilitated their career advancement. However, inhibiting factors for women were organisational

politics, absence of mentors and work-life conflicts. Men agreed that organisational politics were inhibiting but did not report lack of mentors and work-life balance issues. Broadbridge concludes that overall organisational social structures and cultural issues are more problematic for women than for men. In a study of the careers of women scientists, Duberley and Cohen (2010) found that women and men had different experiences with career capital (e.g., economic, social and cultural capital), and that what may be an asset for men may in fact be an impediment for women. They propose that women scientists do not have the same access to capital as men resulting in curtailed career choices. The women in their sample reported deficits in cultural and social capital that were often explained in gendered terms such as science being a male-dominated field. They conclude that ignoring the gendered nature of career capital does not fully explicate the differential experiences of capital as a facilitator and barrier for the careers of women versus men.

In examining the promotion to partner process in a professional services firm, Kumra and Vinnicombe (2008) found evidence of sex bias. They reported that there were two main areas of disadvantage for women: first was the self-managed nature of career advancement in the firm, and second was the requirement to "fit" a certain profile in order to be considered partner material. Proactivity in networking and self-promotion as well as seeking out opportunities was an example of the first area and a predominantly male model of success characterised the issue of "fit". The authors conclude that these twin disadvantages comprise a combination of both organisational and societal factors. Sealy (2010) investigated senior female investment bankers' beliefs about meritocracy. She found that women's beliefs in meritocracy diminished over time. What women had attributed to human capital (ability and experience) earlier in their careers was later described more in terms of social capital (organisational political behaviour), leaving many of the women in her sample reconsidering the meritocratic nature of their firms.

The literature is replete with studies examining the impact of human and social capital on women's careers. Research clearly identifies these forms of capital as critical for women's advancement. However, as these studies also make clear, even though women have continued to increase their human and social capital, they are still not advancing to the degree that we would expect given the increased focus on recruiting and retaining women (Carter & Silva, 2010). It appears, just as we noted in paradox 4, that women's capital accumulation has not been sufficient to assist them in breaking through the glass ceiling in large numbers. Women's careers continue to be challenged in many ways.

In addition to our finding that the four patterns persist, a third result of our review is that not much has transpired to close the gap between the patterns and their respective paradoxes. We defined the paradoxes as inconsistencies in what we know from the literature and what actually happens in organisational practice. Thus, the essential question is whether the last 5 years of research indicates that things have fundamentally changed or that the gap is closing between research and practice. From our review we would have to conclude not. Research studies are still

focused on the obstacles women face due to the compartmentalising of work and life, the challenges of balancing work and family, the persistent male model of career success, and women's capital accumulation not fundamentally altering the pace of women's career advancement.

The fourth significant finding is that there has been a concentration of articles in the past five years relative to pattern 4, indicating the importance of human capital and social capital for women's career development. Identifying particular aspects of human and social capital that directly contribute to women's career advancement is valuable information. Yet we are concerned that this attention to women's human capital and social capital accumulation merely reinforces the idea that women are solely responsible for changing the dynamic for women in organisations. In other words, if women increase their human and social capital will they eventually realise career advancement and success? It appears the literature does not support this proposition, and instead highlights the barriers that women continue to face even with their enhancement of human and social capital.

A fifth observation based on our literature review is the increased number of studies reporting on women's experiences in various parts of the world such as the Middle East and Asia. This trend reflects the global nature of work, the increased role that women are playing in the global economy, and the fact that women in emerging economies are facing similar issues to those faced by women in more developed economies.

CONCLUSION

We conclude from our updated review of the literature that the original patterns we identified in 2008 have not changed substantively and that the gap between the patterns and paradoxes has not diminished. The increased focus on human and social capital factors for women reinforces the notion that the onus is primarily on women to advance women's careers. Male-defined constructions of work and career success continue to dominate the findings in organisational research and the realities of organisational practice, and yet strategies to address the dearth of women in senior organisational positions are focused more on what women can do than what organisations should do.

The fundamental question that arises from our recent review is how do we close the gap between research and organisational practice? What will it take to fundamentally transform our organisational systems so that what we know from research translates into practice? In 2008 we called for more systemic examinations of organisational practices based on structural, political and cultural perspectives. We echo that call for a more holistic focus in order to understand the constellation of factors that impacts women's careers. We believe that unless we examine the influence of these factors as a whole, the gap between our research findings about women's careers and the organisational enactment of women's careers will remain.

Accordingly, research on the career advancement of women must be conducted at the intersection of individual, organisational and societal levels.

In addition to examining women's careers from multiple perspectives and on multiple levels, more research overall on this critical subject needs to be conducted. Our review noted the limited number of articles on women's career development over the last five years, particularly in top rated management journals. The influx of women into organisations will only continue to grow given the labour needs of the global economy. Thus it becomes imperative to continue to study the factors that facilitate and hinder women's advancement into senior organisational positions. In addition, more research in a broader array of publications beyond gender-related journals is needed in order to illuminate the persistent challenges inherent in women's careers. Accordingly, we call for increased depth and breadth of research examining women's careers. Perhaps the combination of increased systemic research and broader coverage will finally tip the scales in favour of women's facilitated career advancement.

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PART 2

TRANSITIONS AND LIFE STAGES

CHAPTER 5

CATHERINE DOHERTY & CARLY J. LASSIG

WORKABLE SOLUTIONS: THE INTERSUBJECTIVE CAREERS OF WOMEN WITH FAMILIES

September 2011 saw the global release of the Hollywood film, *I Don't Know How She Does It*, based on a bestseller by Allison Pearson. The film stars Sarah Jessica Parker as a middle class would-be-supermom devoted to her husband, children and full-time career in finance, with a demanding boss and an unsympathetic corporate workplace. The premise of the narrative is that the life of the career path mother is unsustainable leaving the woman in the middle time-stressed, poorly groomed and short-changed on both work and family satisfactions. Is this global media text a sign of the times, importantly troubling the beneficent, apple pie version of motherhood more commonly projected by Hollywood? Or is it behind the times with its logical binary of work or family, rather than a more inclusive script for both work and family? Have Western capitalist societies learnt how to manage women's aspirations for both family and work roles? Or conversely, is this more a matter of individualised learning each woman undertakes in the absence of 'workable' templates?

There has been rapid and widespread change in the social scripts and ideologies surrounding women's participation in the workforce, though the rate and scope of change is not necessarily consistent across all social groups. Similarly the concept of family and normative assumptions about gender roles within the nuclear family have been challenged by the proliferation of different household and kinship configurations in Western societies (Allan & Crow, 2001). The availability of better contraception, fertility treatments, safer abortion, no-blame divorce, welfare support for single parents and the de-criminalisation of homosexuality have also allowed for more active choice in very private realms (Giddens, 1999). This renders any generalisations about the lifeworlds of women with families difficult or overly simplistic.

A sociological argument offered by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2004) amongst others is that the common factor in these less prescriptive times is the greater capacity for, and role of, individual choice amongst possibilities: "this brings historically new free spaces and options: he can and should, she may and must, now decide how to shape their own life" (p. 502), "enforcing biographies full of risk and precarious freedom" (p. 504). Such theory would argue that each generation is feeling its

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way with improvised, do-it-yourself biographies increasingly unlike those of their parents, in social relations of greater choice but less certainty. Further, this process of 'de-traditionalising' social conventions and the loosening of their moral binds, forces more conscious reflexivity, risk management, and strategy (Archer, 2007; Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1994). For this reason, this paper will focus on how women with family responsibilities account for their career decisions as contingently lived over time and space, and what their various strategies and rationales tell us about the conditions of these transitional times. In short, how and why are they doing it?

In everyday usage, the term 'career' carries connotations of educational pathways into professional jobs. Blustein (2006, p. 29) refers to this as the "grand career narrative" of privileged middle classes. In contrast, here we are interested in how women with families in a variety of circumstances stitch aspirations, constraints, moral obligations and opportunities together into trajectories that unfold over time and place. Following Schultheiss (2009) in career studies, and Oakley (1985) in feminist sociology, our definition of career includes the unpaid work of mothering and housework to give such work status and visibility in career theory, and to make them 'matter'. Following Gouws (1995), the concept of career will encompass the "constellation of roles" (p. 34) individuals accrue, and their interdependence with others in the "role set" (p. 27). Families constitute a powerful role set, and the lived fact of children in the home becomes a fundamental determinant of life considerations and choices beyond the home. Career trajectories in this frame require negotiation and "joint problem solving" (p. 31) between family members within the operative "opportunity structure" (p. 27). Archer's (2012) empirical study of university students in the UK tracked how many became increasingly mindful of how their career projects and concerns could 'dovetail' with those of their partner, such that they might 'shape a life' together, even before children enter the picture.

The particular relevance of this more relational, less individualist frame to women's careers is an historical artefact, a legacy of the previous more prescriptive gender order which forcibly circumscribed women's opportunities. However such framing may increasingly apply to men as the individualist conceit of patriarchal assumptions, social scripts around fatherhood and men's stake in domestic labour are rewritten. By nesting the concept of career in a "social matrix" (Gouws, 1995, p. 32) of relationships and de-centring the individual in career decisions, this frame invites a more relational, intersubjective sociological lens than is usual in career studies.

Intersubjectivity is a multidisciplinary meta-theoretical concept that seeks to articulate the nature of the social fabric that makes society, shared meanings and social identities possible: "it is irreducible and sui generis, a generative principle of our identities, our agency and of the societies in which we live. ... We are inter-subjects. Our actions and thoughts aren't reducible to us alone." (Crossley, 1996, p. 173). In economics, intersubjectivity has served as a critique of the atomistic economic actor at the heart of formal neoclassical models and rational choice theory

by exploring the "tangled and recursive middle ground" (Fullbrook, 2002, p. 3) between structure and agency. This brings social tastes, norms, moral considerations, socially constructed motives, group differences and competing priorities to the surface to help explain how actors might act: "we can no longer say that individuals act only on their own preferences, because socially embedded individuals generally act in accordance with those rules and norms associated with their membership in groups (which) ... function as 'ought' principles or social requirements" (Davis, 2002, pp. 19–20). The intersubjectivity that knits human lives together means that any social unit is more than a sum of its parts:

> plans are not necessarily the properties of individuals. They can be formed between individuals, as an irreducible property of a couple. ... In these situations it is not I who decide what to do, nor you. It is we who decide. (Crossley, 1996, p. 81)

While all social actors are intersubjectively networked to some degree, we would argue that some (women) are held more intersubjectively accountable than others.

The social institution of the family offers perhaps the most obvious example of how intersubjectivity shapes existence, and how entangled lives produce emergent properties and concerns greater than their sum of individuals. Empirical studies around family/work balance issues have grappled with this complexity in a number of ways. Bonnet, Collet and Maurines (2008) offer the concept of "the family career" to capture intersubjective dynamics in "how family and conjugal events have an impact on each partner's occupation" by asking "what are the necessary adjustments between individual itineraries and founding a family, … between the 'I' and the 'we'?" (Bonnet, Collet, & Maurines, 2008, p. 142). Bateson (1989) uses a musical metaphor of improvisation and composition to describe the ongoing negotiation, and "interdependence of one's own work with that of someone else" (p. 88), then to highlight the "responsiveness and interruptibility" (p. 179) typical of women's career trajectories. Pocock's (2003) empirical work around the work/life nexus in Australian families similarly argues that:

> caring, reproduction and paid work jostle alongside each other in their demands for time, energy and money. 'Home' and 'work' cannot be separated into a neat binary, into neatly gendered jobs. They cannot be 'balanced', since they are part of a seamless, messy whole: a conglomerate. (p. 16)

Crossley (1995) then further argues that intersubjectivity necessarily implicates and foregrounds the emotional investments that join people to each other. In this vein, Pocock argues that work/life decisions are "related to love, reciprocity and a complex economy of relationships, community and family where 'gain' derives not narrowly from individual utility but also from obligations, love and responsibility that cannot be measured in dollars or individually" (p. 17). Interdependence will equally implicate degrees of power, privilege, conflict and control over others. The institution of the family in its diverse cultural settings has long been responsible for

the subjugation of women in oppressive but naturalised gender orders prescribing roles in production and reproduction that have limited them to certain paid work considered gender-appropriate, or the unpaid work of care in the home. While Western consumer societies at large are working to change such prescriptive scripts, there will be uneven ideological change in the intimate interpersonal politics within homes (Connell, 2009). There is thus ample potential for other emotions such as resentment, frustration, anger, and resigned sacrifice to bind people together.

Families are not static entities, but relations that unfold over time in terms of the changing nature and intensity of care demands. Similarly, family relations unfold over space, that is, in and between locations that offer variable structures of opportunity by the nature of their labour market, community and services. While children are young and socially/economically dependent the household will typically seek to be collocated – a goal that becomes less urgent as children mature. There will thus be a period in the family career over time and space where the adult/s will be more intersubjectively constrained than at other times. This chapter will consider to what degree the careers of women with young families, both in and out of paid employment, are lived as contingent, intersubjective projects pursued across time and space, in the social condition of growing biographical possibilities and uneven social/ideological change. Their resolutions of competing priorities by engaging in various permutations of home-work and paid work are termed **'workable solutions'**, with an intentional play on the double sense of 'work' – firstly as labour, thus being able to perform work, whether paid or not; secondly as in being able to *make things work* or function in the family unit's best interests, however defined.

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study draws on semi-structured interviews with two sets of parents in the thick of the family 'time' of caring for school-aged children, facing a variety of spatial conditions and possibilities, to account for the complexity of families and their multiple, concurrent concerns and projects across time and space. The first set consists of 34 military families in three different Australian towns who were interviewed about how they managed the frequent interstate relocations dictated by the military career. The second group consists of 26 families with at least one professional parent (doctor, nurse, teacher or police officer) living in six selected rural and remote communities in Australia. This group offer a contrast to the military families in that they could exercise their own choices about the 'timing' and 'placing' of their household moves. The combined samples included two female single parents, and five blended families. The nature of the sampling through occupational groups means this study does not represent women in families facing unemployment, women with same sex partners, or family units without dependent children.

To maintain the family as the unit of analysis, the interviewer and interviewees co-constructed a visual timeline to capture family formation, career decisions, and educational progress for all family members over a chronology of household

relocations. Each interview could then elicit detailed narratives about the intersubjective deliberations at each time/space juncture. The interviews, each approximately one hour long, explored how each family unit reconciled career and educational strategies when considering household relocations. Where possible, both partners were interviewed as a couple, but more typically one partner spoke on behalf of the family. The analysis identifies patterns across data selections where the women talked about their roles across the home front and the workforce, and about deliberations surrounding their strategies/rationales, desires, emotions and priorities. It will illustrate the range of 'workable solutions' reported that allowed the women in these various households to make and remake work roles over time and space; the context and status accorded to their intersubjective constraints; and what emotions their solutions evoked. The analysis firstly reports on the military families and their workable solutions for circumstances not of their own making. As a population, these families provide a particularly valuable empirical window into 'extreme cases' of how women with families can and do think about their own careers within their intersubjective constraints and the opportunity structures they are dealt. The analysis then turns to the workable solutions of professional families who could more actively choose when and where to relocate. Pseudonyms are used to protect confidentiality.

MILITARY FAMILIES

Mobility to achieve career advancement is often required for Australian Defence Force (ADF) members. Relocations within Australia and perhaps internationally can be expected every 2–4 years (Department of Defence, 2008). The 34 families interviewed had at least one parent employed full time in the Australian Defence Forces (ADF), and as a result had already undertaken a total of 121 household moves with their school-aged children (an average of between three and four moves each, within a range of one to nine). Of these 121 moves, 95 were interstate, 15 intrastate and 11 international. In addition, all families anticipated more moves. In all cases, the male partner was an ADF member. In one case both parents were enlisted. Thus the imperative to move typically derived from and prioritised the male partner's career interests, aligning at least temporarily with a male breadwinner model of the family. This institutional gender regime and the opportunity cost to these families in terms of household earning potential are recognised and partly compensated through generous housing, service and financial supports.

All 34 families sampled were couple families with mum, dad and the kids. The vast majority were first marriages/partnerships, while two were blended families from subsequent partnerships. The number of children at home ranged from one to four, most having two or three children. The majority of interviews (24) were conducted with the mother who was a non-ADF member, given the frequent and extended absence of many ADF members on training exercises or active duty. Despite their common demographic characteristics, they outlined a diverse range of workable solutions.

The Homemaker Career

In this workable solution women embraced full-time home duties to care for their children. Once the default 'solution' that needed no explanation, this has become a marked choice which women justify with various spatial, temporal, moral, and emotional reasons. The following interviewee proudly named her career as *"homemaker"*, claiming a strong shared commitment and comfort in this role given its heightened significance in the conditions of firstly *"having the kids home"* and secondly her husband's frequent and extended absences. Thus the homemaker career is constructed as a conscious and principled workable solution for the family's phase and spatial conditions.

> *I probably won't [work in this town] because with having the kids home and with [husband] away …we're comfortable for me to be able to stay home so I can be the homemaker and be with the kids because it's important…my husband and I think that it's important for a family with values for the kids to have a stable parent at home because he does go away and if they go away for 6 months and I'm working…yeah, no.* (Amy)

Another interviewee expressed a strong moral principle against the use of child care in early childhood as her grounds for 'staying at home', reinforced by the economic criteria of *"doing all right"* at the time.

> *I'm not a parent that could have a child and then send it off to day care straight away. That's not me. … And we just decided we were doing all right so that was it, I gave up work. I was also working night shifts and early mornings and you name it so I thought 'No, that's it, I'm not mucking around with this' and we stayed at home.* (Jenny)

For others, the homemaker role was an emotional solution to regrets associated with arrangements for an earlier child:

> *I had a baby and one in primary school I just thought I need time because I hadn't stopped at all after my first and I missed a lot. Like my mum … was picking my son up from daycare and he was saying 'mum' and all that so I stopped (laughs)*. (Michelle)

For another, homemaking was a solution to proactively avoid the emotional fallout and family impact of pursuing paid employment: *"and at this stage have no plans of returning [to paid work] because I see other families where the spouse is working full time and the struggle that they're trying to cope and deal with it"* (Sarah).

Mothering for these women is an active career strategy that takes precedence over other options. While the first quote expresses no sense of time limitations, the others invoke a sense of timing in the decision – whether *"I need time"*, *"at this stage"*, or not *"straight away"*. By *"we"* and *"my husband and I"*, the first two quotes reference the couple's joint decision-making, such that work decisions are

joint intersubjective problems to solve, not an individual's domain. This de-centring of the individual was evident in many of the data selections.

Home Time for Professional Investment

Some women reported using a homemaker phase to undertake study towards future vocational goals:

> *I enrolled to do uni ... I did it by correspondence, I thought well I'm not doing anything anyway so ... I stayed at home with the kids, I got to study.* (Laura)

> *I started a nursing degree so I'm in the last stages of that now. While the boys are young and I can study part time … Next year I should be finishing up so full time [work] after that yeah. The youngest will be at school then as well.* (Nicole)

For another, this value-adding phase was delayed till after an initial intense homemaker phase was over:

> *I am at university at the moment, starting – fingers crossed – behavioural science degree next semester but I've gone back into education after taking time out to bring up my family; it was a conscious decision that that's what we would do because of my husband's job.* (Melissa)

Of interest here, is the strength of conscious vocational planning over timed phases, how any design fits within the constraints of intersubjective responsibilities, and the couple's joint problem-solving around *"what we would do"*.

Solving the Moral Problem of Child Care

Child care for young children was a necessary if not sufficient condition for many women's participation in paid employment, and thus its availability a crucial defining condition of whether a woman could consider work outside the home in the particular location: *"once I found child care I could then structure my work around that"* (Hannah). That said, many of the women's accounts at the same time construed child care as morally dubious even though necessary and expressed an underlining principle of minimising their children's time in care outside the home: *"My idea is with a husband in the forces I cannot see how working full time would work. I'm not prepared to have people looking after my children before and after school, that's just not my philosophy"* (Kelly). This moral bind led to a variety of workable solutions:

- delaying paid work until children are school age, then a preference for paid work only in school hours: *"lucky now I can work – he doesn't have to be in child care. I can start when he starts school and I finish when he finishes school"* (Hannah);
- confining paid work to a limited number of days: *"I was doing 20 hours a week but not wanting to be apart from the kids 5 days a week I did two 10 hour shifts.*

So Monday and Tuesday I did 7 til 5:30 so I had the rest of the time home with the kids and uni and everything else that I had to do. So they were only in childcare two days a week." (Laura);

- tag team parenting, that is, limiting the woman's paid work hours to when the partner or relatives were available to care for children: *"I worked nights so [husband] was home, or my mum and dad"* (Amy);
- taking work that allowed their child to accompany them: *"... boss needed someone to come in so [son] came with me until he turned five months essentially; until he was rolling over and trying to crawl round the office pulling the computer cords out"* (Sonya).

There is a sense that for many of these women/families ideologically the care of the young child remains primarily with the mother. If she 'only' works nights, limited days, or school hours, she can still to some degree defend her moral worth as a mother. This moral bind circumscribing women's engagement with paid work is illustrated in the ironies of the following quote, where the mother describes her passion for particular work, but the conditions under which she does it to satisfy the couple's moral premise of what is euphemistically called 'staying home':

> *So I was paid for one morning a week and I used to go in other mornings a week but I took the job because first of all I'm passionate about [community support work] and secondly because I could take my daughter with me and it was extremely important to both of us that one of us was staying home.* (Melissa)

Child care was also economically problematic in some women's workable solutions because it incurred costs that decided whether or not paid work was 'worth it': *"Okay, I'm getting out, I'm meeting people, I'm doing something but then I'm not earning any money because I'm putting it all straight to childcare and I thought 'No, until he starts school next year I'm not even bothering'."* (Eve).

Work and Child Care as Essential

There were other women who expressed no such ambivalence about child care. For these women, the 'I' asserted itself over the 'we'. Paid work was what they did as individuals, and child care had to be part of the workable solution:

> *It must be a school that provides before and after care because otherwise it's not a school that we can attend. ... It's non-negotiable. This is what I do. I need to be sane – I have to go to work.* (Paula)

As new arrivals in town, the necessary child care arrangements were complicated by limited places, prices, waiting lists, the number of children, transport routes, drop off and pick up routines. All these conditions had to be met if a workable solution could 'work':

> *I got offered the most amazing job in the world – awesome wage, great house; couldn't find child care – had to turn the job down. … I went to everything and a couple of places it was the cost – there was no family day care places at all, unless I wanted to drive for two hours through Sydney traffic … it just was not possible so I didn't work for the year we were in Sydney.* (Gina)

> *Part of the choice [of school and house] was because once again, for me to get to work and for him to get to work, it was the only school that provided us a location within that area that was close that we could do that route and still get to school on time and get to work on time.* (Paula)

This subset of women pursued continuous full-time work regardless of household locations. One valuable asset in this regard within this workable solution was employment in a large government department or large enterprise with multiple offices across the nation:

> *When we finally got our posting to Brisbane … my managers sent out my resumes to all the business managers in [national agency] ... they rang me and said you've got a choice of three jobs, which one do you want?* (Brenda)

> *I myself have now worked at [large retailer] in three different states.* (Zara)

Such continuity was not possible for other would-be-workers, who nevertheless set about reconstituting their participation in paid employment and stake in a professional career path by other means:

> *I couldn't take my business. When I got to Brisbane I tried to get a public servant job and that was ridiculous. I think I wrote about 18 applications and got 1 interview ... which was really frustrating ... so from February to August I did waitressing and I loved that and some of the ladies that used to come and eat there worked for [department] so I actually got a job at [department]*. (Natalie)

The Deflated Career

Constant relocation complicated workplace progressions for some who continued to seek employment – being willing to reduce ambitions or status was one workable solution for them to maintain employment within family contingencies:

> *When we met I was a full-time public servant in Canberra, I was a Class 6, and then I had to take a demotion to a Class 4 to go to Geelong. And then I got back up to the 6 and then I took a demotion to the 4 to go to Darwin.* (Natalie)

The Re-Directed Career

For some women, their past professional investments were considered to be no longer compatible with their emergent family circumstances, prompting a fresh start

on a different occupational pathway. For example, one mother decided early in her marriage to a Defence member that her career path in the state-based police service *"was no longer valid ... so I have since gone back to university and I'm in fourth year of a business degree"* (Sonya). Another mother outlined the multiple intersubjective considerations behind her decision to retrain:

> *I'm just doing child services for the moment … I'm doing the certificate now … I actually do accounts and that. I've done like book keeping courses, accounting courses and things like that but now I just thought something totally different ... but also because we move around … I thought if I have that as a background as well as the accounting and the office work it might be easier to get my foot in the school door. So that's basically why I'm doing this one now. … I just work a couple of days. … and just at school as well.... also just waiting for them to get a bit bigger … and also them being alone. I wouldn't leave them alone until they were old enough to be responsible.* (Debra)

This last quote reveals a well developed reflexive strategy to design a career that aligns with the spatial conditions and temporal phases of their family unit. Her sense of sacrificing relative status in the world of work is revealed in her use of *"just"* to describe the field of child services, and *"just"* a couple of days work. These women's decisions to re-direct their careers have privileged and protected the husband's work demands as non-negotiable givens, while their own capacity to work becomes the dependent variable that must absorb the intersubjective complexity. This wasn't the case for the next workable solution.

Compromising Between Careers

A handful of the 34 families reported delaying the male partner's career progression in deference to children's schooling needs or the female partner's career:

> *I'm there for a year and then I do all my promotion courses and then get offered a posting and it was all over the place. Like Australia wide; it had Tasmania, Western Australia… these were the options they gave me and I just went over and over it and in the end I said no because they wouldn't accept … [my wife] was at the time doing her study to become a teacher's aide … I think we were looking at going to Tasmania and we rang the TAFE and they said "no she'll have to start all over again" and we just said no. So I put my foot down I just said "look, I'm not going to take the promotion"* (Craig).

Another male partner had stipulated which state he needed for the next posting, so his wife could return to her State-department position as a teacher following extended family leave:

> *We've got two more years left and then we leave 2012 and that's the reason we have to leave…because of my career, because I can only take seven years*

> *maternity leave from [state Department of Education]. So this is the year I have to be back to work or I have to resign. So the army has said to my husband that yes we can get you back because we understand that your wife has to go back for work.* (Jane)

These partners were exercising what limited flexibility the military institution offered them to achieve a 'both/and' solution that could better accommodate individual projects of all members of the family. The more extreme version of this solution was for the Defence member to leave the Forces altogether, a last resort 'workable solution' that a few of the families were actively considering.

Not Compromising Between Careers

In one family, the parents' two careers paths were proving more and more difficult to reconcile, and the stress was reportedly ever present:

> *Moving time at our house is extremely stressful because we start the arguments – he says "Well you know it's my career" and I go "Yes, it may be your career, but you know I have a career too ... and we both have to work and they need to understand that you have a family and as such, they need to be supportive of the fact that you have a family". He says "Well I can get out" and I went "Yeah, and what are you going to do?"* (Paula)

This account of predictable, habitual stress illustrates the contradictory emotional investments producing unresolved interpersonal conflict – those deep investments in their respective work identities, and those at stake in the marriage. Elsewhere in her interview, this woman dismissed the deflated career option as a *"hard demand"* to make of her in the marriage, given her long term aspirations:

> *I could probably negotiate and only work certain shifts but that is such a hard demand, especially when I go to a place and I'm looking to climb the corporate ladder. If I want to do that then I've got to play their ballgame.* (Paula)

This was the only military family interviewed in which the woman did not report some tactic of compromise, deflation or patience in her plans for work. Instead, she reported intense research before each posting to identify housing and school choices in each location that in their combination with their places of employment would provide some workable solution with which this family could maintain the two careers and their children's schooling. For one posting this included successfully lobbying the local government to adjust school bus timetables. This effort she describes, undertaken behind the scenes to satisfy the intersubjective premises underpinning her participation in paid employment, belies the seeming parity with her partners' career investments and demands. By her account, her chosen career could progress in each location only when and if these conditions were met.

The Circumstantial Career

The following quote offers a detailed narrative of one woman's decisions to reconfigure her work and family roles, in the conditions produced by her husband's lengthy absences. She doesn't speak of income and work satisfaction, but rather of the emotional climate of the home, domestic duties, time with her children, pleasure derived from her time at home, and the happenstance of an offer of 'family-friendly' work at her children's school:

> *I finished up [full time work] in July this year because I wanted to take some time off to be with my children … I work at the school four mornings a week ... Earlier in the year I sort of made the decision, you know, it is tough when [husband's] not home to share the burden of the kids and groceries and all that sort of stuff and I said to [husband] whilst he was away this time "Eight months has been a long, long time. It just feels that it's too long" and coming home from work in the evenings it's like rush, rush, rush and then I wasn't spending the time with the kids that I wanted to do and I said to [husband] "When you come back, I'm going to be cutting out my work. I'm either going to go part time or I'm going to finish up for a while". Initially I was going to go back and do full time work but I enjoyed my time off. So I said to my husband "I'm going to take six months off" so I'm not going to start looking for work now until the New Year. It was only by fluke the school had advertised for a teacher's aide ... so I spoke to the boys and I said "How would you feel for me to work there?" ... They were both very excited but I wouldn't have gone to the school to do the work had they not felt comfortable with me doing it because I know that's their time, that's their friends and they'll act a little bit differently when myself and [husband] aren't around and I don't want to interfere on their time either.* (*Mary*)

Of particular interest here is firstly her assertive decision to reduce work commitments, then its contrast with the condition she herself placed on the work offer of whether her school-aged children were agreeable. There is a dense network of intersubjective contingencies evident in this narrative of a career course, forcibly shaping her decisions by their externally imposed conditions, with little if any reference to the nature of the work, its internal qualities or satisfactions.

Another interviewee shared a suppressed, wistful sense of hope for other, more individual, possibilities above and beyond her core commitment to the homemaker role, but still within her intersubjective constraints:

> *you know always in the back of my mind…not that that's been a huge issue for me since the kids because my career has really taken a back step in that I've chosen to be at home with the kids and stuff like that but always in the back of my mind is, "What opportunities are going to come for me?" and "Are they going to fit in with what's happening with everybody else?"* (Barbara)

As a group, these accounts by women in military families revealed different premises, emotions, settlements and moral logics behind their solutions, be they working solely in the home, reducing paid career goals, reconfiguring a more compatible professional pathway, stoically pursuing one's own profession, or relying on the happenstance of what opportunities may arise. Women with families, as this highly selected group demonstrated, are not a homogeneous population, and defy glib generalisations. Their accounts may share common situational contingencies such as child care availability, waiting lists, partner absences, and school drop offs, however similar 'workable solutions' were often rationalised under different 'whys'. For example, homemaking was explained as a calling, a temporary phase, or an economic calculation. On the other hand, similar 'why' concerns were addressed through diverse 'hows', such as the different strategies families used to keep formal childcare to a minimum.

The rate at which these families moved would test any household, but these women showed determination, perseverance, flexibility, patience, resourcefulness and humility in their willingness to explore their place in the structure of opportunities offered in each location. The women described passions, anger, stress, satisfactions, relish, assertiveness, compromises, sacrifices, dedication, ambition, frustrations, hopes, regrets, and doubts as they weighed their projects against the needs and goals of others in their families. It was often the couple as 'we' that made decisions about the woman's career plans in these accounts and decisions were predicated on 'our' values, the boss 'needing someone', the husband's absences, or the children's schooling hours. This dense web of intersubjectivity imposed conditions and constraints on the women's career possibilities, but most were willing parties to these constraints themselves given their emotional stake in the family – their wants and needs could not be neatly partitioned from those of the family unit. It's complicated.

PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES

The second set of 27 families included four doctors, five nurses (one single parenting), 12 police officers, one financial administrator, and 12 teachers (two single parenting), with a total of 81 children (from one to six children in the family, with a mode of three). These families could entertain very different options in that the professional skills of at least one of their parents are in constant demand across Australia's regional and remote communities. This group were in effect spoilt for choice about where their household might live, while the military families had little or no choice. For the latter, the military career (typically of the male partner) demanded priority, reducing the female partner's participation in paid employment to vicarious and reactive opportunity. For the professional families, however, there was the capacity to consider and optimise the opportunity structures for both partners in location decisions. For teachers and police careers in particular, promotional opportunities often entailed household relocations to where a job at the next desired level was available. Did this result in different workable solutions?

Some families reported similar workable solutions to those described above, such as planning phases in the woman's career trajectory devoted to homemaking. However, the difference for some professional mothers with their valuable skills was in the responsive conditions afforded by their institutional employers:

> *I could have seven years family leave ... I was very happy to take that leave ... So we were in a position that I could take that leave and I could provide that care for my children and that was what I wanted to do ... So in 2008 I did return to teaching and I have been part-time since then.* (Anna)

Unlike the aforementioned ADF member's professional partner who had also been provided with seven years family leave from her state Department of Education, returning to teaching was less complicated for this teacher because it did not require negotiation with the ADF to move back to her original state of employment. Moreover, such security and flexibility was typically not available to the military mother with a patchwork of circumstantial employment.

The Female Breadwinner

In marked contrast to the military families, some of these families privileged the professional career of the woman and cast the male partner's work as contingent and more circumscribed. The mother's work demands became the non-negotiable given, while their partner's workforce participation became the dependent variable that absorbed the intersubjective complexity of family life. For example, a female doctor described her husband's move to more piecemeal, casual work: *"So really he moved here because I was planning to move here. ... Yeah, he's been – he's done a bit of supply teaching and he does all of our books"* (Beth). Another family came to a similar solution, but for a different reason, being the male partner's poor health. In a third family this solution had emerged as an economic necessity: *"Well, it's always been my job that has kept us going, because I can always earn more money. That's why I've always worked."* (Lily).

The female doctors were in constant high demand given the serious shortfall of medical practitioners in rural and remote Australia. While two of the three female doctors interviewed had male partners who took the role of primary caregiver, the third reported hiring a live-in nanny. As a collateral effect of their breadwinner role and workforce demand, all three reported taking minimal maternity leave (one week in some cases) following the births of their children: *"Yeah you have to go back don't you? I mean if you don't go back and continue in medicine then it's career suicide. You might as well have never done the four years of study..."* (Carol).

Dual Careers with a Spatial Solution

Given greater flexibility to pursue opportunities, there were some families that had managed to reconcile and maintain dual career paths. Furthermore, these families had

devised a workable solution in combining a spatially defined work role with aspatial work for the other. One female doctor explained how her husband's engineering work could continue by virtual means regardless of their household location, allowing her to take a rural position: *"... what he does is very transportable. So as long as he's got a computer and a high speed internet connection he's pretty right ... It works well."* (Carol). In other couples, the spatial anchor was the male partner's connection to farm land that could be accommodated by the woman's career in teaching or nursing, given the widespread demand for these skills.

Dual Careers with a Timing Solution

Similar to the military families, many of these families expressed reservations about formal child care, and had devised ways to reduce or avoid child care by dovetailing work times:

> *We're lucky because [husband's] a chef. He has to work on the weekends most of the time, so he gets days off during the week ... So [youngest child] only has to go to day care three days a week.* (Helen)

The sample also included couples with 'tandem careers' working in the same profession for the same employers: two families in which both partners were teachers, three families in which both partners were police officers, and one family in which both partners were nurses. These combinations facilitated workable solutions in some ways. Tandem career police families in particular reported managing family demands through reduced and complementary rosters:

> *With the part time work we just did shifts. I just did three days a week back then ... He would just work around that ... we really didn't want to use child care. We didn't want to put our children in a centre. Policing had the flexibility.* (Joanne)

However, it also produced problems when promotional opportunities arose elsewhere for one but not the other. One police couple described their workable solution of 'leap frog' promotions, whereby one relocation enabled the promotion of one partner, and then the next enabled the promotion of the other.

Not So Grand Career Narratives

While the women in these families had greater flexibility to pursue coherent career goals, many reported limited interest in climbing career ladders, given either satisfaction at their current level, or their desire to prioritise family demands:

> *At work they were wanting me to do my nurse practitioners and I had a bit of pressure put on me to do that but I knew my limitations. I just don't have the time to do it. I wouldn't be able to do it. ...I'm just happy – I'm happy with my work situation. Things are so busy at home.* (Ellen)

> *Me? I'm too happy being mum. I don't want to put the extra time into work.* (Gabrielle)
>
> *... a classroom teacher the entire time and I'm very happy to do that.* (Suzanne)
>
> *Those principals – I look at the hours that they do and go, oh, I've got little kids and I actually want to be a mum. I don't want to be a not-mum, like an absent mum.* (Helen)

This workable solution may resonate with the 'mommy track' concept in management studies, whereby women "moderate their ultimate career aspirations in order to raise their children" (Hill, Martinson, Ferris, & Baker, 2004, p. 122). However, it is important to dignify the emotions these women associate with this design – their happiness and satisfaction – which contrast with the narrative of economic disadvantage and stymied ambition in 'mommy track' literature.

Single Parents' Workable Solutions using Space and Time Strategically

The three female single parents in the sample possibly faced the most challenging and pressing search for workable solutions to maintain household income and professional status. Without a second adult in the household to consider, they could manipulate the timing and placing of their workforce participation to suit themselves, their opportunities and their responsibilities. In this regard, two of these mothers purposefully relocated their families to be closer to extended family members as sources of support and ongoing assistance:

> *I was tempted to stay there but then I knew I'd need mum and dad. ... It was really a matter of I knew I'd have to keep working but how was I going to work with two young kids ... I knew how hard it was with me and my husband trying to do it; I couldn't do it on my own, so no, I'm coming home.* (Ellen)

The third single mother deployed the decision to relocate in a very different way, taking a remote post to achieve permanency with her state department employer and thus financial security, and contemplating an inter-state move on extended leave in the future to chase more educational opportunities for her child. This mobility of the family unit was offset by her intersubjective constraints when it came to accessing professional development (PD) opportunities away from home: *"I'm quite concerned when it comes to PD. It limits me in that area because I can't just up and go to whatever's on because I can't just leave her."* (Olivia).

One single mother explained how, after the dissolution of her marriage, she was compelled to return to work much earlier than she had planned: *"It put me back in the workforce a lot sooner than what I would have – I would have been a happy stay at home mum, until the children were all happily settled at school"* (Suzanna). She managed this and the intense demands of her young family by taking a part-time job below her professional status:

> *It was only three days a week or something thereabouts. I actually had to sign a document to say that I would accept lower pay, because I was too highly qualified for the job, because I was trying to get myself back into the workforce and this was an easy way to do it ... Probably very much building me up, knowing that I still had the skills to do what I could do. Getting me back on track.* (Suzanna)

She also purposefully chose co-educational schools for her children for the pragmatic reasons of day-to-day schedules: *"So I wanted co-ed, one drop-off place for all three – then I could worry about me getting to work"* (Suzanna).

Living Together Apart

European sociologists have noted the emergence of a new family formation, 'living apart together', and its weaker version of 'commuting marital/cohabitational relationships' (Levin, 2004, p. 228) as a result of the growing individualisation of the social fabric. The military families had a similar solution available to them as 'unaccompanied' postings whereby families (mother and children) could be financially supported to stay on to complete schooling, while the ADF member (usually the father) is posted elsewhere for a number of years. None of the ADF families we interviewed had taken up this option, and most were wary of its potential stress on the family unit, given their experiences over the ADF member's long absences on active deployment. In contrast, one professional family we interviewed had thrived under a workable solution of living apart together across two households in different towns five hours' drive apart: *"We've got separate things"* (Tania). Their child resided with his mother, and had accompanied her to a number of remote towns for her work opportunities over the years. Their location at the time of the interview offered both a career opportunity for her, and high schooling for her son to Year 10, after which they were considering relocating to the same town as his father, more for the boy's last years at school than family reasons.

In another professional family interviewed, the father lived in a remote town for two weeks to work, then spent the next two weeks off, in a regional city with the rest of his family. Though the family originally lived together in the remote town, they were not satisfied with the quality of schooling available. This priority prompted their decision to relocate the mother and children to a larger centre with a wider range of schooling options. This 'solution' had also enabled the mother to pursue further professional education at university. The 'workable solution' of disaggregating the family temporarily was their choice in response to conflicting priorities and they intended to continue under these conditions until a better opportunity offered itself. This makeshift decision made within the family unit should be distinguished from the 'fly-in-fly-out' work contracts increasingly promoted by mining companies in order to staff remote locations in Australia (Haslam McKenzie, 2010). When devised as an institutional solution, there is an underlying presumption that the non-contracted

partner (typically female) will be able and willing to run any family household in their partner's absence, and expect her to absorb any intersubjective demands in her life chances and workforce participation. Though this may well appear the case for this professional family as well, the female partner has helped craft the family decision.

CONCLUSION

As argued in the introduction, there is growing recognition in career studies of the social ties and intersubjective concerns that impinge on individuals' career plans and trajectories. Women with family responsibilities are living in times that are contradictory in their uneven social changes, endorsing choice, self-actualisation and workforce participation on one hand, but offering few certainties or templates for how this freedom is to be enacted and reconciled with more resilient ideologies around family roles, responsibilities and child care. 'How does she do it?' would still seem to be a valid question to ask and monitor as this fundamental social change works its way through social strata and institutions. Each family's improvisation of workable solutions tells us something about how intersubjectivity shapes career trajectories, where it is willingly embraced as a rewarding life condition, or where the presumptions of others or institutions feel like an imposition. There are thus further questions that need to be asked such as, 'Under what rationale?', 'For how long?', 'Within what constraints?' 'On whose terms?' and 'At what cost to whom?' With these dimensions explored more fully, society will be in a better position to assess whether or not women are just being expected to meet the needs of others in yet another way on behalf of a reconfigured society.

Time and space emerged as considerations in multiple guises and as variables to manipulate. On one scale, family phases paced and structured stages for women's engagement in paid work outside the home. On another, the timing of daily drop offs, pickups and commuting routes imposed ever present space/time conditions of possibility on women's engagement with paid work and set career parameters for many women. While some families managed to stretch their time in a location by delaying the partner's promotion to progress the woman's career goals, other families stretched their members over space to optimise opportunities for all family members. The professional families enjoyed more freedom to exercise choice, and had more resources with which to invent solutions. This set demonstrated more overlap and parity between partner's careers and a greater 'pick and mix' diversity of workable solutions.

It is not enough to identify a range of workable solutions and celebrate the resourceful improvisations by women with families and their resilience. Rather innovations in their workable solutions should point us to the institutional contradictions, presumptions and uneven social change which demand such resourcefulness and flexibility from families, then make us question whether women should be expected to absorb these institutional contradictions in their careers as private responsibilities and emotional bargains.

The case of the military couple not prepared to compromise on the two professional paths offers an important counter-example to the de-centred, intersubjectively constrained female careers more typically reported. By insisting on conditions that could sustain her vertical career progression, this young mother intended to have both a family and a career on her own terms, not just those rendered intersubjectively within the family unit. This dream took hard work as she encountered not just her husbands' attitudes, but more importantly and more subtly, the presumptions built into the institutions involved. These included: the intransigent conditions of her hospital employment, with its awkward and non-negotiable shifts; her partner's similarly entrenched military culture with its tacit gender regime of shifts, postings and absences that presume a homemaker partner; then schools, bus timetables and child care settings with their own strict time regimes. She and her partner wore as marital troubles the contradictions between these institutional settings and their uneven recognition of how families might work in a changing world. On another level, this case augurs difficult times ahead for the nuclear family, as new generations forge new rules of engagement in a world of more opportunity but fewer guarantees.

The cases of the single parenting mothers serve as reminders that family units are not necessarily stable, and partnerships can dissolve. Women who embrace the homemaker role as a permanent or temporary phase in their careers take a risk, and will absorb the opportunity cost of this decision if forced back on the labour market if the partnership dissolves. On the other hand, such calculative risk assessment fails to recognise the satisfaction and pleasure many women reported from their home duties, and the joint negotiation of 'we' decisions many reported behind this phase. The occasional cases that reported male partners taking primary responsibility for the family front suggest that these risks and satisfactions may become more evenly spread across men and women in the future.

The mothers profiled here had valuable professions, or the security of their partner's military employment, underpinning their solutions. Not all women with families can rely on such security. Since the beginning of 2011, Australia has instituted 18 weeks of paid parental leave for working parents, as a first step to realign social institutions with the empirical and normative realities of women's participation in paid work. We would suggest that there could be much more improvisation and flexibility on the part of social and employer institutions to work with, not against, the family responsibilities of their workers.

Career studies professionals have a research role to play in empirically monitoring how women's careers unfold over time, the normative and moral climate around their decisions, and whether men's careers accrue the same level of intersubjective accountability and contingency over time. If this is not the case, the profession has an advocacy role to play to promote employment practices, institutional arrangements and career paths that dignify and support multiple life roles for all adults, and that accommodate different family life phases for all parenting adults. In addition, the profession has an educative role, encouraging clients/students to explore their attitudes to family responsibilities in the future, and consider models and plans for

'how they might do it' such that family and work roles need not be in competition but part of a mutually fulfilling mix.

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CHAPTER 6

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MIDLIFE CAREER TRANSITIONS FOR WOMEN

DEFINITION OF MIDLIFE

The definition of "midlife" is highly flexible. Various sources define it as beginning anywhere between 35 and 45 years of age, and ending somewhere between 55 and 64 (Madsen, 2011). Clearly, the boundaries of middle age are fluid, with no single psychological, social, or biological event signaling either the beginning or the end of this time of life. Rather, individuals typically experience a number of life events and role transitions during these years, including those related to physical appearance and health, sexuality, marital status, parenting, grandparenting, caring for aging family members, employment, and retirement. These events are not experienced by everyone, nor do they occur at the same age, or in the same sequence (Etaugh, 2008). In addition, transitions in one or more of these areas often influence changes in other areas in complex and unpredictable ways.

Women may experience midlife in a different way than do men because of differences in their life histories. Fundamental changes in social attitudes regarding gender roles over the past several decades have broadened the opportunities available to women in midlife as well as in other life stages. Thus, today's middle-aged women and men may differ less than was the case a generation ago (Vanderveen, 1994).

MIDLIFE ROLE TRANSITIONS: CRISIS OR PRIME OF LIFE?

Midlife is portrayed by some scholars and by the popular press as a confusing, tumultuous time of life (Slay, Taylor, & Williamson, 2004). Certainly, it is a time when numerous physical, personal and social transitions occur (Muhlbauer, 2007). Menopause, health issues, concerns relating to body image and sexuality, the empty nest, and the declining health of one's parents are experiences that most, if not all, women face. For many women, these experiences can be a source of stress. In addition, some midlife women find themselves dealing with the emotional and financial costs of divorce or widowhood, struggles with defiant teenagers, job stresses, work-family balance issues, or financial difficulties brought on by an economic decline. Nonetheless, contrary to the frequent portrayal of middle age as a time of crisis, turmoil, and self-doubt, research shows that midlife women often consider this time

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to be one of vibrancy, growth, and empowerment (Denmark & Klara, 2007; Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). Mitchell and Helson (1990) characterise middle age as women's "prime of life". Others describe midlife as a period of "postmenopausal zest" during which women show enhanced energy, determination, and ability to gain control over their lives and pursue their dreams. The combination of freedom from reproductive concerns, a sense of accomplishment accompanying the successful launching of children and an increase in available time allow women to concentrate more on their self-development, and on their partner, job, and community (Etaugh, 2008). Women often realise skills and strengths they had not previously recognised or exercised (Denmark & Klara, 2007).

Many midlife women go through a process of life review, that is, an intensive self-evaluation of numerous aspects of their lives (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). They reexamine their family and occupational goals and values, assess their accomplishments, and sometimes consider new career directions. Some women experience changes in priorities (such as the importance of money, success, status, and meeting the expectations of others) that can change the direction of the careers (Madsen, 2011). Whereas some women make transitions to different jobs or careers during midlife, others further their formal education and/or begin their paid employment role at this period in their lives (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). Some pick up occupational pursuits that had been put on hold for several years because of family responsibilities (Denmark & Klara, 2007).

Since today's cohort of middle-aged women encountered a variety of societal gender-role messages when growing up, some have been following traditional gender roles (full-time homemaker, stay-at-home mother) throughout their lives, while others began young adulthood adhering to these traditional roles but made changes in their middle adult years. Still others deviated from traditional expectations by committing themselves to careers in early adulthood. Because each of these patterns of choices can be fulfilling, many women are satisfied with their life paths, and therefore make no changes at midlife (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013).

THE CAREER MYSTIQUE AND BEYOND

The work history patterns of women and men in the twenty-first century increasingly are taking many different forms. The culturally accepted "standard" view that a career involves a period of education, followed by a period of full-time continuous work (often in one occupation), capped off by retirement, is the path that typically has been taken by mostly White, mostly middle-class men. These men often have had homemaking wives or wives who put their own careers on the back burner. Phyllis Moen (2005) uses the term career mystique to refer to the belief that this scenario represents the ideal path to occupational success and personal fulfillment. She points out that this continuous, orderly career path has rarely been possible for most women, minorities, immigrants, and low-wage workers. Furthermore, even those with previously secure middle-class jobs now are vulnerable to layoffs, downsizing, and

forced early retirements. In addition, the old model of a household consisting of one breadwinner and one homemaker rarely is sufficient to make ends meet in today's economy. Moen concludes that in the 21st century, this model therefore is increasingly outdated, unrealistic, and rare. For one thing, today's workforce is more diverse than in the past. It is composed about equally of women and men, is more heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity and immigrant status, and is older, on average. Another reason that the old model is outdated, she notes, is the increase in longevity. Today's middle-aged Americans are healthier, more vigorous, and better educated than their parents or grandparents were at those ages. Those who have spent many years in high-pressure jobs with long hours may not wish simply to retire, but may be interested in opportunities for rewarding and more flexible second or third careers (Moen, 2005).

Women's workplace participation has been affected in at least two major ways by the increase in longevity. For one thing, the average life expectancy of an American woman has increased from 50 years at the turn of the twentieth century, to 80 years today (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). For nearly the last half century, women have increasingly devoted some of these additional years to paid labour force participation. For example, whereas in 1970 only 40 percent of married women with children were in the work force, by 2009 this number had increased to 70 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The increasing longevity of the population has affected women in another way as well. Their parents are living longer, and may be spending some of those later years in declining health. The care of family members – whether children or aging elders – is a role typically assumed by women. Women have historically taken time away their jobs to give birth and care for young children (Sugar, 2007). Greater longevity means that today's midlife baby boomer women are the first generation that can expect to spend more years caring for their aging parents than for their children. After spending 18 years (or more) rearing their children, they are likely to spend 20 or 30 years looking after their parents or in-laws (Sugar, 2007). In addition, they may be assisting young adult children who either have left home or who have moved back home with their parents, a phenomenon that has become more prevalent in recent years with the decline in the economy (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013; Kulik, 2007; Pew Research Center, 2011).

The financial impact of caring for elderly relatives is considerable. About half of employed caregivers (most of them women) have reported rearranging work schedules, decreasing working hours, or taking an unpaid leave (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). Still others pass up promotions, or change jobs in order to have greater flexibility to accommodate caregiving activity (Sugar, 2007). Such flexibility may take a toll not only on a woman's income, but also on her career success, at least as traditionally defined (Madsen, 2011).

HISTORICAL PATTERNS IN CAREER TRANSITIONS

As women's attachment to the work force has increased, the number of career transitions they experience has grown as well. Such transitions can come about for a

number of reasons. Some of these factors are driven by the marketplace. As we shall explore in more detail later in this chapter, the U.S. labour market has undergone a massive transformation over the last three or more decades, with the movement from a largely manufacturing-based economy to one that is more focused on service industries (Kim, 2005). In addition, technological changes have made some jobs obsolete and have created others. Moreover, the recent recession has resulted in job losses that have forced individuals to look for new job or career paths. Many involuntary career transitions can be traced to these forces.

Other career transitions that relate to market factors are voluntary. For one thing, career transitions have become important mechanisms both for advancement within an occupation and upward transfer between occupations. In this regard, career transitions have special implications for the work lives of contemporary American women in their middle years. Most of today's cohort of midlife women grew to adulthood as the second wave of the feminist movement was making great inroads into the expansion of opportunities for women both in education and in occupations that previously were the exclusive domain of men. This movement brought about a shift in the way in which both individuals and the society at large viewed appropriate roles for women. Young women incorporated this expanded view of gender roles in ways that have stayed with them for life (Muhlbauer, 2007). Some women in this cohort were unable to take full advantage of these expanded opportunities early in their adult lives. This is a time of life when the expression of stereotypical gender roles tends to be strong, driven by what David Guttmann (1994) calls "the parental imperative". Thus, some women in this cohort had work histories that were disrupted for years by childrearing activities, or that were cut short by the job relocations of their husbands, or that were limited because their early work experiences still were largely in low-paid female-dominated occupations that provided the flexibility to juggle work and family obligations. Having now reached midlife, the career transition possibilities for this cohort of women hold considerable promise for improving both their earnings and their movement into jobs with greater potential for career advancement (Fields, 1985), partly because of their own expanded gender identities and partly because of the increasing societal acceptance of the movement of women into previously male-dominated jobs and careers.

While some midlife career transitions, as we have seen, are driven by marketplace factors, others result from personal growth or from changing life circumstances. Again, these may be classified as either involuntary or voluntary. Examples of the former would include loss of a spouse through divorce or widowhood, which might cause a woman to return to the classroom or workforce, or move from part-time to full-time employment, or, if already holding a full-time job, to seek out a higher paying job or career. Other types of changes in family circumstances might trigger an involuntary career or job change in the other direction, that is transitioning from a full-time career to part-time work, or leaving the work force entirely. Such changes can be triggered by the need to take care of aging parents, or to provide care for one's grandchildren. The number of middle-aged adults raising grandchildren has grown

in recent years as more adult children are unable to do so for reasons including economic woes, military deployment, divorce, substance abuse, psychological problems, or incarceration (Connidis, 2010; Etaugh & Bridges, 2013; Lumpkin, 2008; Patrick & Goedereis, 2009).

Voluntary career transitions at midlife also can be triggered by a number of factors. One such factor is frustration at the failure to receive recognition that one believes has been earned and should come at this stage in one's career. Other factors include the wish to increase one's personal fulfillment, the desire to find greater balance in all areas of life, the drive to pursue a long-held dream, or simply the wish to seek change and to experiment (Ibarra, 2003; Robertson, 2003). As an example of the first of these, a withheld promotion, raise, or other form of positive affirmation from an employer may increase the perception of a discrepancy between one's personal identity and one's career identity. This can lead individuals to seek out a new career situation which enables them to meet or match their personal identity standards (Slay et al., 2004). A related scenario is one in which an individual has encountered roadblocks to further advancement in a particular work or career setting, and decides to look for opportunities elsewhere. Robin Hughes is a woman who faced this situation in midlife (Phillips, 2009). She had spent several years with the Tampa Bay Lightning hockey team, starting as an accountant and rising through the ranks to become controller of the team. At some point, she began to feel frustrated at not having enough decision-making authority. She finally left the corporate world to join the management team at an auto repair franchising company, where she achieved her goal of being in a leadership position that gave her significant policy-making authority.

Lisa Graves, on the other hand, is an example of a woman who changed careers in midlife in order to pursue a lifelong dream. Although she was employed as a registered nurse during the first half of her adult life, she had always wanted to be a minister. Her husband, however, did not support this goal. As Lisa's marriage began to unravel when she was in her 40s, she realised that she had to be the one to give herself permission to answer her calling. Her road was a long one that started the first day of community college:

> *I went to see the new dean of students…and told her 'I need to carry a full load of courses in order to graduate on time so I can enrol in a four-year college, get into seminary school and graduate by 50'. [Getting straight A's] increased my courage to not give up. I finally entered seminary at age 47, graduated at 50, was ordained at 52, and at 59 became the solo pastor of a small Presbyterian church.* (Irwin, 2008, p. 198)

Some women who change careers in midlife, like Lisa Graves, know exactly what their goal is and have a game plan and timetable worked out in order to achieve that goal. For many midlife career-changers, however, the options for the future are somewhat fuzzy, and it may take years before a concrete alternative materialises (Ibarra, 2003). The case of June, a Spanish literature professor, is a good example

of a more indirect path to a fulfilling career transition (Ibarra, 2003). In her early 40s, she was married, had two young children, and was the primary breadwinner in her family. She enjoyed playing the stock market, and considered the possibility of switching to a career in the business world. She audited some MBA courses and, while still teaching, she explored various options including investment banking, management consulting, and university administration. None of these seemed to be the right fit for her. Ultimately, she decided to become a stockbroker, a job which gave her flexibility, independence, and a chance to earn more money.

June's process of transition was often stressful and she frequently felt torn in different directions. However, some women who are looking to change careers in midlife enjoy the search process itself. They are what Nancy Schlossberg (2009) calls "searchers". While these individuals, like June, are looking for just the right career, searchers often relish the very process of exploring numerous options in order to achieve their career goal. Tracy Karbus (Irwin, 2008) is an example of a searcher. After being in a successful business for 14 years, she became increasingly discontented with her life. She decided to close her business, sell her house, and take a year off to contemplate her life's next journey. After that year, she became regional director for a non-profit agency that supported women who were developing entrepreneurial activities. She was inspired by this opportunity to learn more about women and their belief systems. Nearly three years later, at age 44, she decided to leave that position and to travel. She took a two-month vacation to Egypt, where she decided to live for three years and embark upon a process of self-exploration and rejuvenation. She then returned to the U.S. and started a consulting company that has brought her great satisfaction. As the stories of Robin, Lisa, June, and Tracy illustrate, during the course of a work life that may extend for several decades, the average woman worker may undergo several career transitions in midlife depending upon a variety of workplace, family, and personal factors (Carr & Sheridan, 2001; Fields, 1985).

AGE AND GENDER PATTERNS IN CAREER TRANSITIONS

In order to further understand the career transitions of midlife women, it is important to look at occupational change in the general context of age and gender. Job transition rates differ as a function of both of these variables, with younger workers more likely to change jobs than older workers, and women more likely to change jobs than men (e.g., Fields, 1985; Parrado, Caner & Wolff, 2005). For example, in 1981, the occupational mobility rate for women aged 25 to 34 was 13.9 percent, compared to 8.9 percent for women aged 35 to 44 and 5.8 percent for women aged 45 to 54. The corresponding figures for men in the same age groups were 12.4, 7.4, and 4.4 respectively (Rytina, 1983).

The job tenure rate, i.e., how long workers have been with their current employer, is the inverse of the occupational mobility figure. It shows the same pattern, with younger workers having shorter job tenures than older ones, and women having

shorter tenures than men (Field, 1985). These figures have remained remarkably stable for nearly thirty years (1983–2010), with the exception of men aged 45 to 54, who have shown a decline in job tenure rates. If we look at the median years of tenure with one's current employer for three points in time (1983, 1996, and 2010) women aged 25–34 had job tenures, respectively, of 3.2, 2.7, and 3.0; for those aged 35–44, the figures were 4.6, 4.8 and 4.9; and for women aged 45–54 they were 6.9, 7.0, and 7.1. For men in these age groups, the numbers for the youngest group were 3.8, 3.0, and 3.2; for the 35–44-year-olds, 7.7, 6.1, and 5.3; and for the 45–54-year-olds, 13.2, 10.1, and 8.5 (Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2010).

FACTORS RELATED TO MIDLIFE WOMEN'S CAREER TRANSITIONS

As we noted earlier, midlife women who make a career change do so as a result of various factors. Some relate to changes in the economy, the job market or to work-related issues such as dissatisfaction with aspects of one's work situation. Other factors relate to changes in life circumstances, or to relational or personal reasons (Bovee, 2002; Vanderveen, 1994). While each woman who changes careers in midlife has her own unique set of reasons for doing so, certain recurring elements often appear. Terry Bahr's (2009) in-depth interviews with women career changers aged 35–50 reveal a number of themes common to many of these women.

The overarching theme that emerged was the timing of the change, with all of the women reporting that certain life experiences or circumstances had led them to make a change that could not have happened at any other time in their lives. Women made comments such as the following (Bahr, 2009, p. 54):

> *I don't think that I would have gone into [my career] in the earlier years…It's taken me until about this age to really know who I am.* (Alicia)
>
> *…When somebody asks me about going back to school at this age, I just tell them I was not ready to go into college until I was this age. I wouldn't have made it through because of all the other chaos.* (Frances)
>
> *In many ways, what seemed catastrophic was actually a blessing in disguise and it's got me on my current path…I finally feel like I've found what I'm supposed to do.* (Kuuipo)

A second theme common to Bahr's midlife women career-changers was the desire to improve the quality of their lives. In some cases, the desire was triggered by life circumstances including divorce, recovering from an abusive past, or putting one's last child in school; in other cases, women felt they were stagnating in their present jobs, and not fulfilling their potential. The following quotations illustrate some of the variations on this theme (Bahr, 2009, pp. 59–61):

> *Up until now, it's just been taking care of my family and doing whatever kind of work came along that facilitated that…There was really no personal*

satisfaction. It was just a job…[When] I put my daughter in school… I said you know what it's time for me to find a job that I love. (Alicia)

When you're in your twenties…society tells you that money equals happiness. So you really have to figure it out for yourself…I knew that changing careers, I was going to be taking a major pay cut for life but…it just got to that point where I said that's not my priority. (Elise)

I got to a point where I was really unhappy with what I was doing…It wasn't satisfying. I wasn't growing and I knew there was no potential for growth… I just had this sense…I have to start doing something. (Gloria)

A third important theme echoed by several women was a desire to be a role model for their daughters and nieces. For example, respondents stated (Bahr, p. 56):

I want them [her daughters] to see that mom does something important and works and earns money. (Lesley)

I would like to be a role model for my nieces in that they need to go to college. Being a Latina, I did not have these role models growing up and wished that I did. (Maile)

Bahr identified two other closely related themes that played an important role in women's decision to change careers in midlife: self-efficacy, and a sense of self-confidence/empowerment. Some illustrative comments (Bahr, 2009, pp. 57–58) include:

[My confidence level rose when I entered the Women's Studies department for my undergraduate degree.]…I felt incredibly empowered. (Harmony)

I think I always knew that I was capable of pretty much most things that I would put my mind to…I never kind of doubted that if I put my mind to learning a new career or learning new skills…that I would be able to do that. (Jackie)

In addition to the themes identified by Bahr (2009), shifts in the marketplace and the economy are other major factors in women's midlife career changes, as noted earlier. The U.S. economy has undergone massive structural change over the last three decades, shifting from a manufacturing economy to a service economy. In addition, new information-based technologies have transformed the workplace, creating new jobs and eliminating others. These changes have produced major adjustments in operations and organisational structuring (Kim, 2005; Parrado, et al., 2005). As some companies have down-sized, workers have been laid off and fired. Midlife women (and men) caught in the crossfire of these changes have, of necessity, been forced to look for new jobs and/or careers.

The recession that began late in 2007 has led to the highest unemployment rate in the United States for at least 25 years (Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2009). It was

widely proclaimed to be a "mancession", since initially it resulted in much greater job losses for men. More than two out of every three jobs lost during the downturn were held by men (California Budget Project, 2010). This trend reflects the fact that men are heavily represented in economically stressed areas such as construction, manufacturing, and financial services. Women, on the other hand, were less affected at first since they are more likely to be employed in areas such as health care and education which are not as sensitive to fluctuations in the economy. Because of the layoffs of significant numbers of male workers during the recent economic downturn, midlife women have increasingly found themselves in the position of being the primary breadwinners in their families. This phenomenon sometimes is labeled the "added worker effect" (Engemann & Wall, 2010; Rampell, 2009). If not already employed full-time, many midlife women who have been working part-time or who are full-time homemakers, have been seeking full-time jobs. In some cases, they are returning to careers they had left to stay home with young children. These involuntary career transitions often present considerable challenges. For example, Lisa Hughes, a former corporate attorney and mother of two children, pursued full-time work for the first time in 16 years when her husband was laid off. She found it difficult to get a job and after a year of looking, decided to start a solo law practice (Greenhouse, 2009). Vicki Grenz, age 47, had left her full-time job as a campaign consultant when the second of her four children was born. Fourteen years later, when her husband's home-building business went into a slump at the start of the recession, she returned to full-time work as a community-relations manager for a local engineering firm (Evans, 2009).

In many instances, the salary that the returning woman worker makes is not enough to replace the lost income of her spouse or partner. One reason for this is that women are not paid as much as men, even when they hold the same position and have equal experience (Etaugh & Bridges, 2013). A second reason is that time out of the workplace decreases one's earning power upon re-entry. Research has shown that for every two years a woman is out of the labour force, her earnings decrease by 10 percent (Greenhouse, 2009).

Even though men took the initial brunt of job loss during the recent recession, women later lost their advantage – and their jobs – because of layoffs and furloughs in what had been secure jobs in state and local government, where women hold the majority of positions (Lewis, 2010). Some women have been laid off multiple times. Shannon McCaffery, a department manager in an international firm, is a prime example of this scenario (Phillips, 2009). She was laid off four times in mid-career. The first time was when her company was sold. She wound up being hired in a marketing position in the same company and enjoyed this job for over a year. When she was offered a more attractive new position in another division of the company, she took it. After being there for only three months, however, she was laid off. She took the company's three-month severance package and then embarked on a two-week vacation to Peru, where she hiked and meditated with a small group of people. Not long after she returned, the company that had let her go hired her back in a

newly created position as director of corporate communications. After three years of helping the company outsource and lay off people, she and several others were laid off again. This time, it took Shannon nearly a year to find a job: a temporary consulting position. She did well and soon was hired "permanently" as the firm's event marketer. When her division later began to have financial problems, however, it was down-sized and once again, Shannon was unemployed. At that point, she decided to leave corporate America, started her own direct-response marketing, consulting, and coaching business, and is thriving.

Whereas the women described above transitioned back to careers they had held previously, or at least to somewhat related careers, other women make midlife transitions to very different occupations following economic hardship. For example, Jan Bartlett (Irwin, 2008) was a medical technologist for many years before she entered the field of TV news and radio broadcasting. After 15 years in the entertainment industry, the Screen Actors Guild went on strike and she became unemployed. As a temporary measure, she began to work as an elementary school substitute teacher, and found herself inspired by the opportunity to educate and inspire young children. At age 50, she went back to school, received her teaching degree, and began a new, rewarding full-time teaching career.

The women in these examples are among the fortunate ones who were able to find work during difficult economic times. Others are not so fortunate. Older women, in particular, are at greater risk of income loss and downward mobility following a job loss, and they also have more difficulty finding a new job. In addition, they are less likely to find employment at previous wage levels (Quadagno, MacPherson, Koene, & Parham, 2001). Middle-aged and older women who are attempting either to enter the labour force for the first time, re-enter it after an absence of some years, or find a new job following a job loss are challenged by the burden of having double-minority status, as they face both ageism and sexism in the workplace (Chae, 2002; Saucier, 2004).

MIDLIFE CAREER CHANGES AS A TRANSITION TO RETIREMENT

Occupational change at midlife not only is a relatively common phenomenon, but it is also expected to increase among future cohorts of midlife workers. Because of increasing longevity and improved health in the middle and later years, more older women and men are delaying retirement and moving from full-time employment into one or more transitional or "bridge" jobs before finally leaving the labour force entirely (Bruce, Holtz-Eakin, & Quinn, 2000; Carr & Sheridan, 2001; Rix, 2001).

Some individuals retire from one job or career late in midlife, and then start another very different career. Schlossberg (2009) describes Jane, who retired as an administrative assistant in the school system and then turned her hobby of raising goats into an occupation. Some become self-employed, often fulfilling earlier career aspirations. Men are more likely than women to become self-employed after age 35 (10.4 versus 7.0 percent). Women, on the other hand, are more likely to obtain a

college or university degree after age 35 (6.4 percent and 3.2 percent, respectively; Carr & Sheridan, 2001). Other individuals transition from full-time careers to part-time work with the same employer, in what is sometimes called "phased retirement". Nancy Schlossberg (2009, p. 136) describes how she pursued the latter path.

> *When I announced that I planned to retire, the University of Maryland suggested I reduce my activities gradually. I stopped teaching but continued running the center I was directing. This arrangement enabled me to begin living a life without teaching and advising but to stay connected to the university.*

CONCLUSION

Today's middle-aged women live in a world that on the one hand is more complex and challenging and on the other hand, much richer in possibilities for personal and professional growth than the world in which their own mothers lived during their middle years. Pushes and pulls in the marketplace, changes in family circumstances, and personal growth and development, combined with changing gender role expectations, provide expanded opportunities for career choices and changes within the evolving context of seeking a balance between work and family. As Susan Madsen (2011, p. 951) so aptly wrote:

> *Midlife requires both internal and external change for each woman who passes through this phase. Increasing awareness of self and the world can lead to better choices and increased confidence, so that a woman can find meaning in her quest for a successful career and life – however she chooses to define it.*

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CHAPTER 7

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OLDER WOMEN'S CAREERS: SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVES

Emily was in her mid-fifties, married with two adult children. After completing school, Emily accepted a cadetship to work while studying in a technical field. Emily found the work quite interesting, but she dropped out of the formal study component because she felt she had no aptitude for it. This meant that she could not progress in her field. While working, she began part-time study in an area that she was interested in and subsequently relocated with her partner to another country to be closer to relatives and to continue her study full time. She then obtained two postgraduate qualifications. When her children were young, her husband was diagnosed with a medical condition that meant he was permanently unable to work. Realising that she now needed to support her family, Emily completed a professional qualification in order to obtain a job that offered reasonable employment conditions. While her children were little, she worked in part-time and casual positions. After several years of part-time, contract and casual work with the same employer, she contacted her union who assisted her to obtain a permanent position that she remained in for almost 20 years. Although Emily could do the job well and demonstrated good outcomes, she did not have a natural affinity for it and explained:

> *I did find it pretty hard. It was something I had to do for the family so I did it because I just had to." She described how "I felt trapped in the job. Because I had to do it. I felt like I had no choice because I needed to be here to support the family and it would be fairly disastrous if I wasn't doing that. So it was a matter of, well you've got to work and this is your job so just get on with it and do it. I think that kept me going … it just required a huge amount of mental effort I suppose and energy to keep on top.*

Emily has been diagnosed and treated for a medical problem that for several years affected her capacity to work despite treatment. Faced with the possibility of not working again, despite submitting "*dozens*" of applications, Emily concluded:

> *See the problem was that when I left school I never knew what I wanted to do … I suppose in a way I feel a bit sad that I feel my life has gone in directions that weren't of much use in some way. That I could have been in happier places*

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> *instead of wasting my time … it's not worth staying in a job where you're unhappy because eventually that will – well that will affect all areas of your life.*

Emily was however, optimistic about her life and her future and had found a hobby that she was passionate about. She explained "*my spiritual life has somewhat expanded and grown from this experience*" and, in regard to her limited financial resources, concluded that:

> *We don't go out and we have no money for that and that's fine with me … There's a great life out there for people who don't work. We have the most wonderful cultural resources here for people with no income … It's a bus ride away … I don't feel like we're missing out on anything … I'm very happy to explore this next phase of my life.*

INTRODUCTION

Emily's story illustrates the multifaceted nature of women's career development. In particular, it highlights the fragmented, family oriented, non-traditional, non-linear paths that are associated with the careers of many older women. Emily's career suggests that a career theory base predicated on accounts of personal traits and discrete stages is inadequate to accommodate the complex careers of women, and that more flexible and holistic theories are needed. This chapter considers extant career theory in relation to women's career development and suggests a theoretical perspective that may more adequately portray women's career development. Specifically, the chapter considers the need for women's career development to be considered systemically. In this regard, the Systems Theory Framework (STF; Patton & McMahon, 2006) of career development is proposed as a lens through which to view women's career development. Importantly, the Systems Theory Framework also offers suggestions regarding its practical application to the provision of career guidance and counselling support for women.

CAREER THEORY: SYSTEMIC APPROACHES

Patton and McMahon (2006) assert that career theory in general still fails to accommodate the realities of women's lives in a postmodern career world. There remains ambiguity as to whether career theory can generalise across the widely divergent contexts within which career development takes place. This ambiguity is evident in the career theory literature in different ways. For instance, there has been a consistent trend in career theory development to separate the career development of women by designating women as representative of some special group. Such a theoretical trend demonstrates less of a concern for the development of a holistic theoretical perspective on women's career development and more of a concern about justifying the generalisation of a particular career theory to populations other than

for whom the theory was developed for. On the other hand, there is a longstanding debate about whether a separate career theory is needed for women and whether such a theoretical move would be perceived as downgrading women's career developmental issues (Patton & McMahon, 2006).

As career theory has evolved through theory refinement and the introduction of new theories, there is widespread agreement that career development is unique to each person. This perspective is reflected in ecological and systemic theories, the focus of this chapter, which consider individuals in context. Thus they offer a way of understanding the complexity of women's career development, and in particular, they address the need to contextualise women's careers as they develop across time. Ecological and systemic theories acknowledge contextual influences that are important to consider in women's career development as they accommodate familial change, multiple roles, care giving responsibilities (August, 2011) and processes such as career transition. For example, Cook, Heppner and O'Brien (2002a, 2002b) in their ecological model of women's career development emphasised the importance of women's multiple life roles and the way in which women define themselves in relational rather than individualistic ways. Similarly, Patton (1997) considered the contextual location of women's career development from the perspective of systems theory. Specifically, she described the individual and contextual factors that inhibit and facilitate women's career development through the lens of the Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 2006) of career development. This framework will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Systems Theory Framework of Career Development

The Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 2006) of career development represents career development through an 'individual in context' perspective. Patton and McMahon present the STF as a metatheory that accommodates a broad range of perspectives on career development. Indepth explanations of specific aspects of career development may be accounted for by existing theories. The STF locates individuals, as represented by the *individual system*, centrally in a complex context of three interconnected systems of influence. Essentially, the STF (see Figure 1) views individuals as unique systems comprised of personal characteristics, or traits, as they have been described in career development theory. Traits such as personality, values, and interests as depicted in the STF have been a feature of career theory and assessment for a long time. The STF also depicts traits that have been largely ignored in career theory and career research such as disability and sexual orientation. In addition, gender is represented as an individual influence.

The influences of the individual system have provided the primary focus of many psychological career theories such as that of Holland (1985a). Moreover, such theories have stimulated the development of a broad range of career assessment instruments. The application of career assessment has resulted in an approach to career guidance

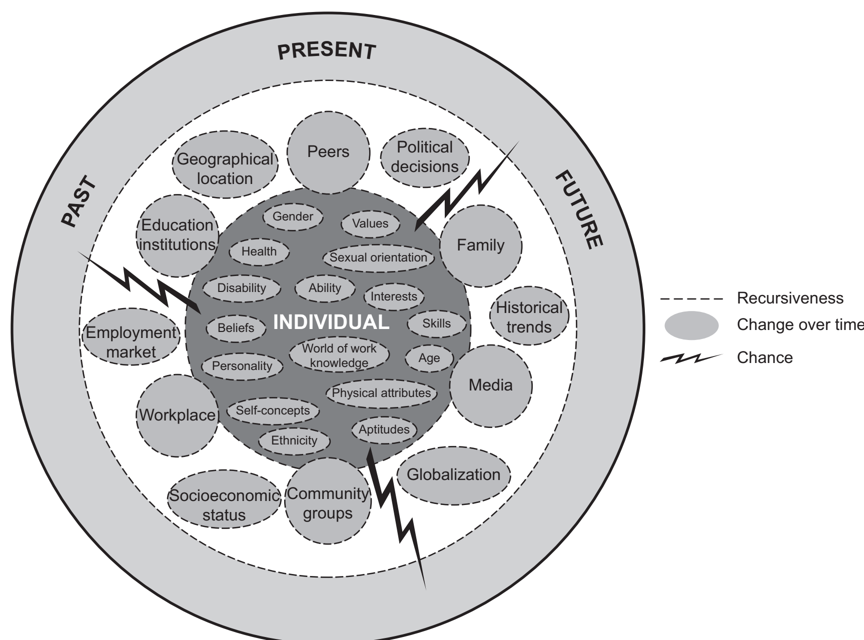

Figure 1. The systems theory framework of career development. Copyright © Patton and McMahon 1999.

and counselling based on matching. For example, Holland's theory concerns interests and he developed the career assessment instrument, the Self-Directed Search (SDS; Holland, 1985b), which essentially matches individuals to occupations on the basis of their SDS results. Such approaches assume that individuals have choice and are able to realise the occupations suggested by the assessment results. Importantly, the STF illustrates the narrowness of such theoretical approaches and the practices that they inform as they largely ignore the broader context depicted by the STF. This is particularly important in relation to women, whose choices may be constrained by their gender role socialisation, age, discriminatory practices, cultural beliefs, and familial responsibilities.

Because individuals do not live in isolation, the individual system is represented within a broader system of influences, the contextual system. Within the contextual system are the social and environmental-societal systems. The *social system* considers the roles and relationships of individuals in the context of families, peers, workplaces, educational institutions, and community groups as well as the influence of the media. Much less attention has been paid to the influences of the social system by career theory. While context has been widely acknowledged, especially in more recent career theories, few explanations have been offered about how contextual

influences manifest in the career development of individuals. This point emphasises how career theory may be less applicable to women whose careers are relational and significantly influenced by familial roles and responsibilities.

At a broader level, the *environmental-societal system* (Patton & McMahon, 2006) considers individuals within the context of their socioeconomic status, geographic location, employment market, as well as in the context of political decisions, historical trends and globalisation. In general, these influences may seem more remote from individuals and have largely been ignored by psychological career theory and most career counselling models. This point is particularly pertinent to the career development of women where macrosystemic factors have been restrictive, prescriptive and discriminatory throughout history. Thus the career development of older women has been constrained by environmental-societal factors.

The influences represented in the individual, social, and environmental-societal systems are termed content influences. Importantly, the STF also considers the process of career development through the inclusion of the process influences of change over time, recursiveness and chance. Thus the three interconnected systems are located within *the context of time* which indicates the lifelong nature of career development. Past, present and future represents the process of *change over time* and the dynamic and ever-changing nature of the influences contained within the STF. Career development has been accounted for in the context of time by stage based theories such as those of Super (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) and Gottfredson (2005) which essentially describe a linear normative career development process. The stages of Super's theory have been criticised as being more applicable to men than women. Super does however pay significant attention to life roles in various contexts including families. An important feature of Gottfredson's theory which applies to children and adolescents is its emphasis on the gender role socialisation that occurs in early childhood. This suggests that early intervention is needed in order for children not to eliminate occupations from consideration on the basis of gender from a very young age. Thus early gender role socialisation may offer some partial explanation about the employment of women in primarily social occupations such as teaching and nursing.

The influence of the process of *chance* is also represented to indicate the sometimes unpredictable nature of career development as a result of unanticipated occurrences. Women's need to be responsive to familial events, for example, suggests that the influence of chance may be of particular relevance to their career development. The STF uses the construct of *recursiveness* to account for the process of dynamic interaction within and between influences. Recursiveness is particularly relevant in the career development of women where the intersection of influences such as gender with for example, age, socioeconomic status, culture or geographic location may have profound impact (e.g., Moore, 2009). Thus the STF accommodates the content influences that have traditionally been well accounted for in career psychology theory such as personality and interests and also draws our attention to a breadth of content influences that have traditionally not been well attended

to, if at all, by psychological career theory. In addition, a strength of the STF is its recognition of the dynamic and interactive nature of contextual influences on career development.

The contextual location of women's careers is most comprehensively understood by assuming a multidisciplinary perspective that may be accommodated by the Systems Theory Framework, one of whose features is its metatheoretical dimension. For example, labour market theory, economics, and sociology together provide a depth and breadth of understanding that is not possible through psychological theory alone. Psychological theory predominantly focuses on the individual system of influences, whereas labour market theory, economics and sociology focus more on influences of the broader social system such as families and the environmental-societal systems such as government policy, employment market trends, and the impact of socioeconomic status. Importantly, these disciplines also offer a longitudinal perspective by tracking the status of women over time. Together, these disciplines provide a comprehensive understanding of women's career development. A brief overview of perspectives from labour market theory, economics, and sociology relevant to the career development of women will now be presented.

Despite the introduction of equal employment legislation in many countries, gender inequality remains entrenched (United Nations, 2010). For example, the International Labour Office concluded in their report 'Women in labour markets: Measuring progress and identifying challenges' that:

> the circumstances of female employment – the sectors where women work, the types of work they do, the relationship of women to their jobs, the wages they receive – bring fewer gains (monetarily, socially and structurally) to women than are brought to the typical working male (p. xi).

Specifically, the types of work women do are still concentrated in a more limited range of occupational sectors such as care workers, clerical workers and service and sales workers (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions ([EFILWC], 2009).

In relation to older women, the context of their employment history over time and current government policies related to retirement are particularly pertinent. Many older women began their careers prior to the introduction of equal opportunity legislation and many were required to resign from their employment when they married or became pregnant. A pervasive feature of older women's career trajectories is one of fragmented, casual, and part-time employment. Thus, as older women face retirement they are likely to be in less secure financial positions than men. In Europe for example, older women workers are more likely to work part time or on temporary or insecure contracts than men of the same age. Within families where there are care roles to be fulfilled, it is more likely that older women will assume the dual role of caring and working than older men (EFILWC, 2009).

Most of all, women's career development is best understood through the stories of women themselves as will be evident in the career development of Jane which

will now be described. Throughout Jane's story, the complex interconnectedness of multiple influences identified in the STF will be demonstrated in brackets.

Jane is an older single parent of two children. One of her sons is an unemployed adult who studies part-time, while the other son is presently completing his high school. Jane adopted her brother's grandchild shortly after she was born in order to provide her with better educational opportunities in life. Jane's two sisters are both pensioned and they are financially dependent on Jane to subsidise their living costs **(social system – family, children, siblings; environmental-societal system – socioeconomic; recursiveness)**. Jane has several qualifications from her local university **(social system – education institutions; environmental-societal system – geographic location; recursiveness)**. Jane struggles with the role of being the sole breadwinner:

> *With so many people that are looking upon you for assistance, especially financially" and she feels the personal strain of coping: "you sometimes keep up that face so that they do not see that you are also struggling because if you are struggling financially and they can see it, it is going to affect them* **(social system – family children, siblings; environmental-societal system – socioeconomic; recursiveness)**.

Financial concerns have remained a major consideration throughout Jane's career development. Thus she tried to balance fulltime work with part-time work in order to supplement her income but found that this "*now meant to me that less time with my family*". This situation precipitated a career change in which she moves into teaching as a more stable financial environment **(environmental-societal system – socioeconomic)**.

Jane is now employed as a teacher having previously been a qualified social worker. She feels she is now in the right career environment: "*immediately I started with academic I felt that this is where I belong and I need to actually expand my horizons within the frame of this institution*" **(individual system – interests, beliefs, values; social system – workplace; recursiveness)**. Jane has an active community role and is a committee member of an outreach programme for pregnant teenagers **(social system – community)**. At times Jane feels that she has role overload and she struggles to meet the varying responsibilities of her different life roles: "*they might clash somewhere but I try and maintain some balance … and I don't want any one of those to undermine the other one*" **(social system – family, workplace; recursiveness)**.

Jane's brother has acted as a "*sort of a guide to my life*" and he advised her to pursue a career in social work rather than her preferred option of teaching as he argued that it was a better springboard to other career directions in the future. There were also more readily available bursaries to pursue study in this direction **(social system – family; environmental-societal system – socioeconomic; recursiveness)**.

Jane believes that it important to express one's opinions in the workplace ("*Wrong is wrong, right is right with me*") and she is aware that this has made her unpopular

with work colleagues several times **(social system – workplace; individual system – beliefs, values; recursiveness)**. Jane understands her outspokenness as resulting from her upbringing where she was one of 9 children:

> *I am from a rough environment because if I can tell you, we are eleven people at home and …I grew up in that situation, that I am the youngest but I must think about being the equal with them. So my transition in my work environment was like that and I think at times I would come over too strong* **(social system – workplace, family; individual system – beliefs, values; context of time – past influencing present; recursiveness)**.

There was also jealousy concerning Jane's motivation to achieve. For instance, Jane was the first social worker to be granted fulltime study leave and her goal-directed behaviour towards further professional training was resented by some of her work colleagues **(social system – workplace)**. Her further studies gave her a sense of guilt in relation to her mothering role **(social system – workplace, family, education institutions; individual system – beliefs, values; recursiveness)**. Thus Jane describes how her young son would "*sleep underneath my desk when I was busy writing ... now I realise that he was trying to say to me that I am missing you but I am too busy ... to give him that attention*". Jane also faced discrimination when she sought promotion posts. On the other hand, Jane has gained great satisfaction from helping people as part of her work and making a difference to their lives.

Jane is able to reflect on how her own upbringing has impacted on her career development:

> *I think that everything that I did comes from my background because I am from a very poor family. My mother never went to school. My father, the highest education he had was a standard two and my father had to leave school to go and take care of his brothers and sisters* **(individual system – beliefs, values; social system – family; environmental-societal system – socioeconomic status; context of time – past influencing present; recursiveness)**.

It is not only family that has influenced her career but also the lack of formal career assistance. In this regard, Jane notes: "*I wanted sort of some guidance, somebody to help me into thinking*".

Reflecting on her career development, Jane wondered about her over commitment to a number of roles and the skewed participation that this resulted in: "*The only thing that I can think of now is to schedule because I took a lot of my children's time. I took a lot of my own time for my studies*" **(social system – workplace, family; recursiveness)**. In terms of her general coping, Jane expressed the philosophy that she needed to "*get away from negativeness because negativeness is going to make you a baby all the time and we don't want to be babies, we want to move and get somewhere*" **(social system –family; individual system – beliefs, values; context of time – past and present influencing future; recursiveness)**.

Jane's career story demonstrates quite clearly the significant systemic influences that can impact on women's career development. Further, it is not only the influences per se that are critical in understanding her career development, but also the intricate recursive connectedness of those influences which compound career decisions and transitions. The dynamic nature of career development depicted in the STF through its process influences of change over time and recursiveness is amply illustrated in Jane's story. In particular, the interplay of different influences at various stages of Jane's life is evident throughout her story. Even though influences may appear more than once, it is important to realise that the nature of those influences changes. For example, as a younger person, the influence of family related to the support of her brother and at the present time it relates to her need to support her children and her two sisters. Similarly, the influence of socioeconomic status at a younger age referred to Jane's need to obtain a bursary in order to be able to study, whereas at the present stage of her career, socioeconomic status relates to having a professional occupation, that earns a high enough income to meet the financial costs of her dependents. Thus family and socioeconomic influences are intertwined. Moreover, Jane's ability to obtain qualifications that enabled her to secure such an occupation is also an influencing factor.

The process influence of recursiveness is a significant contribution of the STF in that it accommodates the individual's subjective career. For example as a result of her familial, community and financial demands, Jane describes her career in terms of "role overload" and "struggling". Thus the traditional emphasis of career guidance and counselling on objectivity and rationality that has been widely criticised is inadequate to fully understand or empathise with Jane's career story. Essentially, career guidance and counselling must be informed by theory but at a practical level, personalised for individuals rather than be driven by formulaic approaches such as some traditional career assessment models; Jane's plea for "guidance, someone to help me into thinking" necessitates a sensitive and holistic approach to career guidance and counselling.

Career guidance and counselling support is based largely on psychological accounts of career development which do not adequately take account of the contextual background to women's career development that is made so graphic through labour market statistics, economics and sociology. Related to this, is the recognised limitation of career theory and practice that it does not adequately take account of the complex and dynamic interplay of individuals and their environments (Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002a). Thus, Jane's story suggests that career guidance and counselling approaches predicated on the psychological model of assessment and prediction may not be well suited to women. Further, it suggests that the career decisions of women are best understood in the context of their system of influences. Thus career services for women need to be contextualised within the story of their individual career development. Indeed, career services for older women will be most meaningful when they are tailored to the specific needs of older women at specific stages of their career development.

CAREER SERVICES FOR WOMEN: PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A number of suggestions have been made that have relevance to the provision of career services for women. One suggestion that career counselling approaches emphasise relationships (e.g., Cook et al., 2002a) and value the stories of women (McMahon, Watson, & Bimrose, 2012) is particularly appropriate. Other suggestions have been made that systemic interventions need to create healthy work environments and access to role models and mentors (e.g., August, 2011; Cook et al., 2002a). There is a case for career practitioners to be prepared for and to assume a broader range of roles such as that of advocate (Arthur & McMahon, 2005; McMahon, Bimrose, & Watson, 2010). Career counselling approaches that could best support women will now be considered. Subsequently a range of career service possibilities that could support women's career development will be considered through the case study of Debbie.

Approaches to career counselling that emphasise relationships and story are typified by narrative career counselling which is having an increasing influence in career practice. In addition, narrative career counselling is holistic in its 'individual in context' perspective that is consistent with systems theory. Narrative career counselling is predicated on the establishment of a collaborative client-counsellor relationship and it is underpinned by the core constructs of connectedness, meaning making and agency. Connectedness is a multidimensional construct that locates individuals within their environments. Narrative career counsellors actively seek to assist clients to tell stories about their experiences from which they identify themes and patterns that have relevance to their career development. In doing so narrative career counsellors facilitate a meaning making process in which individuals make sense of their experiences. Importantly, narrative career counselling believes in the capacity of individuals to take an active and agentic role in the career counselling process and in the construction of their careers.

A strength of the STF is its application to practice. The STF is applied to career counselling through its story telling approach. Consistent with other narrative approaches to career counselling, the story telling approach places value on the client-counsellor relationship and respects clients as experts who are actively involved in the construction of their career. In addition to being underpinned by the narrative career counselling core constructs of connectedness, meaning making and agency, the story telling approach also emphasises reflection and learning. As such, relational approaches are particularly appropriate for women.

The story of Debbie demonstrates that career services would be needed as a result of systemic influences on Debbie's career development within all three system levels of the STF. In addition, as can be seen below, there is a recursive element to the provision of such services over the course of a woman's career. Although Debbie had received no career guidance and counselling support during her career, we have identified in Debbie's story below the particular points at which career services could have been provided and the possible nature of those services. These we have numbered and discussed below the story.

Debbie, a 60 year old married woman, is in fulltime employment in tertiary education and has three grown-up children. She has held a wide variety of work positions since she graduated from university in her early twenties **(1)**. Some of Debbie's work has been in full time employment, some has been of short-term duration and other employment has involved "*bits and pieces that were done in parallel with each other*".

Debbie explains her earlier career changes as resulting from geographic movement in order to accommodate her husband's career path: "*that's why it chopped and changed quite quickly, every two years at a different place type of thing*". Debbie's employment history involved a break of eight years while she was a fulltime mother and housewife (although she undertook voluntary school and community work during these years). During the early years of establishing their family, Debbie began to re-seek part-time or halftime employment which involved a decade of various work settings **(2)**. After that Debbie sought more permanent employment which culminated in this phase of her career development in a management position at a college working with disabled adult students. Debbie views this career move as "*a big mistake*" as she realised early on that she was somebody who could not "*cope with people coming in in floods of tears in my office*" **(3)**. She resigned from this position after a few months.

Debbie wishes that she could make more sense of her multiple career moves **(4)**. In retrospect she thinks that some of her career changes could be attributed to necessity and some to a theme that she identifies as "*supporting the underdog*". A theme that Debbie identifies in her paid work activities was the satisfaction she gained from having the autonomy to "*think and do things that I felt were right for the situation*". Debbie felt uncomfortable about the temporary and even unpaid nature of some of her working activities: "*lack of security was something that was difficult for me*". On the other hand, Debbie enjoyed voluntary work and felt that it simply grew over time, that it was "*a creeping thing, I suppose*".

More recently Debbie has considered trying to establish a balance between paid and unpaid work: "*I'm doing it an in incremental way, I think, or I hope – it's a kind of mixture of little things*", although she is less sure that her husband is receptive to this latest career conceptualisation: "*I think that's a more primeval thing there, you know … I think he's a little bit unsettled about me down-incoming*" **(5)**.

Reflecting on her varied career history, Debbie sees herself as someone who lacked a "*central plan*" and that the reasons for some of her changes were as varied as the changes themselves: "*perhaps get a little bit more money, a bit more security, or meet different people, or just try something different … I'm happy flitting*" **(6)**. Debbie concludes that what has made most of her career transitions possible are supportive networks: "*I kind of understood how to make networks. I think that's one of the keys to transition, is making the right networks for the right situation*".

A case for the provision of lifelong career guidance and counselling support is evident in the story of Debbie. As indicated in the boldface coding above, there are various times in Debbie's career story when she may have benefited from career

guidance and counselling support. Such support could be in the form of individual intervention (i.e., a career practitioner interacting with Debbie) or systemic intervention (i.e., interventions for the benefit of an individual). Below are examples of types of interventions that could have been provided for Debbie during her career and these are described according to the STF's systems of influence.

(1) The first example of when career support could have been provided is during Debbie's university years. Such support could have been provided in the *social system* by the education institution or at an *individual systems* level with Debbie herself. At the social systems level, career programs built into the education curriculum that assisted all students with career decision making and transition from university to the world of work may have been beneficial to Debbie. For example, Debbie may have benefited from programs of work integrated learning or mentoring from women who worked in fields similar to her areas of interest. At an individual level, Debbie may have benefited from career counselling. The latter intervention may have resulted in Debbie understanding more about herself and where her talents were best directed. In essence, Debbie left university without a plan, something she realised later in life that may have been useful to her.

(2) The second example of when career support may have benefited Debbie was when she wanted to return to work after an eight year break raising her family. Women returning to work after periods of child rearing and family duties face challenging situations where their skills and knowledge may no longer be current, their resumes are out of date, they have lost touch with the employment market and their networks, and their occupational field may have moved on. Further, women who have extended periods of timeout of the workforce have re-defined themselves in roles such as mother, volunteer, and community worker and thus many have lost confidence in themselves as a result of being out of paid employment.

Women sometimes do not return to work at the same level at which they left it. The issue of women returning to work after periods of child raising may be viewed at an *individual systemic* issue for women such as Debbie and also at *social system* level of family, and at the broader *environmental-societal system* level through the loss of women's potential productivity and contribution to the employment market. Their reduced level of participation may have implications for the socioeconomic status of families and may mean that women are less well set up financially for their later retirement because of a loss of benefits such as superannuation and pension funds. Because of the widespread nature of this issue in communities, this suggests that at the *environmental-societal system* level, that government policy needs to provide systemic interventions such as workforce re-entry programs and support for women returning to work. This example also highlights the need for interventions at the environmental-societal system and social system levels that support the careers of women through policy and practices related to flexible working hours, the promotion of healthy and safe working environments, provision of child care, paid eldercare leave, recruitment and retention (August, 2011; Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002a).

(3) The third example of when career support may have benefited Debbie is at the social system level of the workplace. In her workplace, Debbie found herself stressed and felt she was not suited for the work she was required to do. This led to her resigning which came at personal cost (individual system) and also represented a loss to the organisation which had invested in her (social system). While Debbie was struggling with her work, had career guidance and counselling been available and/ or provided to Debbie within the workplace (social system), this may have resulted in a more positive resolution of her work situation. For example, other roles may have been available to her to transition within the organisation or she may have been assisted to transition more positively from the organisation. Further, had Debbie accessed career guidance and counselling support within the organisation if it was available, a career practitioner may have been able to advocate for her. For example, advocacy could have sought out other opportunities for Debbie in the organisation, a greater level of support for her, or mentoring to assist her in her job.

(4) The fourth example of when career support may have been beneficial to Debbie relates to the lack of security she felt as a result of the temporary and unpaid nature of some of her work. Had adult guidance services been available in the community through either drop-in centres, telephone help-lines, or online support, Debbie may have accessed them and may have been able to make "more sense of her multiple career moves". The provision of adult career guidance and counselling support may be provided through government policy and initiatives at the environmental-societal system level. A consequence of such policy initiatives is its recursive impact at the social system level through the establishment of service providers for the benefit of individuals (individual system).

(5) The fifth example of when career support may have been beneficial for Debbie is in the example of her trying to balance her paid and unpaid work and her husband's reservations about this. Traditionally career guidance and counselling has been provided to individuals, but Debbie's case indicates that there are times when intervention in the social system such as families may also need to occur. For example, Debbie and her husband may have benefited at the individual system level from discussing her future work plan with a career practitioner.

(6) The sixth example demonstrates the concept of the need for the provision of career guidance and counselling support across the lifespan. For example, at age 60, in reflecting on her career Debbie recognises that she had no career plan. Had career support been available to her as an adolescent at school, as a young adult at university, and as an adult at various stages and settings in adulthood, Debbie's career development may have been different. From an STF perspective, this illustrates the recursiveness of past, present and future. For example, Debbie's past career decisions and experiences were strongly related to her present career situation and to her future.

Debbie's story and the subsequent discussion of career services have highlighted how women's career development could be supported by a range of individual and systemic interventions. Women's career support needs emerge at all ages and stages

of life as a result of the dynamic interaction between them and their systems of influence. Career support needs may be person specific or they may apply more generally to all women. Thus career services must necessarily be multifaceted and include those accessible to women individually such as career counselling and those more widely available such as work re-entry or mentoring programs.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered the complexity of women's career development from a systemic perspective. In doing so, it has demonstrated how systemic factors can impact on the career development of women across their lifespan. Describing women's career development from a systemic perspective allows us to identify the nature of systemic influences on women's career development as well as consider possible career guidance and counselling support services that might be required.

Clearly there is a need to consider the career development of women more holistically if the realities of their career development are to be addressed and redressed. Career theories and practices that accommodate the multifaceted nature of women's career development may meaningfully assist them to consider contextual influences on their career development. The case of Jane clearly demonstrates this need when she says: "*I wanted sort of some guidance, somebody to help me into thinking*". Similarly Debbie, on reflecting on her career development came to the conclusion that she had lacked a "*central plan*".

Career guidance and counselling services were clearly lacking in the cases of all three older women presented in this chapter. There was personal awareness of the need for such services, and indeed personal motivation to participate in career guidance and counselling. In reflecting on her career development, Emily reflected that she *"could have been in happier places instead of wasting my time"*. In the case studies presented in this chapter the practical application of the Systems Theory Framework of career development (Patton & McMahon, 2006) demonstrates the usefulness of incorporating systemic perspectives in career theory and practice.

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PART 3

SPECIFIC FIELDS

CHAPTER 8

DULINI ANUVINDA FERNANDO & LAURIE COHEN

A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE OF WOMEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN IN SRI LANKA

WOMEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT MODELS

A number of women's career models have emerged during the last decade. In this section we will critically discuss two approaches which have been particularly influential.

The Kaleidoscope Career Model (KCM)

Developed by Mainero and Sullivan (2005), the KCM is based on the notion that women shift their career patterns by rotating different aspects of their lives to arrange roles and relationships in new ways in a similar manner to a kaleidoscope which produces changing patterns when the tube is rotated. The KCM comprises three parameters: authenticity, balance and challenge. Sullivan and Mainero (2008) assert that these parameters assume different levels of importance depending on what is occurring in a woman's life at a particular point of time. The authors suggest that engaging in challenging work is likely to be the primary focus of women in early career phases (Mainero & Sullivan, 2005), mid-career women would predominantly be concerned about balance, while desire for authenticity would dominate the career and life decisions of late career women (although they would be interested in addressing challenges as well) (Sullivan & Mainero, 2008).

In our data on Sri Lankan women there was a great deal of talk about what respondents felt they *had* to do, as will be discussed more fully in the empirical sections. These imperatives derived from the workplace, the family and wider societal conditions. However, such imperatives do not seem to be easily accounted for within the KCM, which we would argue is characterised by a significant discourse of volunteerism and the implication that women's careers are largely unbounded as women shift and rotate their career patterns as they desire.

Within the literature on gender and work, studies have suggested that women's choices are often constrained by domestic (see Crompton et al., 2005), organisational (see Gambles et al., 2006), and labour market (see Burke & Nelson, 2002) structures.

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Although the KCM does recognise domestic constraints in the context of mid-career women, it disregards the challenges women face in attempting to harmonise home and work due to obstacles such as ideal worker norms (see Gambles et al., 2006) in organisations, and in the labour market more widely when part-time jobs are often unavailable at managerial level (see Crompton & Birkeland, 2000). Furthermore this model does not appear to account for the long term career impacts of 'balancing' home and work by temporary career breaks or part-time work (see Walters, 2005). While we recognise the power of individual agency, as depicted in the KCM, we also emphasise that women cannot always make smooth transitions in and out of work as they choose.

Significantly, in the accounts we generated women frequently associated their career development with the promise of increased remuneration. Thus careers were not only about growth, development and learning, but also about material reward. It is notable that in our reading of the KCM career does not seem to be associated with earning a living. Indeed we would go so far as to suggest that work is conceptualised as an almost 'optional extra', with financial imperatives pushed to the margins in favour of what are seen as more pressing concerns such as identity, lifestyle and personal growth. This does seem to be at odds with our data. Outside of the Sri Lankan context, we might speculate that the KCM was a model for more optimistic economic times. Indeed our current experience of instability and uncertainty raises questions about the model's connotation that women experience largely unfettered choices. Furthermore, the women in our study spoke a great deal about work related developmental tasks such as education, training and work experience which were seen as central to their unfolding careers and crucial in their career outcomes. Although these tasks were pivotal in women's experiences, such practices have only a limited presence in the KCM. We would argue that such practices need to be more fully integrated into the model to make it more widely applicable.

O'Neil and Bilimoria's Career Development Phases for Women

O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) propose a career model which embraces women's values and interests as they move through the life course. The first stage of their three-phase, age-linked model (idealistic achievement) comprises early career women aged 24 to 35. The second phase (pragmatic endurance) includes mid-career women aged 36 to 45 who are deemed to have a high relational context and are stated to be managing multiple personal and professional responsibilities. O'Neil and Bilimoria (2005) suggest that women in this phase are making choices about parenthood and career commitment given that their 'biological clocks are ticking'. The last phase (re-inventive contribution) comprises mostly late career women aged 46 to 60 who, it is suggested, take an active stance on issues such as justice and see their careers as learning opportunities and chances to make a difference to others.

As we read it, underlying O'Neil and Bilimoria's (2005) model is an assumption that women in similar age groups share similar interests. While this could be the case in certain instances, the data we generated leads us to argue that women can also vary

widely. For example, in contrast to the mid-career women in O'Neil and Bilimoria's study, our respondents in mid and late career aspired to reach the highest possible level in their organisations' hierarchies and actively worked towards realising their career goals. This was despite having significant duties to young and adult children and extended family members. However for us what raises most questions is the suggestion that women's age-based interests change drastically as they move from one age group to another. While we recognise that shifts in individuals' values and interests are possible over time, our evidence would lead us to challenge the idea that they change as dramatically and predictably as the model seems to suggest. We would argue that it is not women's interests and values that change over their life but rather it is their preoccupations which shift due to organisational and domestic constraints which make home-work harmonisation difficult. However O'Neil and Bilimoria's (2005) model does not fully consider contextual factors which impact on the structures of opportunity which are available to women. Most importantly, as in the KCM, we would argue that there is only very little about 'career development' in this model since it pays scanty attention to work related developmental tasks which shape the sequence of occupations over an individual's life. Questions also arise about how the model would account for the careers of late starters or people who make career changes in mid or late career.

In reflecting on extant women's career development models, we thus highlight three areas that we feel merit further examination and incorporation. First, we argue that models of women's career development must engage not only with women's preoccupations and interests, but also on the actual, work-related developmental tasks such as education, training and work experience which shape the sequence of occupations in women's lives. Second, although these models highlight women's aspirations for life and career, they do not sufficiently accommodate the material and ideological challenges women face in realising their career aspirations. Third these models seem to ignore the impacts of organisational, occupational sectoral (see Kaulisch & Enders, 2005), labour market (see Burke & Nelson, 2002) and economic contexts on women's career development. In light of what we see as the limitations of developmental psychological approaches to understanding women's career development, in the following section we introduce social constructionism, a theoretical perspective which we believe offers contextually rich insights into women's careers. This is not meant as replacement for existing women's career models but rather an alternative conceptual resource for understanding women's career development.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Social constructionism is a relativist epistemological position based on the notion of the social world being constructed by individuals themselves through their social practices (Cassell & Symon, 2004), rather than being a fixed and/or objective entity which is external to individuals and impacts on them in deterministic ways (Cohen et al., 2004). As Weick (1995) argued, people are part of their environments and through their actions they contribute to the creation of "the materials that become

the constraints and opportunities they face" (p. 31). Socially constructed reality is therefore seen as an ongoing and dynamic process where reality is constantly reproduced by people acting upon their representations of it.

Drawing on Burr (1995) we summarise social constructionism in terms of five key points. First social constructionists argue that the world we experience and the people we find ourselves to be are the product of social processes (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999). This view encourages researchers to take a critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge by attempting to understand the processes by which it comes to be seen as natural (Burr, 1995). Second, individuals' understandings of the world are seen as culturally and historically situated and changing across time and space (Young & Collin, 2004; Burr, 1995). Third, the construction of knowledge is seen as a negotiated process where certain interpretations are privileged, while others are eclipsed (Burr, 1995). Fourth, knowledge and social action go together where particular versions of reality lead to particular forms of action (Burr, 1995). Fifth, individuals continuously construct the social world through their actions, which then becomes the reality to which they must respond (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In other words individuals and society are in a continuous dialectical process of influencing each another, where social action impacts on society and thereby maintains and/or transforms existing social arrangements that people confront.

From a social constructionist point of view 'career' has been defined as constituted by an actor in interaction with others as she moves through time and space (Cohen et al., 2004). We see two key implications of taking a social constructionist view to career research. First, social constructionism contextualises career (Young & Collin, 2004) by highlighting how individuals and their societies are deeply implicated with each another and continuously interact. Thus it would highlight how individuals' careers are both enabled and constrained by the organisational, familial and wider sociocultural contexts they are situated within and enable scholars understand people's career meaning-making in relation to their social contexts. Second, social constructionism which highlights the iterative relationship between individuals and society has the potential to illuminate how individuals contribute towards maintaining and/or redefining the contexts within which they operate through their career enactment. Third, we argue that social constructionism could deal with the time element in career extremely well, since it highlights that individuals and social contexts are dynamic as they continually influence each other, and peoples' accounts are historically situated but changing across time and space.

We used social constructionism to examine the following questions in this paper:

– How do professional women in Sri Lanka make sense of their career development?
– How do professional women in Sri Lanka navigate their social contexts in order to achieve their career goals?
– What are the implications of women's actions for both women's careers and the social contexts they are situated within?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Our study is based on interviews conducted by the first author with 24 women; eight in their early careers (ages 24–36), eight in mid-career (ages 36–45), and eight in their late career (ages 46–60) (see O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005). We worked with women from early, mid and late career for our sample because scholars have argued that women's preoccupations differ according to their career stage (see Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; O'Neil and Bilimoria, 2005). Twelve respondents were working for private sector organisations in Sri Lanka, while twelve were working for the public sector. We decided to include equal numbers of respondents from private and public organisations because of the contrasting pay structures and cultures between public and private organisations in Sri Lanka. Private organisations in Sri Lanka are considered to pay high salaries and possess western-influenced cultures where superiors are addressed by first names, work-life policies are widely available and career paths are based on individual performance. In contrast, public organisations are known to be poor paymasters with traditional bureaucratic cultures and career paths based on time served. Our respondents worked for a variety of occupational sectors including medicine, finance, banking, sales and marketing, education and engineering.

All of the respondents were qualified to graduate level or above. Twenty women were married and had children. The four unmarried women in the sample were in their early careers. All respondents were identified through a snowballing sampling method. In two to three hour interviews the respondents told their career stories in their own words. In line with the social constructionist perspective which informed the study, the first author paid careful attention to the contexts in which women were situating their experiences, acknowledging that respondents' experiences may differ to each other although they were all from Colombo (the capital of the country) as the first author herself.

The interviews were not tape recorded because respondents did not wish to have their voices on computer files. Rather the first author took notes of respondents' narratives using shorthand. This was indeed a challenging process which was practically achieved by pausing after each question to record the verbatim. This did extend the length of an interview to over three hours in most cases. The development of full transcripts out of the notes taken began as soon as each interview came to an end. In each case, the full transcript was presented to the interviewee to make sure that everything she said had been correctly captured.

The data coalesced around three main themes: work organisations, home and family, and wider contextual structures in Sri Lanka. The main technique used to analyse the data was template analysis (see King, 2004). We first developed a list of codes (or template) representing the key themes. These themes were identified in relation to the literature reviewed, the first researcher's personal experience with the Sri Lankan context, and the frequency that themes were raised by interviewees. However we also looked out for contrasting and minority views in our notes to ensure that our analysis was based on all respondents' voices rather than just the

dominant majority. In this way we complied with the social constructionist approach that guided our research study (see Burr, 2003).

Once the initial codes were defined, we allocated sections of data notes to the appropriate themes. The Nvivo 8 software package was used to facilitate data coding and to establish frequencies pertaining to themes (see Gibbs, 2002). The template was continuously modified in the process of coding. Hammersley and Atkinson's (1997) notion of 'progressive focusing' describes the process we followed where categories were defined rather loosely in the beginning but became more specific as the analysis progressed. We read and re-read the contents of each theme and wrote the contents into a story while retaining the original quotations based on the notes taken during the interview (see King, 2004). Here we focused on the relationships and associations between themes rather than analysing the individual themes alone.

The Sri Lankan Context

Sri Lanka is a predominantly Buddhist country with a population of about 20 million people. Researchers agree that Sri Lanka is a patriarchal society (Lynch, 1999) characterised by extended family relations (Niles, 1998), intergenerational caring obligations (Malhotra & Mather, 1997) and social divisions between people. However despite the deeply patriarchal characteristics of Sri Lankan society, scholars argue that the sociocultural position of Sri Lankan women is favourable when compared to women of other South Asian countries (Malhotra & DeGraff, 1997).

> In contrast to much of the rest of South Asia, Sri Lanka has a cultural heritage of relative gender equality in terms of later marriages, bilateral descent, daughter's value in the parental home, continued kin support following marriage and widespread access to education for women (Malhotra & Tsui, 1999, p. 221).

There is indeed widespread acceptance of education and employment for women in the country (Malhotra & DeGraff, 1997) where 90% of women in Sri Lanka have been identified as literate in the 2009 Labor Force survey, and women comprise 63.2% of the total professionals in the country (Department of Census and Statistics, 2009). However, women in Sri Lanka account for only 20% of all senior officials and managers (Department of Census and Statistics, 2009). On the basis of these data we argue that there are barriers to women's career advancement in Sri Lanka since there does not appear to be a shortage in Sri Lankan women's skill sets. However to our knowledge there are no empirical studies which have explored these issues.

FINDINGS

In this section we present the empirical findings of our study. First we illustrate how professional women in Sri Lanka make sense of career development. In doing this we provide the answer to question one. Next we demonstrate how our respondents

navigate their social contexts in order to achieve their career goals highlighting the implications of women's actions. In doing this we answer questions two and three. In order to maintain confidentiality respondents' names have been changed.

Making Sense of Career Development

Given our interest in how Sri Lankan women accounted for their careers, it is important to consider how they made sense of their career development. It was striking that all our respondents aspired to reach the highest possible level in their organisational hierarchies:

> *I should be a General Manager at a 5 star hotel – all my hard work over the years should end up in being a GM by reaching the highest level in the ranks.* (Kalpana, 37)

> *Up to this point I wanted to be a director – but now that I am a director I feel that I could do more.* (Rupika, 54)

> *I would be a program director at MTV: a top corporate.* (Natasha, 25)

For 17 of the 24 respondents, career development was not only about climbing up their organisations' hierarchies, but also about making good money in their careers:

> *You work to earn a living after all. I don't buy people who say that they work for passion or to get over boredom. I mean nobody would spend over 40 hours a week on work and go through all that work stress for passion. You need money to survive – it is obviously one of the most important things in the world.* (Michelle, 51)

In a country with a poor welfare state and a high cost of living, respondents not only needed sufficient financial imperatives for their own daily survival, but also to help their sick and elderly relatives who did not have sufficient personal savings. However, whereas some women linked remuneration with survival, other respondents felt that good financial imperatives were essential to maintain their upper class lifestyles in Colombo.

The women in our sample were thus highly ambitious and understood career development in terms of hierarchical advancement and financial imperatives. In the following section we provide responses with respect to the second question, how they continuously navigated their social contexts (wider contextual structures in Sri Lanka, work organisation and home) in order to achieve their career goals.

Wider Contextual Structures in Sri Lanka

Respondents talked about the Sri Lankan labour market, economy and occupational sectors in Sri Lanka, and explained how they dealt with these contextual structures

that influenced their career development. Six women emphasised the lack of jobs in Sri Lanka especially in sectors such as engineering, science, academia and psychology. Irangi talks about her long wait to secure a job in one of the few universities in Sri Lanka:

> *There were no vacancies in any of the 4 universities in Sri Lanka with Sociology departments for almost 2 years.* (Irangi, 37)

Irangi worked for a private university college until a vacancy opened in a national university. Due to having only little exposure to a research based work environment for two years, her career development was compromised. Diluni, a chemistry graduate, did a MBA in her early thirties and switched to an organisational career, since there were more jobs in the business and finance sector than in the sciences.

Significantly, respondents argued that there were too many qualified people chasing after too few jobs in Sri Lanka, resulting in an extremely competitive labour market:

> *In Sri Lanka there are too many CIMA qualified accountants and few finance manager jobs, so it is really important to network to get to know about these few jobs first.* (Nishanya, 37)

Nishanya networked actively in order to get to the few jobs in the country first. Other women in this sample adopted the same strategy. Even late career respondents close to retirement talked about how they took effort to make influential social contacts through networking:

> *I am taking effort to network now since I will be retiring and looking for private consultancy work. I exchange business cards and let people know about the consultancy work I have done. At senior level it is a bit downgrading to let people know you are looking for work. The ideal scenario would be if they come to you with offers. But it doesn't work like this in the real world – it is very competitive after all.* (Kanthi, 52)

In stark contrast to the literature (see Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005; Pringle & Dixon, 2003), Kanthi's excerpt highlights that career building continues after retirement.

Four respondents explicitly talked about the impact of the Sri Lankan economy on their career development. Two women in mid-career were unable to move jobs since most companies were not hiring due to the current negative economic climate in the country:

> *At this point in time nobody is hiring – most companies are finding it very difficult with the global recession and inflation in the country. So there's no point in looking around. I don't put much pressure on NAMBA – looking at the number of people who have been laid off, I am thankful for my job here.* (Shanili, 36)

Because she was restricted to a workplace that didn't offer her a much deserved promotion, Shanili felt that her career development was significantly constrained. She planned to move to another organisation as soon as the economic outlook improved.

Two respondents from medicine and psychology commented that there is a very small internal market in Colombo and therefore one has to be the best player in the market to prosper in their occupational fields:

> *It is such as small market of people who would use a psychologist in Sri Lanka that it's all about being that one particular name everyone would go to.* (Shamila, 32)

Here again the importance of networking is highlighted. Shamila circulated flyers and brochures of her services throughout Colombo, hoping to be the one psychologist everyone in the capital referred to.

Work Organisations

In this section we illustrate how our respondents navigated their organisational contexts in order to achieve their career goals. Women explained their organisations in terms of recruitment and selection practices, career paths, work norms and the typical working day, highlighting how they carefully planned their career development around these structures at work.

Recruitment and selection practices. Recruitment and selection practices determine how candidates are hired for jobs in organisations. According to 22 out of 24 respondents, a good CV including a completed postgraduate award from a renowned institution, and/or having undertaken roles in well-known organisations, is extremely important to get senior jobs in Sri Lankan organisations. Irangi explains how a PhD from a university in Australia helped her secure an assistant professorship in a leading private education institution:

> *The CEO of Soyal Institute personally contacted me – he was desperately in need for a Sociology lecturer for the University of Camden external degree program that they conducted. He had heard of me through a friend of mine. When he heard that I had a PhD in sociology from xxx he didn't even want to interview me – he just wanted me to join SI immediately.* (Irangi, 37)

A doctorate from a prestigious institution enabled Irangi surpass her organisation's screening procedure altogether.

Specifically seven women in early, mid and late career planned to pursue postgraduate courses in order to enhance their CVs:

> *I might end up doing a MBA. I suppose I may need a MBA in the long run. All senior managers have MBAs.* (Sherangi, 26)

Sherangi who worked as an assistant manager felt that a postgraduate qualification is essential to get into a managerial position. She planned to read for a MBA from the University of Wales campus in Sri Lanka which she perceived as a renowned institution.

Fourteen respondents talked about how they carefully choose to work in particular, highly branded organisations in order to develop an attractive CV. Five respondents felt that work experience in foreign countries was highly regarded by Sri Lankan employers for senior level jobs. Three of these women talked about how they planned to work abroad for a while to get some foreign exposure and enhance their resumes:

> *My husband and I planned on getting married and working abroad for a while afterwards to get some foreign exposure. It's good on the CV. We looked at only the UK. Anything from the UK is always regarded highly in Sri Lanka.* (Nishanya, 37)

Career paths. Respondents talked about how they navigated their career paths at work which define how people progress upwards through the organisations' hierarchies. Women described formal career paths in their workplaces in terms of serving time and performance. Nine out of twelve public sector respondents stated that the number of years of service was officially the key criterion to progress upwards through their organisations' career structures. However women from the public sector were frustrated with their career paths. They wanted to climb up their hierarchies quickly and were not willing to wait for their turn. Thus four public sector respondents described the special efforts they took to make their exceptional performance visible to the boards, in order to advance in their careers more rapidly. Rupika explains:

> *The first time I took part in DOC's launching of new branches – I discovered that I was quite a good trainer. So the next time they branched, I requested the head of operations to be involved in this branching operation. I knew him well and he gave me the opportunity to join this operation. It was a lot of work but I took it as an opportunity to get noticed by the board. On top of launching new branches and training personnel, I was also involved in briefing branch managers about the wider functions of banking like credit and treasury. During this period they recognised my talents and dedication. So after this operation I was made the Assistant General Manager of branch operations at DOC.* (Rupika, 54)

Rupika highlights how she circumvented the 'seniority' based career path in her organisation by completing additional tasks handed over to her well and being awarded fast promotions for exceptional performance.

In addition to demonstrating outstanding accomplishments, four respondents from the public sector explained how they ingratiated themselves with their superiors by

giving compliments and doing favours for them (Appelbaum & Hughes, 1998) in order to progress in their careers.

> *I put a lot of effort into trying to get close to the Director of our department; sweet talked him and did everything what it takes. You know, the director gives his opinion to the governor about who he thinks should be the Assistant Director of the department. I just wanted to be sure that he nominated my name over others. I didn't have to go to this extent since I was the most senior candidate. But I didn't want to take any chances anyway.* (Dilhari, 46)

Although Dilhari was the next in line for promotion in her department, she still ingratiated herself with her boss to make sure that this was realised.

In contrast to public sector respondents' 'time served' paths, almost all of the women from the private sector explained their career paths in terms of 'performance' where they described obtaining favourable ratings in the regular performance evaluations undertaken by employers as the key criterion to progress through their organisations' hierarchies. Thus most women from the private sector strived to perform to the very best of their ability in order to obtain high ratings in the performance evaluations.

Like women from the public sector, private sector respondents also talked about how employees in their organisations ingratiated themselves with their superiors in order to get positive results in performance evaluations, essential for promotion:

> *At every level people are constantly sucking up to their bosses, hoping to get good ratings in the performance appraisals.* (Sherangi, 26)

Two private sector women pursued professional and postgraduate education to help them progress upwards their organisations' hierarchies:

> *Now I am doing a University of Leicester distance learning course – a MA in HRM to develop my theoretical knowledge.* (Michelle, 51)

Michelle who works as a HR director for a leading conglomerate in Sri Lanka hoped that she would be able to apply the knowledge from the MA to her work, and thereby obtain good scores in the performance appraisal scheme in her workplace which will help her climb up her organisation's hierarchy.

Work norms. Respondents spoke about how they engaged with work norms of compliance to superiors in pursuit of hierarchical advancement. Natasha explains:

> *The editors are like god; one thing I learned is that you don't contradict whatever they say. You just take their word for it and revise your work accordingly. And you don't refuse anything that is handed over to you however busy you are. You just take it up. You have to keep all the big people happy if*

you want better assignments, your own column etc. everything is after all at the discretion of the editor. (Natasha, 25)

Natasha adapted to her organisation's culture of compliance to superiors, since she perceived keeping superiors happy to be important to progress in her organisation. 'Keeping big people happy' appeared to have influenced women to ingratiate themselves with superiors in order to enhance their career prospects in their organisations. Significantly, individuals who failed to comply with superiors faced serious career repercussions:

My boss and I had issues with regard to counselling services. He expected me to share my clients' inside stories with him – I was appalled and told him off on several occasions. Only later did I realise that this sort of thing didn't happen in Sri Lankan organisations. Telling off your boss is uncommon and I guess being told off by a woman 15 years your junior would have been unbearable to him. (Shamila, 32)

Shamila was compelled to leave her organisation since her boss made trouble for her for hurting his ego.

The typical working day. Women explained how they managed their working day which included hectic work schedules, training and development programs and after-hours social events at work. The majority of women adapted to extensive workloads and long work hours since they did not want to want to appear as incompetent and/or uncommitted to work and thereby risk their career prospects (see Lyng, 2010). Notably though, two respondents were looking for work in other organisations discreetly and planned to hand in their resignations once they secured another job.

Most women in early and mid-career (especially in the private sector) were required to attend regular training and development programs and social events at work. These women found it very difficult to participate in these events and programs due to their personal obligations. However respondents realised that their absence would certainly be frowned upon by bosses, and therefore made continual compromises targeting important events and avoiding others. Roshini talks about how she typically attends only events which her husband can accompany her to and subtly avoids others:

I try to go with him (her husband) as much as possible. I try to avoid events which he cannot attend. (Roshini, 28)

Three women explained how they called in sick occasionally in order to avoid after-hours get-togethers at work:

I occasionally say that I am not feeling well. Sickness is a good excuse. But you have to be careful not to do it too often and make them wonder why you get sick on every other weekend. (Sherangi, 26)

While simply not attending social events was not justifiable, staying away for reasons of ill-health was acceptable, especially for women as long as it did not happen too often.

Almost all respondents talked about how they attended training programs held after-hours selectively or came off halfway through training programs discreetly. Nishanya explains:

> *I don't decline every program – I go for the short ones, come off during half of the program when the program is long.* (Nishanya, 36)

Given that respondents emphasised that their bosses expected women to participate in these programs and events, we argue that selective attendance may not be the best way to please superiors and thus earn good prospects in career.

Home

This section illustrates how women navigated their home contexts in order to achieve their career goals. Respondents talked about their homes in terms of domestic responsibilities, spouses, children and extended family members. In this section, we focus on children and extended family members.

Children. Twenty respondents had children and spoke about how they had to care for young children, check up on teenage children, cook for them and encourage them in their studies. Significantly in spite of these extensive obligations, the majority of women in our sample did not compromise their career goals:

> *She* [her daughter] *is studying very hard for her 'A' levels – She wants me to stay up with her while she studies so that she doesn't fall asleep, so I am up till about 3 in the morning.* (Devika, 46)

Devika continued to go to work on time despite staying up all night with her teenage daughter while she studied. Significantly women's obligations extended to adult children and their families as well. Anouka explains:

> *My daughter has a lot of plans for me – she wants me to come to UK and live with her. I have told her that I want to live among my people and her grandmother is alone as well. I will be lost in the UK – I have my work, friends, everything in Sri Lanka. But if she has a child I will come to do my duty as a grandmother and mother.* (Anouka, 49)

Anouka was willing to forgo her career as a general practitioner to be a full-time child-minder for her adult daughter. Two women who were funding their children's education abroad chose to work for particular organisations which paid well despite there being only few opportunities for training and development. One woman director, who hoped to build her adult son a house, planned on retiring early and

doing private consultancy work since it was more profitable than her existing job: an issue rarely discussed in detail in the careers literature. These findings not only illustrate the impact of adult children on women's career development but also highlight the significant emphasis women place on financial imperatives in career.

Extended family. Respondents talked about how family members supported their careers; in terms of encouraging them to pursue further education, and looking after their dependents while they were at work (see Lewis et al., 1992). However extended family members were often 'mixed blessings'. Sashi spoke about how her maiden aunt who lived with them reported everything that happened inside their house to other people:

> *She shares everything that happens in our house with our relations. But she is a retired teacher so she disciplines the children, sees to their homework and more than anything she is a person who is capable of taking a child to hospital in case of an emergency. You can't depend on a servant for that kind of thing.* (Sashi, 32)

Sashi turned a blind eye to her aunt's doings since she provided a source of reliable childcare which domestic maids couldn't offer. Roshini similarly put up with her mother-in-law's continual interference in return for the reliable childcare she provided. Although turning a blind eye to their family members' doings enabled Sashi and Roshini go to work, their actions had the effect of reinstating the domineering stance extended family took at home.

Significantly respondents had to accompany parents and in-laws to medical treatment and religious destinations, drive them around, fund them and socialise with them regularly. Indeed women from all career stages spoke about obligations which were not limited to only parents and parent's in-laws, but extended to siblings and distant relatives as well. The majority of respondents seemed to have accommodated their busy schedules to take on added obligations to their extended families through sense of duty. Two respondents however attempted to maintain a distance between their spouses' families and themselves. It appears that women undertaking obligations to extended family members is a hindrance on their career advancement since it reduces the time they have to focus on developing their careers, for instance, by pursuing programs of higher education.

A number of respondents from particularly early and mid-career phases talked about how elderly members of extended family did not like them having extensive interactions with men or working at night. These respondents explained how they negotiated between their families' wishes and their work and career obligations by means such as networking with men cautiously and selectively. However, given that respondents highlighted the need to form important social connections to get to the few good senior level jobs in the country first, networking with men selectively

may not be helpful for women since it restricts their access to social capital which is absolutely vital for career development in Sri Lanka.

DISCUSSION

In this paper we have used principles of social constructionism to examine how a group of professional women in Sri Lanka account for their careers. In the methods section we talked about how our data collection was informed by the social constructionist principle of individuals and their societies being deeply implicated with each another (see Burr, 2003). In relation to the findings we found the continuous and iterative relationship between individuals and societies highlighted in social constructionism (see Burr, 2003) to be particularly useful to understand how our respondents navigate their social contexts in order to achieve their career goals and gain insight into the possible implications of women's actions.

Based on the findings of our study we make three significant contributions to existing understandings of women's career development. First we offer insights into how women make sense of their career development. The majority of women in our sample (from all age groups) envisaged reaching the highest possible level within their organisational structures and were seen to be actively working towards progressing in their careers by pursuing programs of education, accumulating work experience in specific organisations and geographical locations, networking to form influential social connections and even ingratiating themselves with important people in their organisations. Our findings elucidate work related aspects of women's career development that do not appear significant in extant women's career models (see Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005; Pringle & Dixon, 2003). Notably our respondents desired hierarchical advancement despite being married, having children and carrying significant obligations to their extended families. These findings thus challenge the implicit assumption embedded within extant women's career models that women's relational inclination overcomes their interest in work as they move from early to mid-career and confront domestic responsibilities (e.g., Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005). Furthermore these findings illustrate that there are no age or career stage barriers to career development, where late career women in our sample were educating themselves and networking in pursuit of progressing in their careers. Our data also highlights the significant emphasis placed on financial imperatives in women's careers. These findings highlight aspects of women's career development which are obscured in career models.

Second, we illustrate how the women in this sample continuously engaged with a range of contextual structures (see Burr, 1995; 2003) in order to progress in their careers. Our respondents networked extensively to get to the few good jobs in the labour market and secure the larger share of their limited occupational sectors. With

respect to work organisations, respondents from the private sector worked hard to obtain favourable ratings in regular performance evaluations, to progress upwards through the performance based career paths in their organisations (see Lyng, 2010). The majority of public sector women made their exceptional accomplishments visible to the boards (see Singh et al., 2002) to circumvent the 'time served' based career structures in their workplaces (see McDonald et al., 2005) through promotions for outstanding achievements. Early and mid-career women from the private sector reconciled themselves to their unfavourable work schedules (see Lyng, 2010), attended after-hours social events at work selectively and came halfway through training programs at work discreetly since they were unwilling to confront bosses about these issues, contradict norms of compliance to superiors (see Saher, 2011), and thereby risk their career prospects (see Singh et al., 2002).

In the context of home, women with young children put up with difficult family members in return for the reliable childcare they provided, since women being able to go to work and develop their careers depended on their children being in good hands. Similarly respondents often sacrificed their personal time to fulfill obligations to teenage children and extended family members. These findings elucidate late career women's obligations to adult children and grandchildren, and early career women's obligations to extended family members, calling into question the assumption that these constraints are limited to the mid-career stage (Mainero & Sullivan, 2005; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005). Overall our findings seem to suggest that late career women in Sri Lanka face special privileges in their careers where older women were not impacted by work norms of compliance to superiors and concerned elderly family members as early and mid-career women.

Third, we highlight how women's actions have the potential to impact back upon the social contexts which confront them (see Berger and Luckmaan, 1967). For instance, public sector respondents who transgressed the 'time served' based career paths in their organisations by exceptional performance may influence others in their organisations to proactively demonstrate their exceptional performance to employers and thereby collectively contribute towards changing the 'time served' based career paths in public organisations to 'performance' based. This is likely to make it much easier for women to progress in public organisations in the future. Likewise, the respondent who was compelled to leave her organisation due to 'telling her boss off' and thereby breaking the norm of unconditional compliance to superiors may have influenced others in her organisation to think twice before contradicting their superiors. The majority of women in this sample were seen to be adapting to or subtly negotiating around the structures they perceived to impact on their careers. Far from challenging these norms, respondents' actions contributed towards maintaining gendered elements of organisations. For instance, women selectively attending after-hours work events at night simply reinforce the gendered nature of the structure of their working day untouched. The consequence of such actions would be that other women who are less able or less willing to confirm to dominant organisational cultures continuing to be disadvantaged in their careers.

Vivian Burr (2003) argues that marginalised voices may be an important source of resistance to dominant cultures. However women who were marginalised in organisations such as Shamila seem to have left their workplaces silently rather than voicing the injustice prevalent in the system (see Hopfl, 2010). Other women who hear similar stories are likely to not challenge existing arrangements. The point we are trying to make is that order will be maintained in gendered work contexts as women pursuing hierarchical advancement conform to prevailing work norms in the process (see Bolton & Muzio, 2007; Gherardi & Poggio, 2001). These understandings which highlight the iterative relationship between individual agency and social contexts prevalent in the empirical data would allow scholars appreciate women's career thinking and enactment in a deep and contextually significant manner.

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CHAPTER 9

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AUSTRALIAN WOMEN IN THE ACADEMY: CHALLENGES AND ASPIRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Over time and across continents, women have struggled to achieve the same rights as men in employment. Education is promoted as pivotal in the attainment of this fundamental human right. While women from all walks of life struggle to achieve gender equity, greater parity would seem likely for women academics in universities because they are well educated. However, the challenge of achieving gender equity is shared by highly educated women who have reached the professoriate (i.e., full or associate professors). In this chapter, we examine the aspirations and challenges experienced by women in the professoriate in Australian universities. As background, we provide an overview of women in universities, the Australian university context and Connell's (2002) ideas of gender in society. We then report the findings of an Australian study of women professors by discussing the challenges they experienced and their career aspirations. We conclude with avenues towards achieving gender equity in universities in the future.

WOMEN IN THE ACADEMY

Historically, data show that gender inequity in universities at senior levels (full or associate professor) is a longstanding issue (Boreham, Western, Baxter, Dever, & Laffan, 2008; Brouns & Addis, 2004; Gardiner, Tiggemann, Kearns, & Marshall, 2007; Perna, 2005; van Anders, 2004; White, 2004; Winchester, Lorenzo, Browning, & Chesterman, 2006). About a decade ago, women constituted less than 20% of the professoriate in the UK (9%), USA (16%), and Finland (18%) (O'Connor, 2000). Similarly, at about that time, in Australia, 18% of professors (Level D) and 13% associate professors (Level E) (Winchester et al., 2006) were women. In 2004, the figures had improved with women professors rising to 24% and associate professors to 16%. The gradual increase in women's representation in the professoriate has continued in recent years (Queensland University of Technology (QUT) Equity Services, 2011) (Table 1). However, at the current rate of progress, equitable

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Table 1. Percentage of women in the professoriate

Year	*Associate Professor*	*Professor*
2006	26.7%	19.1%
2007	27.9%	19.8%
2008	28.7%	20.1%
2009	30.6%	22.4%
2010	32%	22.9%

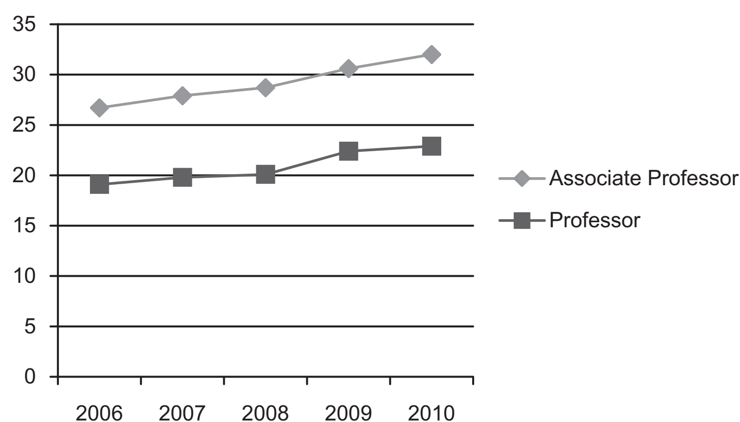

Figure 1. Percentage of women in the professoriate.

representation is still decades away based on the low level increases over a 5 year period (Figure 1). Additionally, even in 2010, many Australian universities had very low proportions of women in the professoriate with a range from 23.3% to 51.8% for associate professors and 15% to 52.7% for professors (QUT, 2011).

The under-representation of women in the professoriate cannot be explained by either a lack of women academics in the career pipeline or by discipline influences. For some time, participation rates for women at undergraduate levels in many disciplines has been over 50% with women making up over half of lecturing staff in universities (White, 2001). Although there is an under-representation of women in science-related disciplines, there is a concentration of women from faculties traditionally perceived as female-orientated (i.e., Health Sciences, Humanities and Arts, Social Sciences) (Winchester et al., 2006). Hence, overall, there appears to be a 'pipeline blockage' somewhere between women completing tertiary education and entering academe, and reaching the professoriate in Australia. This situation is similar elsewhere, for example in Canada (Sussman & Yssad, 2005; van Anders, 2004).

The University Culture

Higher education has a traditionally masculine culture with women being ignored or regarded as having less impact (Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2009; White, 2003). At its least favourable, the university culture can include discrimination towards women and their career progression. Ward (2003) argues that although women experience isolation and anxiety, they are often hesitant to admit to direct personal discrimination. She claims further that "it is clear that women suffer from discrimination and that change is needed" (p. 96). Thus, the university culture can impact substantially on women's achievements by creating favourable conditions for the progression of men and unfavourable conditions for women, for example, in workloads.

Three key differences have emerged from various studies of male and female academic workloads. First, female workloads are oriented towards teaching and pastoral care, whilst male workloads are oriented towards research and profile building (Bagilhole & White, 2003; Bazely et al., 1996; Boreham et al., 2008; Foster, 2001). For example, Forgasz and Leder (2006) conducted a study in one Australian university that involved 14 female and eight male academics. The participants completed a form detailing their work tasks at six times throughout the day over a two-week period. Results showed that work for men included research, administration, university committee duties and off campus presentations and lectures. In contrast, women mainly spent time preparing and conducting student work and advising students. Both female and male academics worked outside office hours on similar activities. The highest reported activities in order were: administrative work, preparing and evaluating students' work, and scholarly writing.

Second, pastoral care is an important component of women's work. A study by Chesterman, Ross-Smith and Peters (2003) that involved five universities revealed that women academics emphasised work that encouraged the development of staff and students, and, unsurprisingly, had a focus on values such as collaboration and consultation rather than hierarchical management duties. Thus, the work preferences of women might be a factor in their actual work tasks.

Finally, males are either equivalent to or more successful than females in research productivity including publication. Male academics prioritise research more than females and apply for more grants than females (Soliman, 1998). However the literature is divided on the publication of males and females. Boreham et al. (2008) report that women are less productive in publications than men with the gender gap more pronounced in the sciences and humanities but smaller in the social sciences. In contrast, Sax, Hagedorn, Arredondo and Dicrisi (2002) in an American study of 8,544 (6,160 male and 2,384 female), full-time faculty members found that factors affecting research productivity and publications were almost identical for males and females. Similarly, Sax et al. (2002) reported that family-related variables including having dependent children had little to no effect on research productivity. The report indicated that for women, child rearing does not impede research productivity. Sax et al. (2002) argue that this is possibly because women with children "attempt to

do more with their limited time" (p. 436). The reports of no differences in research productivity between males and females are heartening.

Apart from workload, a further outcome of the male hegemony of academia is that women have difficulty being promoted to managerial positions (White, 2003). White reports that in higher education in Australia "Male managers tend to promote those with a similar profile" (p. 50). Factors that might contribute to this culture include low percentages of women in senior academic positions (Burton, 1997; Carrington & Pratt, 2003), bureaucratic status quo (Thornton, 1996), gendered career structures (O'Connor, 2000) and informal male networks (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Some insight into the source of a traditional masculine culture was revealed in a comparative study of 30 female academics in Australia and Mauritius (15 from each country) (Thanacoody, Bartram, Barker, & Jacobs, 2006). These authors report that in Australia older men were oriented towards a traditionally masculine culture in academia, while in Mauritius, men of all ages held this view. This perspective may be due to traditional beliefs in Mauritius which place women in more conservative roles. However, the implication of these findings about older Australian men in academia suggests that the retirement of influential men from leadership roles might create more favourable conditions for women's career progression.

Women's difficulty in being appointed to managerial roles and the low overall proportion of women in the professoriate has flow on effects for female Vice Chancellors. Carrington and Pratt (2003) explain the relationship: "university senior executives (pro vice-chancellors, deputy vice-chancellors, and vice-chancellors) are nearly always drawn from the ranks of senior academics, 80 per cent of whom are male" (p. 7). Thus, women's representation in the professoriate influences the number of female Vice Chancellors. Over the past decade, there has been a marginal improvement in the number of female Vice Chancellors in Australia with an increase from nine (23.9%) in 2000 (Carrington & Pratt, 2003) to 10 (25.6%) in 2012 (Universities Australia, n.d.). In 2000, none of the female Vice Chancellors was employed by the research intensive Group of Eight (GO8) universities but in 2012, there was one GO8 female Vice Chancellor (Carrington & Pratt, 2003; Universities Australia, n.d.).

THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

Since 2005, when a nationwide research quality assessment was announced, the academic labour market within Australia has been volatile with universities jockeying to recruit high performing researchers nationally and internationally and at the same time sometimes promoting their own high performing staff to encourage them to remain. Elsewhere, when research quality assessments have been undertaken, the effect on academic careers has been significant. For example, in the UK, the impact of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) on the labour market was far reaching (Jamrozik, Weller, & Heller, 2004): "academe temporarily becomes a giant intellectual meat-market as higher-education institutions vie with each other

to buy in staff with impressive CVs" (p. 553). Although such market conditions create opportunities for high performing researchers, women cannot necessarily take advantage of these opportunities if they require a change of location.

GENDER AND SOCIETY

The state of play in Australian universities in the second decade of the twenty-first century reflects contemporary Australian society. There continue to be challenges to longstanding institutional and interpersonal arrangements such as the dominance of men and male power in leading positions in the academy; and in some faculties, the dominance of men. Much feminist activity in the 1980s was located in universities and spawned approaches to equal opportunity. However, despite long-term presence, the effects of equal opportunity policies and their ability to transform established institutional and interpersonal relationships of power can be quite small (see Connell, 2006). For instance, policies for equal employment opportunities (EEO) have been in existence for approximately 20 years in Australia (Winchester et al., 2006) and have achieved much in making workplaces more family friendly and responding to the circumstances of women academics. Nevertheless, at the current rate of improvement of approximately one percent annually (Table 1), it will be approximately two decades before equitable representation in the professoriate.

Drawing on understandings of gender from Connell (2002) and notions of power and resistance from Foucault (1977, 1980), we understand gender as a "matter of the social relations within which individuals and groups act" (Connell, 2002, p. 9). Where patterns among social relations are "enduring or extensive" (p. 9) (such as gender), Connell (2002) sees them as structural, meaning that gender is part of the social structure of society. This being the case, gender is pervasive in that it is a "pattern in our social arrangements, and in the everyday activities or practices which those arrangements govern" (p. 9). Connell (2002) uses the term "gender regimes" to explain that such arrangements are a "usual feature of organizational life" (p. 53). Identifying gender regimes is, therefore, one way to investigate the established institutional and interpersonal relationships of power in universities. While gender regimes can and do change, resistance is often associated with any such change. Ongoing challenges to established gender regimes and any associated resistance mean that gender relations are constantly being re-worked and re-negotiated as part of the relationships of everyday life (see Foucault, 1980). Meanings associated with gender are the product of the social systems from which they emerged and, as such, privilege particular social interests and specific gendered ways in everyday life. Previous studies have documented the direct and indirect discrimination which women in the academy in Australia and elsewhere have experienced (e.g., White, 2003). A major factor in this discrimination is the "narrow white Anglo-Celtic male management profile" (p. 45). More recent data about the Australian context in the lead up to the first assessment of research quality in Australia — *Excellence*

in Research for Australia (ERA) — from a study commissioned by *Universities Australia*[1] follows.

THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to identify the catalysts and inhibitors in the careers of women who were appointed as full professors or associate professors between 2005 and 2008 —a period of dynamic labour market conditions for academics in Australia. Henceforth, we refer to these women as "new women professors" (NWPs). In this chapter, we discuss some of the challenges they have experienced as academics on the journey to becoming professors and their future aspirations.

This study had two phases. In Phase 1, the perceptions of new professors (female and male) were explored through an electronically administered survey titled *The New Professors in Australian Universities* survey. This survey had four sections. Sections 1 to 3 were based on Ward's (2000) survey that was modified for electronic distribution. These sections related to "Current Appointment", "Personal Background (Items 2a-26) and "Professional Background" (Items 27-46). This section also included an open comment space where respondents were invited to add additional comments about any of the questions. The new fourth section, "Focus Group Participation", invited female participants who were interested in being part of the focus groups (Phase 2) to provide contact information. A total of 520 New Professors responded to the survey comprising 240 (48.5%) males and 255 (51.5%) females. New men professors were included in this survey for comparative purposes. (Twenty-five non-responses for gender were received and their surveys excluded.) In Phase 2, focus groups were conducted with 21 NWPs to gain further insight into the lives and careers of NWP, using conversational interviews. These conversations were underpinned by eight questions relating to the careers of NWP such as "What sort of encouragement and opportunities have you had in the academy on your journey towards becoming a professor?" Participants for the survey and focus groups were drawn from 33 (of 39) Australian universities.

The quantitative data from the survey were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The sample of new professors provides adequate gender representation for comparative purposes because an almost equal number of male and female participants responded to the survey (n=495; M=240, F=255). The qualitative data from the survey responses and the focus group interviews were analysed thematically (Creswell, 2008) using pattern matching and explanation building (Patton, 2002).

In all reporting, the participants in the survey and interviews are identified as follows. The first letter indicates whether they engaged in the Survey (S) or Interview (I). The second letter indicates if they were Female (F) or Male (M). A two or three digit code was also assigned to participants in the interviews (n=21) or surveys (n=520) respectively. Hence, the identifier S-F132 would indicate a survey respondent who was female and assigned the code of 132.

RESULTS

In what follows, we report findings from the survey and focus group interviews that provide insight into the challenges experienced by NWPs, particularly experiences of discrimination, and their career aspirations.

Career Challenges for Women Professors

Career challenges for NWPs are much more confronting and difficult to deal with than aspirations. The data revealed four inhibitors that act as barriers to the advancement of women in the academy. These are negative discrimination (discussed in what follows); the tension between personal and professional life; the boys' club, and isolation (see Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2009, 2010a, 2010b).

Survey responses about negative discrimination against women were overwhelming and included open and latent discrimination. Examples of open discrimination reported by respondents related to sexism and bullying (including rude comments and reference to physical characteristics), harassment and dismissive behaviour, a lack of leave for study, overloaded teaching responsibilities and limited leadership opportunities. The following comments by female academics describe open discrimination in relation to issues of employment, promotion and leadership.

> *I applied for a job that had been earmarked for an internal male candidate. The advertisement required a person who had taught in the areas that are my strength. I fulfilled all criteria, especially as I had supervised 25 PhDs to completion and been postgraduate convenor for a large department…the man who got it had not supervised one PhD to completion. The selection committee had no-one on it in the areas advertised, the external person was a friend of the successful candidate, there was one woman – from a different discipline. I appealed, was told that I had been unjustly treated, but they could not reverse the decision. The HoD [Head of Department] told me that the other candidate was a father of two children and I was not a 'breadwinner' and 'had a job anyhow'.* (S-F168)

> *Being asked in a senior tutor role to carry out the same tasks as the senior lecturers in the institution.* (S-F058)

> *I was denied a deputy directorship on the basis of having a career that involved "research and small children".* (S-F064)

> *I was being proposed as Head of School. The male academics of the School went on a visit to Chinese Universities. The two female academics could not go because of children responsibilities etc. The men decided, over some beers, that it would be better not to have me as Head of School. End of story.* (S-F124)

> *[I] was told that I did not get a PhD scholarship as it was unlikely that as a mother I would continue to study.* (S-F205)

> *More mentoring was provided to men to apply for grants.* (S-F228)

> *A male academic colleague openly harassed me about receiving research grants and reducing my teaching responsibilities. EEO addressed the issue.* (S-F243)

> *I was deputy chair of academic board and was told that I didn't have enough 'gravitas' to apply to be chair when the vacancy was in the offing. (The eventual 'anointed person' was of course a man). As I am now in a Dean's position elsewhere I suspect that whatever gravitas is, I probably have enough! I have also observed the way (at my previous university) women are discussed on various selection panels and internal grant applications and there has been little respect for women compared with men.* (S-F230)

These examples illustrate the ways in which gender regimes manifest themselves overtly in university contexts. Male hegemony (White, 2001) produces relations of male dominance and female subordination, which is apparent in reasons provided by the respondents above for awarding a scholarship, appointments, promotion, and leadership roles. As part of an unjust social system, male hegemony provides distinct advantages to males while diminishing opportunities for females, and in some cases, oppressing females. Historical understandings of the gendered division of labour in capitalist societies have been given as 'reasons' for male 'breadwinners' to be privileged over female applicants, despite the circumstances of the female applicants.

Latent discrimination also included a culture in which there were different standards for males and females. Consistent with the literature, females reported doing work without extra pay, being expected to work harder, and as for the examples of open discrimination (above), females recounted experiences of gender-based differences in job appointments (see O'Connor, 2000; White, 2001).

> *When I was acting Head of Department I had to apply, address selection criteria and be interviewed. This is not the case for next year's HoD* [Head of Department] – *they were simply appointed and no one else invited.* (S-F121)

> *I have found previously that there has been an expectation that I work harder (take on more work) than my male peers until I became HoD/Assoc Prof ... then I did it to myself!* (S-F254)

> *…very subtle but instances of not receiving my title, Dr or Prof when male colleagues have.* (S-F248)

> *I had to prove I was serious about my career at every point. It was never assumed that I would do postgraduate study (although I had excellent results), apply for promotion, apply for positions of authority. For male peers this was assumed and they were mentored into it.* (S-F308)

> *Latent: Head of School giving greater teaching loads to women Lecturers and Senior Lecturers because 'they were good at it' (i.e. nurturing). This was sustained over many years, effectively diminishing opportunities for research.* (S-F319)

> *Latent [discrimination] against [me] in terms of part time working with 3 young children* (S-F347)

> *Latent: For several years, I and another female colleague were appointed as Clinical Directors – a common female pathway. A Departmental Review recommended that this was not helping our academic careers at all.* (S-F363)

The difference in expectations and assumptions held about females and males is conspicuous in these examples. Assigning greater teaching loads (nurturing work) to female academics and making assumptions that females are not interested in further study and careers in the academy reinforces traditional stereotypes of women as nurturing, and as carers involved in home duties. In the case of one respondent (S-F363), instigating a Departmental Review was a positive step that should have produced more positive outcomes for female academics. This example shows how analysis of female career paths produced a deliberate action and subsequent change that has the potential to alter the career paths of women in this traditionally feminine discipline. Such close analyses of organisational regimes provide insight into the workings of power relationships at the individual and system level, and can potentially identify further 'invisible' but discriminatory practices.

Unsurprisingly, some respondents reported experiencing both open and latent discrimination.

> *Failure to consult, being ignored and blatant sexist remarks being made at meetings etc. by male peers and chairs.* (S-F047)

> *[I was] sexually harassed, not promoted when men were promoted with similar qualifications.* (S-F322)

> *I have had tremendous support, but also been openly ignored and put down because I was female by others.* (S-F070)

However, it was not only females who commented about discrimination. Female views were supported by comments from some new male professors: *"I have seen wonderful women torn to shreds and their ashes fertilise ego driven male Deans and one VC"* (S-M039). A small number of comments indicated that males were not solely responsible for discrimination against women.

> *I was overlooked for promotion and positions of authority (until I changed institutions) by an older woman who, I believe, felt threatened by me. My experience of discrimination has been from both sexes (I have also had great bosses of both sexes), but the most active and overt discrimination came from a female boss.* (S-F316)

> *Stereotypes of leadership based around male models; male jealousy and feelings of threat at having a woman in authority; active resistance and undermining from males; also some women have also been influenced by stereotypes and tend to respect men in authority more than women.* (S-F486)

Discrimination appears to be a cultural issue in universities. It can affect a range of staff including females and males and is practiced variously by males (predominantly) and reportedly a much smaller number of females.

Career Aspirations of New Women Professors

Responses to the survey and conversation during the interviews indicated that a considerable number of NWPs were interested in career advancement beyond reaching the professoriate and some had future career plans. Career paths for women differed from men in that they were more varied than the traditional path that males usually followed (Chesterman et al., 2003; Eagly & Carli, 2007).

Career advancement. The survey revealed that approximately two-thirds of new professors (66%) (n=326) were interested in further career advancement (Survey Question 41a), with no discernible differences in responses compared by gender. The new professors' career aspirations varied but related predominantly to a role other than pro vice chancellor, deputy vice chancellor or vice chancellor (Survey Question 41b).

The majority of both female and male survey respondents considered that "professor" was the optimum career rank (Table 2). Responses for career rank when considering further career advancement resulted in seven categories namely, Full Professor, Research Position, Head of School/Department, Dean, Position Outside University, Not Sure and Other (Table 2). Responses were mostly similar for females and males across each category with the exceptions of Full Professor and Not Sure categories. Approximately 15% more females than males indicated that they aspired to be a Full Professor. Conversely, approximately 10% more males than females

Table 2. Optimum rank for further career advancement

Optimum Rank	*Female (n=99)*	*Male (n=99)*
Full Professor	64.6%	49.5%
Research position	9%	12.1%
Head of School/Department	8%	10.1%
Dean	5%	6%
Position Outside University	5%	4%
Not Sure	6%	16.2%
Other (Federation Fellow, Nobel Prize)	2%	2%

(Source: Diezmann & Grieshaber, 2009, p. 55)

stated that they were Not Sure of their future career aspirations. A further difference was noted in the reasons for selecting the Other category. The males' Other responses were aspiring to be a Federation Fellow[2] and to win a Nobel Prize. In contrast, a couple of females aspired to advance to Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC). Thus, in neither gender was there a substantial pool of staff aspiring to senior leadership positions within the university.

Over 60% of staff (n=369) were confident or optimistic that they would achieve their ambition (Survey Question 41c). However, a comparison of male and female responses to this question revealed a statistically significant difference that can most likely be attributed to males being more confident. That NWPs were less confident than males is consistent with Ward's (2003) finding that the majority of female professors in Australia experienced anxiety and self-doubt about their professional roles.

Female respondents were asked about the likelihood of a female being promoted to a key role compared with a male of similar qualifications and age (Survey Question 41d). A comparison of the "more likely" and "less likely" responses indicated that 35% and 50% respectively of NWPs consider that a female is less likely to be appointed than a male to deputy vice chancellor (DVC) (n=246) and vice chancellor (VC) (n=244) roles respectively. The decrease in likelihood of promotion from deputy vice chancellor (35% consider this more likely) to vice chancellor (50% consider this less likely) might be a reflection of women's confidence in achieving these ambitions. It could also be that women are well aware of the dominance of males in vice chancellor roles in Australian universities and possibly see deputy vice chancellor as more attainable than vice chancellor. This dominance or gender regime (Connell, 2002) works to perpetuate the *status quo* through historical factors such as the gendered division of labour and the seemingly 'natural' association between males and appointment to powerful positions. Women have a breadth of career aspirations that extend beyond senior leadership roles in universities. However, it is unclear whether this is a deliberate choice or whether it is the result of the unavailability of attaining a senior leadership role within a university. Few women aspire to senior leadership positions in a university (e.g., DVC, VC). Thus, the current disproportion of men compared with women in these roles is likely to remain unless there is considerable intervention and support for women.

Future career plans. New women professors who participated in the focus groups identified four main categories of response with regard to future career plans: contentment with current position; building international links; succession planning; and research leadership. While building international links is not discussed here, it is important that women should be considered for leadership positions that include a degree of international work.

Six NWPs (28.6%) stated in the interviews that they were content in their current position and had no ambition to go into more senior university management. In some cases, there was an added qualification that they were content for the moment as they

wanted to consolidate their current position; however, they might seek promotion in the future. Two participants recently achieved their Professorships and while one was "psychologically and emotionally growing into that role" (I-F03), the other stated she had to "learn to become an academic" (I-F14). Others had experienced acting roles as head of department that they found stressful and difficult in terms of managing people, which made them feel happy with their current position (I-F106). Being content in their current position may reflect a plateau effect given the effort required to achieve professorial status and the low proportion of women reaching the professoriate in many countries (e.g., O'Connor, 2000). These statistics suggest that while reaching the professoriate is not out of bounds for women, it remains a male dominated organisational regime (see Connell, 2002) that is proving difficult to infiltrate.

For another NWP, the stringent requirements for further promotion at her university (presumably to full professor), including "needing a lot of research funding" (I-F19), mitigated any further promotion applications. This type of criteria in promotions or appointment can inhibit women's progress. Statistics suggest that women overall are not as successful in obtaining research funding as their male counterparts. For example, the outcomes of the Australian Research Council's (ARC) funding in 2009 showed that the participation rate for females compared with males in the Discovery grant scheme was 1:3 (ARC, n.d.). Additionally, female applicants had a lower success rate (19.6%) compared with males (22.4%). The lower success rate for females compared with males has remained constant since 2005, with female rates being between 2.5% and 5% lower during this period. Thus, there is need for attention to the participation of women in this grant scheme and to the factors affecting their lack of success. Factors worth considering include the possibility of assessors discriminating (consciously and unconsciously) against female or ethnic minority academics, given that this has occurred in the assessment of undergraduate student work by academics (see Francis, Read, Melling, & Robson, 2003). Increasingly, tacit dimensions of gender regimes (Connell, 2002) are being revealed as researchers investigate the dynamics of power relationships operating at the micro level (see Foucault, 1977).

Succession planning. Seven NWPs (33.3%) reported in the interviews that they were aware that there was a need to plan for the future, or as they stated, to look into succession planning. This took the form of developing plans for the department and also developing plans to replace themselves. In part, this included mentoring younger academics and encouraging younger members into an academic career and to the Professoriate.

> *I am also looking at succession planning – developing people who can take over. I am not going to be around forever. I am pretty satisfied with where I am but looking at the department within here rather than the university or other positions.* (I-F12)

> *The situation we have in [discipline] is that we are all pretty much the same age; we are all pretty much between 45 and 55 so I think we need to think about how we want to encourage younger [staff] to want to pursue an academic career otherwise in 10 years time we will be in trouble. Also in the Department I would like to see more A/Profs and Profs by the time I go. (*I-F11)

According to Barden (2006), succession planning involves anticipating a change in leadership and preparing for it internally. Whitchurch (2006) argues that as universities become increasingly complex in providing mass higher education to regional as well as international markets, programs for academic managers, such as heads of department, to provide succession planning are increasingly important.

These NWPs are aware of the need for succession planning in their organisational units. Involving them might provide opportunities for women to rise through the ranks and along the way make inroads into some of the gendered organisational regimes within universities. Therefore, universities should actively provide for women to be involved in succession planning.

Research leadership. Six NWPs (28.6%) reported in the interviews that they were currently research managers and their future plans involved consolidating that position or applying for more grant funding to sustain their position. One participant aspired to a research only position and was finding difficulties in achieving this goal.

> *I'm trying to go down the route of getting a research only position. That is what I would like to do. I have applied for NHMRC [National Health and Medical Research Council] Fellowships and have not been successful. The process was so soul destroying I won't continue. . . So I am continuing to apply for grants and bigger grants, leading an international cohort of researchers as well. . . But I still want to make my mark and I am struggling to make that mark in the remaining 10–12 years that I've got. I know what mark I want to make but it is a hard slog.* (I-F09)

For this participant, the Fellowship application process had proved elusive, as well as emotionally damaging from a professional perspective (and probably personally). Little other information was provided about this situation, but effective mentoring and appropriate advice from the university research office may have assisted this academic in knowing and understanding the expectations and requirements. Ensuring that women who aspire to research leadership roles have access to support mechanisms is part of the reorganisation of gender regimes required. If the current rate of improvement is any indication, EEO policies are not the only answer. More needs to be done about university practices and the everyday "social relations within which individual and groups act" (Connell, 2002, p. 9). University practices should be proactive in supporting women to attain research leadership positions within their faculties and at the university level. However, university culture often interferes with policy that is well intentioned*: "I have been the beneficiary of affirmative action*

policies, as well as the subject of ongoing sexist views – from the same institutions. Official policies support women's participation but informal culture does not" (S-F329). This informal culture of power relationships is often invisible to the perpetrators but has significant effects on those outside these relationships.

CONCLUSION

Women face considerable challenges in the academy to achieve career success at the professorial level. Negative discrimination is a major inhibitor to women academics' achievement. The data shared in this chapter provide insight into open and latent discrimination occurring in the social relations enacted on a daily basis in universities around Australia. They provide evidence of the pervasiveness of gender regimes and how gender operates in multiple and complex ways to affect the lives of both female and male academics. Discrimination against women suggests that the traditionally masculine culture of universities is still troubled by informal and powerful male networks (Thomas & Davies, 2002), male hegemony (White, 2001), and gendered career structures (O'Connor, 2000). This inequity extends beyond the professoriate to the low proportion of women in senior leadership roles. Although some NWPs are content and do not aspire to further advance their careers, others have indicated that their aspirations have been curtailed due to systemic issues, such as the interrelationship between research funding and promotion. Despite EEO policies over the past couple of decades, open and latent discrimination against women show few signs of abating. This culture needs to be addressed because it privileges males and discriminates against females, thus reducing opportunities for females to succeed in the academy. Hence, specific, targeted and proactive analyses and programs that go beyond the auspices of EEO policies are required urgently if there is to be any hope of achieving equity for women in Australian universities before the next few decades slip away. Given the challenges women face in achieving success in the academy, particular attention is needed to identify and ameliorate any further negative influences that might occur from the research quality assessments undertaken in Australian universities in 2010 and again in 2012 (i.e., ERA).

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NOTES

[1] Universities Australia is the peak body representing the university sector Australia's 39 universities.

[2] The Federation Fellowships scheme reflected the ARC's commitment to supporting world-class researchers to work in Australia however new funding for this scheme ceased in 2008. The current ARC Australian Laureate Fellowships scheme has a similar brief.

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CHAPTER 10

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WOMEN'S ASPIRATIONS TOWARDS "STEM" CAREERS: A MOTIVATIONAL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly, over the past 50 years, women have been studying and working in professions once dominated by men. In 80% of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations women now equal or exceed the numbers of men completing tertiary level education (OECD, 2010). This trend has positive implications for women's quality of life by increasing their chances of employment and their earning potential. However, this trend of women's increased participation in university and vocational settings is not seen across all subject domains. While women outnumber men in language-arts and education, women are persistently underrepresented in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields of study and employment (OECD, 2010). On average, among OECD countries, women attain 30% of STEM degrees; however, in some countries the rate is as low as 9% (OECD, 2010). STEM domains are becoming increasingly important for societies that want to create a worldly power and status because the work conducted in these areas supports scientific discoveries, technological innovations, and economic development (Roeser, 2006). Therefore, STEM jobs tend to be more highly paid and gain more socio-cultural distinction than the sectors in which women are overrepresented.

Despite numerous government-level initiatives to balance gendered participation in the STEM workforce, the gender disparity has remained a persistent trend over many years and hence has been the focus of much investigation. The majority of this research has been dedicated to the domain of mathematics because it is a fundamental constituent of learning and participation levels can be tracked from the early stages of school through to tertiary studies. More recently, science has received increasing research attention. However, by comparison, engineering and technology remain relatively understudied, which is concerning given that those are the subjects in which women's involvement tends to be the least. Research suggests that girls first begin to lose interest in mathematics and science during junior high school (Jacobs, 2002; Watt, 2004). Deciding to opt out of these subjects makes it very difficult to re-join them in later years and thus girls tend to restrict their educational and vocational

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options from an early age (Sells, 1980). At times of educational transition, such as the completion of high school and university, girls and women are more likely to decide not to continue with mathematics and science studies (Hoffmann, Krapp, Renninger, & Baumert, 1998; Kessels & Hannover, 2007). A pipeline metaphor has been used to illustrate this progressive loss of women from STEM-related fields (Simpkins & Davis-Kean, 2005). Women slowly leak out of the pipeline across the course of their education, and more often at transition points (Hoffmann, Krapp, Renninger, & Baumert, 1998; Kessels & Hannover, 2007), until there is only a small number left who enter the STEM workforce. Even then, many women choose to leave these occupations, often citing a sector that is inattentive to family obligations (Frome, Alfeld, Eccles, & Barber, 2006, 2008), which further exacerbates the underrepresentation of women in the STEM workforce. The pipeline metaphor gives a clear visual representation of a process that leads to disproportionate gendered participation. However, the pipeline metaphor does not acknowledge girls' and women's ownership of the decisions they make. A leaky pipeline indicates females tend to fall through the cracks, thus placing women as passive and reactive; whereas, women may forge these cracks themselves through proactive decision-making. Girls may be looking ahead to the end of the pipeline and be put off by what they envisage to be there (Watt, Eccles, & Durik, 2006). Indeed, girls often report opting out of mathematics and science in school because they want to be involved in helping professions (Eccles, Barber, & Jozefowicz, 1998). Despite numerous initiatives to maintain girls' participation in STEM fields, girls continue to choose to leave these subjects. Hence, we need to understand why this continues to happen and what can be done to make STEM career paths more attractive to women. In this chapter, we shall look down the pipeline using a motivational lens to assess why men continue to outnumber women in the STEM workforce. We will explore three different explanations for the gender gap: ability, socialisation, and motivation. Within these explanations we will review theoretical frameworks and propose a theoretical integration. Finally, we will draw some conclusions about the current situation for girls and women and how their situation may be improved.

ABILITY DIFFERENCES

For many years, differences in the mathematics and science abilities of males and females sparked debate as an explanation for females' lesser participation. Some research indicated boys tended to perform better on aptitude tests (National Science Foundation, 2006), whereas girls performed better on achievement tests and school grades (Young, 1991, 1994). Abilities in mental rotation and spatial perception predict mathematics achievement scores, and gender differences in one have been used to explain gender differences in the other (Ceci, Williams, & Barnett, 2009) as males tend to perform slightly better on three-dimensional mental rotation tasks and tests of spatial ability (Hyde, 2005; Linn & Peterson, 1985). However, these differences are often misrepresented as biologically based indicators of males' superior mathematics

abilities when there are many other explanations. Moreover, gaps in the spatial ability performance between boys and girls have shown declines over time (Hyde, Fennema, & Lamon, 1990). Lastly, these skills do not predict success in mathematics intensive fields and hence fail to explain the gender discrepancy in STEM participation (Ceci et al., 2009). The culmination of years of differing experiences of girls and boys can account for many differences in behaviour. Different responses to testing situations, such as females being more cautious in double-checking their answers or activation of stereotype threat (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007), can also explain differences in performance. A further line of enquiry to explain ability differences has been differing brain development and the influence of hormones. However, differences in brain composition and hormones are insufficient to explain the gender differences in mathematics careers (Ceci et al., 2009). Recent meta-analyses have demonstrated that boys and girls have similar achievement for mathematics and science across their years of schooling (Else-Quest, Hyde, & Linn, 2010; Hyde & Linn, 2006). These researchers have warned that studies which examine only statistically significant gender differences without considering the magnitude of effects, omit the critical indicator of real-world applicability (Hyde & Linn, 2006). Through such sustained research efforts, and results that reveal inconsequential effect sizes, it is now widely accepted that girls and boys from OECD nations perform similarly in STEM-related subjects, and that explanations beyond ability differences must be pursued.

THEORETICAL ABILITY FRAMEWORKS

The gender differences model, that males and females differ to large degrees psychologically, has fascinated psychologists for many years. The gender differences model gained the attention of media and the wider population after the publication of popular books such as *Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus (*Gray, 1992) and *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men In Conversation* (Tannen, 1991), which both argued for immense psychological differences between men and women. The seminal review of 2000 studies by Maccoby and Jacklin in 1974 identified sex differences in four specific areas: verbal abilities, visual spatial abilities, mathematical abilities, and aggression. Since then, meta-analysis has revolutionised the study of psychological variables by allowing researchers to aggregate findings across previous empirical studies, and thereby estimate effect sizes for psychological variables of interest. Instead of a gender differences model, recent meta-analyses support a hypothesis of *gender similarities* (Hyde, 2005), whereby men and women, boys and girls, are similar on most psychological variables. According to this theory, males and females are more alike than they are different. Indeed, Hyde's (2005) meta-analysis showed that 78% of gender differences have a magnitude within the range of small or close-to-zero ($d \leq 0.35$). The areas within which Hyde (2005) found the largest gender differences for were motor performance and sexuality. These results are even more striking when we note that the majority of studies included in Hyde's (2005) meta-analysis had assessed one of the four areas of gender

differences studied earlier by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). Other meta-analyses have highlighted the importance of context, because manipulation of the testing environment, age, and culture can all diminish gender differences (Bettencourt & Miller, 1996; LaFrance, Hecht, & Paluck, 2003). Together, these results dispel the pillars of the gender differences hypothesis, showing that gender differences are neither large nor stable, lending weight to the hypothesis of gender similarities, and pointing to the need to examine explanations beyond ability to understand gendered participation and achievement in advanced mathematics and sciences.

SOCIALISATION EXPLANATIONS

The impact of girls' social environments doubtless plays an important role in their involvement in STEM-related fields. These influences include broad contextual cultural influences as well as proximal influences such as parents, teachers, and peers.

Broad Contextual Influences

Many studies demonstrate varying differences in performance between boys and girls from different country settings. There is emerging evidence that girls who receive education in countries which have greater gender equality show better achievement and more positive attitudes towards mathematics. Guiso and colleagues (2008) conducted a study using a large international data sample and measured gender inequality of each nation using the Gender Gap Index (GGI). The GGI is a measure of the divide between women and men in educational attainment, health, economic opportunity, economic participation, and political empowerment. The difference between mathematics performance of boys and girls was smaller for countries that had more equality as measured by the GGI. Else-Quest, Hyde, and Linn (2010) conducted a meta-analysis of cross-national patterns of gender differences in mathematics also using large international data samples that canvassed over 490,000 14–16 year olds in 69 countries. Results showed that in nations where girls have more equal access to education and where women participate at the same rate as men in upper level employment and government, girls and boys tend to perform similarly, and gender gaps in mathematics self-confidence are smaller. These large-scale studies provide strong evidence for the influential role of socio-cultural factors on students' measured performance in STEM-related subjects.

The cultural and religious customs that define a country can also influence the accessibility of education for girls. Mukhopadhyay (2004) outlined the partrifocal family structure of India and the impact this has on girls' participation in tertiary education. Similar to Western nations, the gender gap also exists in STEM fields in India (Mukhopadhyay, 1994). Educational decisions are treated as family matters, instead of individual decisions, involving the collective investment of family resources and long-term goals. Educational decisions tend to favour sons over

daughters because concerns about girls' marriageability, social representation, and family honour tend to work against them. However, the education of girls can also create positive outcomes for the family. Girls' earning potential can offset dowry demands, lifting some financial burden off the family. In addition, educated girls who remain unmarried are not viewed as financial burdens.

Proximal Influences

The attitudes of parents and teachers have been found to differ by child gender, such that mothers underestimated the mathematics abilities of their sixth grade daughters, while overestimating the same abilities of sons (Frome & Eccles, 1998). Similar results were found when parents were asked to estimate different aspects of their children's intelligence. Mothers and fathers believed their sons had higher mathematics and spatial skills than their daughters (Furnham, Reeves, & Budhani, 2002). This is particularly concerning since girls can be more influenced by their mother's perceptions of their abilities than their actual achievement grades (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992). However, in studies conducted with high mathematics achieving girls and boys, encouragement from parents was more likely to vary by ability than by gender. A longitudinal study showed that parents' occupational expectations were related to their teenager's job aspirations two years later and their actual job choices thirteen years later (Jacobs, Chhin, & Bleeker, 2006). Earlier research has suggested that teachers tend to favour boys in mathematics classes (Becker, 1981) but there is less support for this more recently (Ceci et al., 2009). Teachers' expectations of success can be a great support for girls in mathematics and science classes during the school years (Fouad et al., 2010). Another proximal influence that has been explored is the lack of female role models for girls in mathematics- and science-related fields. Since men hold the majority of STEM career positions, and the women that hold STEM jobs have often had to make personal and family sacrifices (Sonnert, 1995), girls aspiring to STEM vocations do not have role-models demonstrating how to manage career and family life (Blickenstaff, 2005). Because children and adolescents spend the majority of their time with their parents and teachers, it is important to consider the influences these proximal socialising agents have on students' thoughts about STEM-related fields.

THEORETICAL SOCIALISATION FRAMEWORKS

There are many theories focused on how gender-typed behaviours develop; the likely reality is that there is interplay between the factors emphasised in these models. Integrating gender socialisation theory, gender schema theory, and social role theory may be useful to help explain why boys persist with STEM subjects, whereas girls are more likely to desist. The integration of these theories suggests that a girl, who has feminine behaviours highly reinforced, was mainly exposed to women and men in gender typical roles, and developed strong gender schema about gender-typed

behaviours, would be more likely to steer clear of male-dominated arenas such as mathematics and science.

Gender socialisation theory (Stockard, 1999) posits that the differential reinforcement of certain behaviours during development leads to gender differences in the behaviour of girls and boys. Parents, teachers, and other important individuals in a child's life, model and reinforce gender-typed behaviours. During pre-school and primary school, girls are likely to be engaged in activities that promote fine motor skills (e.g., drawing) and verbal skills, whereas boys' play tends to involve gross motor activities, blocks, sports, and action figures (Early et al., 2010; Ruble, Martin, & Berenbaum, 2006). *Social role theory* (Eagly, 1987) concerns children's conceptions of gender-typed behaviours. Societal norms regarding gender-specific roles are clearly visible to children in their everyday lives and influence gender differences in disposition and behaviour. Mothers report engaging in more physical care and emotional support than fathers (Moon & Hoffman, 2008), which serves to reinforce to children that women are nurturers. Research shows girls are more likely to express emotions and take on nurturing roles, while boys learn to be assertive and independent. Through the reinforcement and modelling of gender-typed behaviours, children begin to develop gender schema. *Gender schema theory* (Bem, 1993) proposes that as children develop and become more aware of their gender and cultural and societal gender norms they create gender schema of appropriate masculine and feminine behaviours. Gender schema guide encoding, processing, and interpretations of gendered behaviours. As such, these lenses serve to create a self-identity that is consistent with the gendered schema (Bem, 1993). Depending on the nature of early childhood input, children's gender schema may become more or less gender segregated. Schema are important because they influence intentions and behaviours (Markus, 1977).

MOTIVATIONAL EXPLANATIONS

Values

Girls' and women's valuing for and interest in STEM fields are additional important considerations. Eccles, Barber and Jozefowicz (1998) found that young women placed higher value on people oriented jobs and were therefore more likely to aspire to careers in health than mathematics. Similarly, girls interviewed in a qualitative study were more interested in life science instead of physical science because they aspired to care for people or animals (Baker & Leary, 1995). It seems a long-term goal of many girls is to work in helping professions. Students' interests are highly predictive of their choices and persistence (Eccles et al., 1983). Boys' interest in mathematics remains higher than that of girls throughout high school (Frenzel, Goetz, Pekrun, & Watt, 2010; Nagy, Watt, Eccles, Trautwein, Lüdtke, & Baumert, 2010; Watt, 2004). This elevated interest of boys can culminate in more experiential knowledge of mathematics-related domains (e.g., physics) by the

time they reach college, due to their more avid consumption of media, books, and hobbies centred on mathematics (Hazari, Sonnert, Sadler, & Shanahan, 2010). Women studying science and engineering at university are more likely to persist with their studies if they recall enjoying science and mathematics in high school and continue to enjoy these subjects at university (Brainard & Carlin, 1998). One study conducted in Germany showed that teenage girls had higher levels of interest in biology than their male counterparts, and that the course choices of these students in high school predicted their avenues of study at university (Nagy, Trautwein, Baumert, Köller, & Garrett, 2006). Watt and colleagues (2012) recently conducted a longitudinal comparison of motivational beliefs and educational and occupational outcomes between Australian, American, and Canadian high school students. Gender differences in motivational beliefs tended to favour boys, in line with gender stereotypes. However, the importance value of mathematics emerged as a more influential value for girls than boys in predicting their mathematics-related career plans for those who lived in Australia and Canada. These results indicate that girls' valuing of STEM subjects at an early age can lead to positive effects on their STEM participation later in life.

Self-perceptions

Self-perceptions include confidence in and expectations about ones' abilities. Results from large international data of high school students have shown that boys are more self-confident than girls in mathematics (Else-Quest et al., 2010) and maintain higher ability expectancies than girls over the course of high school (Frenzel et al., 2010; Nagy et al., 2010; Watt, 2004). In turn, these beliefs affect subsequent educational and occupational plans (Watt et al., 2012). In countries where there is gender equality in education and upper level employment, boys' and girls' mathematics self-confidence are more closely aligned (Else-Quest et al., 2010). In a longitudinal study, girls' lower self-efficacy beliefs for biology and physics during high school were found to improve over the course of college, independently of their achievement levels, until they exceeded those of boys by the end of their second college year (Larose, Ratelle, Guay, Senécal, & Harvey, 2006). It may be that if girls can be encouraged to persevere with STEM subjects beyond high school, and have more of a chance to perform well in a range of fields, their self-efficacy for these subjects will improve.

"Cost" Deterrents

The perceived drawbacks or negative aspects of engaging in STEM fields can significantly deter girls and women from STEM fields. These 'costs' have received minimal research attention (Roeser, 2006). During the 1970s, a psychologist at Harvard University, Matina Horner, argued for 'fear of success' as a psychological barrier that impacted on women's career advancement. Horner (1970) based

this assertion on results from her research, which showed that when placed in competitive environments, men became more motivated, whereas women became more anxious. Men also reacted more negatively than women to a female succeeding in a male-dominated field. As an indication of the social climate during that time in history, male participants described successful women as unattractive, unpopular, unfeminine, and overaggressive. Horner's (1970) methodology was replicated more recently in a study which found no quantitative differences between men and women's responses for the success of others in traditional and non-traditional vocational fields (Engle, 2003). Nowadays, for many women, diminished family time due to inflexibility of male-dominated STEM workforces is a significant cost that prompts them to leave those fields (Frome et al., 2008). The impact of costs on girls' and women's STEM-related decisions needs to be more systematically explored. Costs could be categorised as external (contextual) barriers, aspects of the environment that contribute to a lack of affordances; and internal (psychological) barriers, such as gender schemata, domain-specific self-efficacies, and interests. These costs are likely to change across the course of people's lives as a function of age, work experience, child rearing, and other influences (Roeser, 2006).

Cultural Values

Research into motivational differences between East Asian and Western students was prompted due to the finding of Asian students outperforming their Western counterparts on large-scale international academic testing projects, such as PISA. Higher valuing of effort became widely accepted as an important factor explaining East Asian students' higher achievement (Lau & Chan, 2001) with Western learners viewed as more interest-oriented (Schiefele, 1991). However, large-scale comparisons, such as the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), which compares the knowledge and skills of 4th and 8th grade students in 60 countries, provide evidence for students of all cultures valuing hard work, rather than Asian students in particular. Martin and Hau (2010) brought a different lens to this debate and investigated differences of 'kind' and differences of 'degree' in achievement motivation of Chinese and Australian 12 and 13-year-old students. Results showed small differences of 'degree', such that Chinese students reported lower achievement motivation than Australian students. However, there were no differences of 'kind', indicating that Australian and Chinese students have similar motivational profiles and structure. Other researchers have specifically investigated cross-cultural differences in students' interest for certain subjects. When comparing American, Taiwanese, and Japanese 11th grade students, Evans, Schweingruber, and Stevenson (2002) found that results mirrored those of studies conducted with only Western participants; boys preferred mathematics, science, and physical education, whereas girls had more interest in English, music, and art. These results indicate that the gendered socialisation of motivations is relatively robust across cultural settings.

THEORETICAL MOTIVATION FRAMEWORKS

Within the field of motivation research, there is a myriad of theories, each with its own terminology, seeking to explain people's behaviours and choices. For a reader who is unfamiliar with this body of work, it can be a very daunting task to wade through the wealth of information presented from different perspectives. We selected and categorised the theories of most relevance to girls'/women's participation in STEM fields. The theories presently discussed are grouped into those explaining motivation from a basis of expectations and those that examine reasons for engagement.

Expectancies

Motivation theories that focus on expectancy are largely concerned with an individual's sense of efficacy and perceived competence for completing a task (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura, 1986, 1997) was seminal in this line of social cognitive inquiry. Self-Efficacy Theory (SET) proposes that outcome expectations and efficacy expectations of success influence individuals' goal setting, activity choices, effort, and persistence (Bandura, 1997). Self-Efficacy Theory has proved useful when applied to behaviour in many different research areas, such as schools, health, and sports. A closely related model is Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), which built on the principles of SET. Self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations continue to play a central role but SCCT is specifically focused on academic and career development. Person, contextual, and experiential factors are thought to influence academic and career-related interests, goals, actions, and outcomes (Lent et al., 1994). Mau (2003) used SCCT as the conceptual framework for analysis of longitudinal data, which tracked students' career aspirations from high school until 2 years post-high school and found that boys were more likely to persist with science and engineering career aspirations than girls, and those who persisted with their science and engineering aspirations had higher levels of academic achievement, mathematics self-efficacy, socioeconomic status, and parental expectations.

Reasons for Engagement

Another branch of motivation theories focuses on variables such as intrinsic motivation, interests, and goals. A prominent model is Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), which posits that people are intrinsically motivated to seek out competence, autonomy, and relatedness, which are critical variables for understanding the content and process of goal pursuits. Research demonstrates that children in autonomy supportive classrooms are more intrinsically motivated (Deci & Ryan, 1985), have higher self-esteem and perceived competence (Ryan & Grolnick, 1986), and are more likely to stay in school (Hardre & Reeve, 2003). Another prominent theory is goal theory, which has influenced classroom research.

The main distinction is between performance goals and mastery goals (Ames, 1992). Individuals with performance goals seek to outperform others and maximise favourable perceptions of their competence, while those with mastery goals are more concerned with developing their own learning and skill set. Students with mastery goals show high levels of interest and persistence, feel comfortable asking for help, and value cooperation (Harackiewicz, Barron, Tauer, Carter, & Elliot, 2000; Wolters, 2004). However, one positive outcome that students pursuing mastery goals do not show is that of enhanced academic achievement (Hulleman, Schrager, Bodmann, & Harackiewicz, 2010). This may be because students with mastery goals are more concerned with pursuing their academic interests, instead of top test scores (Senko & Harackiewicz, 2002). In contrast, students pursuing performance goals have shown increased academic performance but this result is not consistent (Greene, Miller, Crowson, Duke & Akey, 2004; Harackiewicz et al., 2000). The relationships between achievement and mastery versus performance goals can be explained by a further distinction between these goal types: approach versus avoidance goals. Performance-approach goals encompass a striving to outperform others, whereas performance-avoidance goals denote an evasion of performing worse than others. Mastery-approach goals involve a propensity towards improving learning and skills, whereas mastery-avoidance goals involve a striving to avoid diminished learning and skill acquisition. Research has shown that avoidance framing of performance goals and mastery goals is associated with negative outcomes. Performance-avoidance goals are linked to high test anxiety, low achievement, and low interest (Pekrun, Elliot, & Maier, 2006; Möller & Elliot, 2006).

THEORY INTEGRATION

The reviewed ability, socialisation and motivational theories have forged knowledge and research concerning the underrepresentation of women in STEM education and careers. However, there is a need to amalgamate similar constructs and present a unified framework that accounts for as many influences as possible. Previous models have been criticised for omitting motivational tendencies and failing to consistently include objective achievement outcomes with which to compare individual's perceptions. The Expectancy-Value model proposed by Eccles (2005) and Eccles and colleagues (1983) overcomes these limitations by linking expectancies and values to an extensive range of psychological and social factors, and has therefore received substantial research attention over the past two decades. This model proposes that an individual's expectations for success and the value s/he attributes to a task, influences choices, performance, and persistence for that task. An individual's subjective reasons for engaging in a task/subject are influenced by her/his identity, goals, self-schema, and affective memories. These factors are related to the wider cultural milieu; in particular, the caregiver's beliefs, and the individual's perception of these beliefs, as well as the individual's beliefs of their own abilities. Eccles and her colleagues have conducted a sustained program of research in this area and shown that expectations

for success and task values both predict achievement and course plans; effects which are over and above the influences of previous achievement (Eccles 1987; Eccles, Adler, Futterman, Goff, & Kaczala, 1983; Eccles, Adler, & Meece, 1984; Meece, Wigfield, & Eccles, 1990). Expectations for success and task values also predict career aspirations (Eccles et al., 1998). Girls and boys in the latter stage of high school who aspire to health careers, or mathematics and engineering careers, held high success expectations for their science abilities. What differentiated students with science aspirations were their values. Students aspiring to health careers placed a high value on people oriented jobs; a result that was more pronounced for girls than boys. Students aspiring to mathematics and engineering careers placed higher value on mathematics and computer tasks. Girls with such aspirations were more likely to place lower value on people oriented jobs (Eccles et al., 1998).

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

Bringing motivational, sociocultural, and ability theories and research together, we gain a clearer picture of why girls and women underparticipate in STEM subjects and careers. There is interplay between these factors, which shape girls' and women's self-identities and influence the decisions they make. Roeser (2006) described these as the "inside-out" and "outside-in" phenomena of self and identity. "Inside-out" influences are one's beliefs and values, whereas "outside-in" influences are the social forces that affect our life choices. From the research, we can see that interests and self-perceptions (inside-out phenomena) are important to the educational and career decision-making of girls and women. Currently, most girls and women's preferences lie with helping professions and subjects that have clear real-world applicability. For many women, it seems, STEM subjects and careers do not embody these traits. Research also indicates that girls and women perform better in countries that strive for gender equality, thus social interactions and the affordances and constraints of girls and women's social worlds (outside-in phenomena) play an important role. The current social climate surrounding STEM subjects and workplaces often positions girls and women as less able than men (even though there is a wealth of evidence to the contrary) and fails to provide them with the instruction and opportunities needed to develop values that lead to continued participation. Therefore, the question arises, what can we do to make these avenues more attractive to girls and women?

Multipronged Efforts to Enhance Girls and Women's Participation in STEM

The research conducted to date makes it clear that efforts to increase girls' and women's participation in STEM fields need to address the "inside-out" influences as well as "outside-in" factors at both ends of the pipeline. That is, making individual-perceptual and sociocultural influences a priority when girls are in high school and when women are finishing university to enter the workforce. These objectives can

be pursued through multiple avenues, such as government initiatives, modifications to classroom instruction, and providing clear and relevant information about STEM career paths. If the “outside-in” factors can be more conducive to girls’ and women’s STEM participation, the “inside-out” influences will be more likely to develop accordingly.

Numerous initiatives are already in place to help monitor the gender balance in STEM subjects and workplaces. The OECD publishes its annual comparison between member countries regarding access to and participation in learning, quality of learning environments, financial investment in education, and the output of educational institutions. A further initiative of the OECD is the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which compares the achievement of 15-year-old students in the areas of reading, mathematics, and science. A similar study, the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), which is facilitated by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), compares the achievement of fourth and eighth graders for participating countries. All of these initiatives are aimed at improving educational policies and outcomes by exposing countries to alternative education systems and hone what is most appropriate for their context. These initiatives provide vital insight; however, it seems there is still more room for improvement. Governments could also introduce policies that make STEM workplaces more accepting of the family-time women and mothers’ desire.

There are also changes to be made to the manner in which STEM subjects are taught and approached during the school years. The current research surrounding girls’ STEM-related values and self-perceptions shows that they are more interested in the humanitarian or real-world application of these subjects. The difficulty with subjects such as mathematics and physics is that they are often taught in abstract and decontextualised ways, making these subjects less likely to engage girls (Watt, 2005). Furthermore, education is becoming increasingly assessment-based with the introduction of national and international achievement standards. These changes tend to create more narrow curricula, specific views of intelligence, and increased competition (Roeser, 2006). There is then little room for the fostering of educational values amidst all the forms of assessment, which is concerning given the impact values have on the decisions we make. Boaler (1998) conducted a longitudinal comparison of teaching styles in mathematics classrooms of two United Kingdom schools. One school followed very formalised, textbook-based teaching methods, whereas the other school taught mathematics with open-ended, problem-solving exercises. Students who were taught mathematics in the formalised setting had difficulty realising connections between classroom mathematics and the mathematics they encountered in their everyday lives. Students who were taught mathematics in a contextualised manner developed more flexible forms of knowledge that they could apply to problems both within and outside the classroom. Tailoring curricula to address the interests of girls has been shown to have a positive effect on their valuing of physics (Haussler & Hoffman, 2002). Taking on a more active class role

through answering questions and teaching classmates is one adaptation that helped girls value physics more (Stadler, Duit, & Benke, 2000). Larose and colleagues (2006) found that women who were studying technology courses with a biology or physics focus at university showed increased self-efficacy for science and increased clarification of their career goals over the course of university. The classroom climate that is created by the teacher has a large impact on girls' interests and beliefs for their subjects. In our work, conducted with an Australian sample, we found that girls' perceptions of relatedness to their science teacher affected their interest in the subject and perceptions of classroom negativity were detrimental to their ability expectancies (Spearman & Watt, in press). University learning environments are often less competitive than high school classrooms, with more meaningful content that is more relevant to students' vocational goals. Therefore, trying to bring some of these positive elements into high school classrooms may be conducive to increasing girls' interest in STEM subjects.

Adolescents often have inaccurate ideas about the level of skills required for STEM careers and may be put off certain careers paths based on these misconceptions. Providing students with more information about the particulars of STEM careers and linking these jobs to socially relevant uses may serve to enhance girls' interest in STEM subjects and make it more likely they will continue with them in the future. Furthermore, if this real-world information about STEM careers could be delivered by women who are passionate about their work and capable of maintaining a balance between family and work, girls would have positive role models on which to base their aspirations.

Prognosis

There is now a wealth of research surrounding sociocultural and motivational factors that influence girls' and women's participation in STEM fields. Girls and boys have similar abilities for mathematics and science; however, boys' interest and self-efficacy for these subjects often exceeds that of girls. As well, girls' and women's STEM-related career decisions appear more based on the importance value they attach to those fields. Multipronged initiatives need to be set in place to create learning environments that are more conducive to developing girls' STEM values to the same level of boys. If their interests can be fostered from an early age, girls will be more likely to continue STEM subjects through high school and onto university. Initiatives also need to ensure the careful guiding of women through the pipeline and to ensure that the endpoint is attractive to women; work content that has real-world applicability and workplaces that allow women to also be mothers and carers.

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CHAPTER 11

WENDY PATTON

CHANGING THE DISCOURSE OF WOMEN'S WORK: CHALLENGES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Theoretical work on the career development of women has travelled a journey from critique to creation. Early work responded to and criticised a literature that focused on theorising male roles in a workplace that was conceptualised as providing vertical career paths primarily for middle class males. Theorists have criticised the limitations of this theorising on the basis of gender, ability and social class variables – to name just a few. More recently theorists are creating new constructions and frameworks to enable a more holistic understanding of career, applicable to both women and men. This book provides a history of theorising about women's careers, in addition to presenting a focus on current empirical and theoretical work which contributes to current understandings of women's working lives. It has both mapped the current discourse and suggests challenges for future work. This chapter will provide a synthesis of the key issues presented in the book and pose some challenges for future work.

THEORISING WOMEN'S WORKING LIVES

The major body of work in theorising women's careers has traversed a journey from modifying the major theories of career through to development of specific theories for women, and more recently to incorporating new concepts and understandings to critique our traditional understanding of paid work, to identify when the split between paid work and non-paid work occurred, and to understand the gendered nature of this split. Patton (2013, in this volume) summarises the theoretical efforts to extend theories of Holland and Super, and the work of Hackett and Betz in extending social learning and social cognitive theories. Ecological and systems theory frameworks have been developed to broaden the focus of the field of career theory generally and to attempt to situate women's career development within these broader frameworks. More recently Blustein (2006) emphasised the need to reconceptualise our understanding of work and to reconnect it with other domains of human experience. As such, recent theoretical work has focused on creating and constructing new theories which are derived from and which extend relational theories and theories based on social constructionism (Richardson & Schaeffer, 2013; Schultheiss, 2013).

W. Patton (Ed.), Conceptualising Women's Working Lives: Moving the Boundaries of Discourse, 193–202.
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Chapters 2 to 4 present an historical overview of theorising in women's careers and a presentation of new perspectives. These chapters demonstrate a very intellectually dynamic field and document theorising which incorporates concepts and perspectives from sociology, and vocational and organisational psychology. Richardson and Schaeffer propose a dual model of working for both women and men which expands the traditional meaning of work beyond paid work or market work only, to incorporate unpaid care work. These authors introduce the literature of care work and its commodification into the discourse of women's working lives, presenting an historical analysis and arguing that the issue of care work is a crisis in contemporary societies across the world (p. 20).

Schultheiss expands the relationships and work literature to include the "significance of culture in human action" (p. 46), asserting that this paradigm addition will further contribute to a more inclusive study of working. O'Neil and colleagues updated earlier work which documented published work on women's careers. They documented a reduction in the number of management and applied psychology journals which published work on women's careers, and affirmed that patterns and paradoxes in women's careers had not diminished between their earlier work in 2008 and 2012. These authors assert that there is a need for a more "holistic focus in order to understand the constellation of factors that impact women's careers" and emphasise the need to understand women's careers "at the intersection of individual, organisational and societal levels" (p. 70).

Chapters 5 to 7 in the book focus on women's life transitions. Doherty and Lassig examine women's career decisions as impacted by changing family responsibilities over time. They argue that:

> Women with family responsibilities are living in times that are contradictory in their uneven social changes, endorsing choice, self-actualisation and workforce participation on one hand, but offering few certainties or templates for how this freedom is to be enacted and reconciled with more resilient ideologies around family roles, responsibilities and child care (p. 91).

Similar themes of change and challenge are examined in Etaugh's analysis of midlife career transition for women. McMahon, Watson and Bimrose focus on older women's careers and emphasise the importance of systemic perspectives in understanding women's careers, for theorising as well as for planning holistic interventions for older women.

Chapters 8 to 10 highlight three particular areas which demonstrate the importance of both diversity and changing contexts in understanding women's working lives. It is acknowledged that the book could have expanded the professional areas which are so illustrative of women's participation in the work force, for example the health professions. However it is hoped that this book is the beginning to more work exploring holistic and indepth studies of women's working experiences. Fernando and Cohen comment on the limitations of the literature in their study of professional women's careers in Sri Lanka. The importance of contextual structures,

work and family are repeated themes identified within this study. Diezmann and Grieshaber explore the challenges and aspirations of women in the academy, with a particular focus on the female professoriate in Australia. These authors highlight the pervasiveness of gender regimes within the academy which operate to impact careers of male and female academics. Spearman and Watt explore theoretical and empirical work around the continuing decline in women's participation in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) careers. They examine three different explanations – ability, socialisation and motivation – and review relevant theoretical frameworks within these explanations. The authors then propose a theoretical integration and proffer suggestions on how the situation can be changed.

CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE: CHANGING THE DISCOURSE

The authors in this volume have posed many challenges for the future of this field. These challenges include a need to develop new epistemologies to explain theoretical underpinnings of our field, to change our language, and to embrace more holistic conceptualisations of women's working lives, including a focus on relational and cultural dimensions of women's lives. The first challenge however is to clearly articulate our theoretical positions.

Theoretical Positions

As previously discussed, theorists in the field of career development generally, and especially the field of women's careers/working lives, have been actively involved in the development of alternative epistemologies in vocational and organisational psychology. Much of these new developments are derived from the social constructionist perspective in vocational psychology. Two volumes in the Career Development Series of which this volume is a part have been significant in addressing these new developments. Collin and Patton (2009) provided a forum for contributions from authors from the fields of both vocational psychology and organisational development in an overt attempt to develop a multidisciplinary dialogue. The book highlighted the traditional divide between the literatures of these two fields and emphasised possibilities for greater connectivity and collaboration as a way to develop what Savickas (2009) referred to as "a science of career studies" (p. 207).

McIlveen and Schultheiss (2012) present the first extensive collection of writings from a range of authors whose aim is to push the boundaries of the traditional knowledge which forms so much a part of vocational psychology and to encourage theorists, researchers and practitioners to specifically address the paradigmatic and theoretical underpinnings of social constructionism in vocational psychology. The McIlveen and Schultheiss volume emphasises that the understanding of social constructionism and its application to the field of career remains "under construction".

Schultheiss and Wallace (2012) identify key assumptions which can be loosely grouped together as social constructionism – "critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, historical and cultural specificity of knowledge, knowledge is sustained by social processes, and knowledge and social action" (pp. 2–3). Young and Popadiuk (2012) summarise the key five theories which demonstrate a contextual worldview, which articulate constructs such as narrative, contextual and constructivist, and which pay particular attention to action, relationship and culture. These authors affirm that:

> ... these approaches ... reflect a view of persons, in concert with others and the larger social, political and historical context, as the constructors of their worlds, including their vocational world. It is our view that these approaches offer substantial advantage to the understanding and practice of vocational psychology in its various forms. (p. 24)

The five perspectives articulated by Young and Popadiuk (2012) include narrative perspectives, relational theories, systems theory, contextual action theory, and cultural theory. In the present volume, all of these perspectives are included, and in some cases expanded and further connected with each other. Authors in the current volume are at the forefront of this visionary and revisionary work in vocational psychology and in this volume have applied their theoretical work to the working lives and careers of women. Patton and McMahon first developed the Systems Theory Framework in 1995, and Patton wrote about its application to understanding women's careers in 1997. More recently these authors have expanded its relevance to understanding the complex interrelatedness of women's working lives and the need to include many systems parts in working with women (Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006). Systems thinking has also been embedded within an ecological framework as presented in the work of Betz (2002) and Cook and colleagues (2002). The McMahon, Watson and Bimrose chapter in this volume explores this theoretical framework in relation to understanding older women's working lives.

Narrative perspectives emerged from a constructivist epistemology and these underpin the work of Richardson and Schaeffer (2013) who assert that "narrative theory is foundational to the counselling for work and relationship perspective because it is about lives lived in time" (p. 37). Also connecting relational theories to their perspective, these authors identify four major contexts through which people co-construct their lives – these include market work, unpaid care work, personal relationships, and market work relationships. Richardson and Schaeffer also focus on the importance of agency, or agentic action, in an individual's story construction, connecting closely to contextual action theory and the work of Young and colleagues (Young & Valach, 2008).

Cohen, Duberley and Mallon (2004) asserted that narrative is derived from a social constructionist epistemology as language lies at the heart of endowing processes with meaning. The social constructionist perspective underpins the work of Fernando and

Cohen (current volume) in examining the working lives of professional women in Sri Lanka.

The work of Schultheiss (2003, 2007) draws on social constructionism. In the current volume Schultheiss argues for a broadening of the understanding of contexts presented by Richardson and Schaeffer, proposing "A relational cultural paradigm ... that emphasises the cultural shaping of meaning-making through relationships as central to the understanding of work in people's lives" (p. 46). The expansion to the field in this chapter is in the central position which culture is given (see also Schultheiss, 2007).

The field of vocational psychology and career development is actively pursuing new and more inclusive epistemologies to challenge traditional understandings of career (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Collin & Young, 2000; McIlveen and Schltheiss, 2012; Patton & McMahon, 2006; Richardson, 1993, 2000, 2012a,b; Savickas et al, 2009; Young & Valach, 2008). The present volume applies these new constructions to women's working lives.

Language

The importance of understanding the role of language within social constructionist perspectives has been raised by a number of authors in social constructionist thought (Gergen, 1994; Shotter, 1993) and in vocational psychology (McIlveen, 2012; Richardson, 2012b). "The basic idea is that language, the vocabulary we use and the grammar in which our words are embedded, determines how we think and the cognitive schemas in which we process our experience" (Richardson, 2012b, p. 88). The title of the current volume is an attempt to shift thinking around women's careers – to embrace an all inclusive understanding of women's work, including market work, work that is paid and undertaken in the public domain, and care work, that which is more often unpaid work (see Richardson, 2012b for a more indepth and inclusive discussion of these terms). The term career connotes a particular understanding. Social constructionists emphasise that we need to more carefully consider its use. In addition, the current volume attempts to convey a more holistic understanding of women's working lives, incorporating the public and private, paid and unpaid dimensions of women's working experiences.

Language is the basic tool of constructionism – discourses are constructed through language to make meaning and to construct stories about life events and people's place in these events. As Richardson (2012b) and Blustein (2006) have emphasised, the language of traditional career theory and practice incorporates a self-expressive and individualistic bias, with an underpinning assumption that career choice is a reflection of self or a match of self to a career. As Richardson (2012b) asserted, "People who just need to get a job are not likely to be concerned about whether the job is a good match" (p. 100). Richardson (2012b) presents a critique of traditional career discourse practices and challenges the field to continue to offer

critique to ensure our theories and practices align with the challenge and change of the 21st century.

Relational and Cultural Diversity

Constructionist dialogues underpin the significance of relationships as the crucible within which individuals derive meaning. Conceptualising women's working lives needs to include a focus on relational and cultural dimensions of women's lives, and to focus on a broad understanding of relevant relationships.

As Patton (2013) discussed, development of relational theories of career, with a particular focus on understanding women's career development, began in the late 1970s and were derived from feminist theoretical perspectives. However this understanding of the importance of relationships was expanded by Richardson in 1993, who, drawing from social constructionist principles, developed the work and relationship perspective. It has been further extended by Blustein (2001, 2006) in his focus on the psychology of working as opposed to the psychology of career, and Richardson's own additional work (2012a, 2012b) extending our understanding of the application of the work and relationship perspective to theorising and to practice. Richardson and Schaeffer (2013) extend this earlier work and conceptualise the importance of two major contexts of work, market work and unpaid care work, and by extension personal relationships and market work relationships which are contexts through which individuals construct their lives. These conceptualisations extend the traditional work-family dichotomy which was a feature of much of the literature of the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Fitzgerald et al, 1995). However it is illustrative to see the work of Doherty and Lassig (2013) which continues to highlight "how women with family responsibilities account for their career decisions as contingently lived over time and space" (p. 76). These authors acknowledge the importance of the intersubjectivity that knits human lives together, however note that "While all social actors are intersubjectively networked to some degree, we would argue that some (women) are held more intersubjectively accountable than others" (p. 77).

Richardson and Schaeffer (2013) discuss the history of the separation of work and home – "The reigning ideology was that men left home to go to work, leaving women at home to care for families. The world of work was gendered male: Home and family were gendered female. Work became equated with paid work" (p. 23). This discourse has permeated the literature on career development theory and practice, with its focus on vertical careers for males, male breadwinner/female care giver, and from the 1970s when the feminist movement opened discussion with respect to women's work and notions of work/family conflict for women. The importance of changing this traditional public/private domains split along gender lines has been emphasised by many authors. The need to reduce the resulting gendered inequity and marginalisation of women's work has dominated the literature since that time. Although there is some evidence of market work contexts being degendered,

significant inequity remains (Fox, 2012). Similarly, unpaid care work continues to be done predominantly by women, and an increasing ageing society often means women work in unpaid child care and aged care. Connell (2011) suggests that any shift in this gendered nature of care work requires an increased engagement by men in this context. Blustein (2006) emphasised the limits to the psychology of working literature, and the continuation of gendered inequity in excluding caregiving as work. The present volume aims to expand and open up a relational and cultural discourse, emphasising a holistic understanding of women's working lives, incorporating public and private spheres of women's work, care work and market work.

Marking the significance of a broad understanding of culture in human action, Schultheiss (2007, 2013) centres culture within the relational cultural paradigm, providing a central place for a more inclusive study of career incorporating culture, race, gender, sexualities and social class. It is acknowledged that the present book leaves specific areas of diversity and inclusion underexplored, specifically class, sexuality and women without families. As Betz (2002) asserted, women are a heterogeneous group and any understanding of women's working lives needs to embrace this heterogeneity for itself. In addition, in the context of the suggestions of Blustein, Richardson and Schultheiss, we need to emphasise the interconnections between work and other contexts in which women live.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The field of vocational psychology and career development is only just beginning to develop a multidisciplinary approach to understanding work. A holistic approach needs to truly integrate the various disciplines for example sociology, the various branches of psychology and counselling, organisational perspectives, and economics. The work of Collin and Patton (2009) began this and it is imperative that this work continues. In particular the present book has demonstrated the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to understanding the broad context of women's working lives.

Similarly, it is imperative that social constructionist epistemology is embedded further within the field of vocational psychology and career development (Blustein, Schultheiss & Flum, 2004). The volume edited by McIlveen and Schultheiss (2012) has addressed this need to explore the potential contribution of social constructionism to vocational psychology and career development. This work also needs to be further developed.

Young and Popadiuk (2012) summarised some of the various social constructionist theories which have been integrated into career development – Patton and McMahon (2006) embedded systems theory principles into understanding career theory and practice; Young and Valach (2008) have applied contextual action theory principles; and other authors have explored narrative theory and cultural theory. Savickas (2005) has applied social constructionism to his theory of career construction, and McIlveen

(2012) has extended his earlier work on dialogical theory, and connecting dialogical theory and the Systems Theory Framework (McIlveen & Patton, 2007a, 2007b) to combine narrative and dialogical theory. Schultheiss (2013) asserts the need to develop further alternative epistemologies and these explorations and connections being made by a range of theorists needs to continue.

Writers need to fully understand the changing roles of women, in public and private spheres. Women's roles in paid work are changing both in their nature and type of engagement; in addition with an ageing population, women's roles in care work are increasingly being extended. Further, we need to continue to explore the heterogeneity and diversity of women.

The continuing work of all the contributors to this vibrant literature is vital. We need not only to explore theoretical connections and understandings to facilitate a holistic and inclusive understanding of women's working lives, we need also to explore these theoretical understandings and how they may contribute to a recast of the discourse of career practice and how our field can assist women to develop fulfilling lives in all contexts in which they live.

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