The Use of Literature as a Source of Occupational Modeling for Children

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE USE OF LITERATURE AS A SOURCE OF OCCUPATIONAL MODELING FOR CHILDREN

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .................................................. 1

Chapter

1. REVIEW OF FOLK AND FAIRY TALE LITERATURE ........ 5
   Value of Folk and Fairy Tales
   Folk and Fairy Tales as Therapeutic Tools

2. REVIEW OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT LITERATURE ........ 20
   Developmental Theory
   Demographic Considerations
   Family Dynamics
   Social-Cognitive Theory

3. INTEGRATION OF RESEARCH EFFORTS AND RATIONALE
   OF CURRENT THESIS ........................................ 39

4. CURRICULUM OF STORIES & JUSTIFICATION OF
   COMPONENTS .................................................. 45
   Asian Indian Model
   American Indian Model
   European-American Model
   African Model
   Puerto Rican Model
   Consolidation and Conclusion

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................. 61

VITA ............................................................ 65
INTRODUCTION

The use of modeling to influence behavior change has been identified in many forms (Bandura, 1977; Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1984; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). As learning takes place in part through the observation of other individuals engaging in a particular task and experiencing a particular outcome, the use of modeling as an educational tool can be applied to a broad variety of learning situations.

The personality and educational development of children is particularly amenable to observational learning (Bandura, 1977). Parents and educators frequently demonstrate concern with decreasing children's exposure to inappropriate models, such as those which might be portrayed in a particular print or video medium. Addressing the reverse of this approach, there must also be concern with children's exposure to a diversity of appropriate models, real and fictional individuals who not only portray adaptive and prosocial behavior, but who serve to counteract restrictive social stereotypes. However, the presentation of the latter models seems to take second place to the removal of the former. A more balanced approach in favor of the provision of adaptive models is called for in child development.

Furthermore, the consideration that the definition of appropriate models will be different for individuals from a variety of racial, ethnic, social class, and gender
combinations must be made. What one individual sees as an appropriate, adaptive model to be used in the education of his/her child might be seen by another individual as restrictively and inappropriately stereotypical. This is a careful consideration which must be made by educators, for example, in the selection and presentation of classroom models, be they real or fictional, live or literary.

Textbook and supplementary literature are used in elementary and middle school classrooms to educate youngsters in their abilities to read, write, solve mathematical problems, and unravel scientific complexities. In addition to viewing a curriculum itself as educational, its content must also be noted. Characters in stories, and figures in history serve to educate children on a social level. Thus, issues such as vocational roles and occupational possibilities and pursuits are communicated—intentionally or unintentionally—through children's exposure to school curricula.

The fact that education continues to occur outside of the classroom is a further consideration to be noted. Modeling taking place within a child's community, for example, may be influenced by such considerations as gender and ethnicity (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), thus differentiating the observational learning opportunities of youngsters. Social education and the influence of extrafamilial sources of modeling information become increasingly important as children mature (Seligman, Weinstock, & Heflin, 1991). Thus, while the impact of family dynamics on children's projections into adult roles is significant (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990a), the
presence and effects of models in addition to, and perhaps in opposition to, those presented within the family must also be acknowledged.

The education of children thus presents as a complex association of academic and social material, familial and extrafamilial models. The combination of information experienced by a child will be different for each individual. Children's literature—the focus of the present project—may take on a tone of moral education in the dissemination of such information as it takes advantage of its placement socially and culturally. This becomes controversial as groups differ in their opinions of the types of models and teachings to which children should or should not be exposed. In an effort to remain neutral, it can be said that it may not be the responsibility of children's literature to teach about nontraditional models engaging in nontraditional roles. Perhaps it can be left to parental discretion to encourage or discourage a female child, for example, in her expression of interest in a traditionally male-dominated profession. But what this form of social influence can do is inform children as to the availability of options (Hackett & Betz, 1981). By exposing youngsters to a diversity of occupational opportunities independent of parental encouragement or discouragement, literature can educate above the level of individual choice in an attempt to counteract the restriction of social stereotypes.

The presentation of occupational opportunities in a folk story format allows children—regardless of individual race or ethnicity—to experience the transmission of information through a format with which they are familiar, as folk
stories provide a universal, culture-independent means of conveying values (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985). In addition, the portrayal of a diversity of main characters increases the likelihood that a child will find a particular hero or heroine with whom he or she shares cultural and gender characteristics, an important component in an individual's identification with a model (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1986).

Finally, the placement of the culturally diverse character in the central role within a story not only allows a child hearing the story to clearly and unambiguously focus on that character's traits (Bettelheim, 1976), but also to experience the fact that individuals of either gender, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, can indeed be heroes and heroines.
CHAPTER I
REVIEW OF FOLK AND FAIRY TALE LITERATURE

Value of Folk and Fairy Tales
The use of folk and fairy tales as both educational and therapeutic tools with children and adolescents has demonstrated a successful approach to the transmission of values through literature (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990b). The communication of these tales forges a bond between storyteller and listener and provides generational and cultural continuity of individual, ethnic, and societal themes (Danilewitz, 1991). The experience of the universality of struggle and conflict, for example, can be communicated to children through tales, thus speaking from one childhood experience to the experience of other children. Furthermore, folk and fairy tales present situations and a range of behaviors in response to fears, challenges, moral dilemmas. Characters in the tales are faced with options, good and bad. From a social learning perspective (Bandura, 1977), the characters in the tales can serve as models for children hearing or reading them and through this modeling experience, children can learn of behavioral options and situational responses, as well as experience the vicarious reinforcement and/or punishment of the characters in the tales.
Taking a multicultural perspective, the presentation of tales embodying figures of ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic backgrounds that are similar to the children hearing or reading the tales can provide an opportunity for greater identification with those figures (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1988). In the face of social restrictions and the absence of clear-cut cultural identity and appropriate role models, tales and biographies depicting culturally-similar heroes and heroines can provide children with information and models to which they might not have access in everyday life. Themes of conflict resolution, coping, and identity issues, for example, can be addressed in the tales by figures embodying a diverse combination of ethnic, socioeconomic, and gender characteristics.

Furthermore, the folk tales themselves provide a model for adjustment. With time, tales undergo change to fit with the intentions of the storyteller and the needs of the listener (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985). The tales themselves retain their basic cultural themes and values, while demonstrating flexibility in the adaptation to evolving surroundings. Through the tales and the characters embodied within them, listeners are provided with two models of adaptive change.

Folk and fairy tales are used as vehicles of cultural expression as well as media through which the transmission of cultural values can take place. For example, McCarron (1987) addresses the problematic elements of diversity as impacting the socialization of children and presents as an example the Igbo--subsistence farmers of Nigeria--as a society that has defined its moral values and developed instruments for their
transmission. These instruments are "ifo tales", or traditional fictional stories used in Igbo society independent of the academic sphere. The socialization of children in traditional Igbo society involves the use of folk tales for the purpose of transmitting the Igbo world view. The content of Igbo folk tales includes explanations of the origin of the world and myths about gods and heroes. Folk tales are used as entertainment and educational media, and may be classified into five categories: origin stories, explanatory stories, trickster stories, contest stories, and didactic stories. Commonly, the stories have moral overtones and stress tradition and custom. Through ifo, the child is taught to appreciate ideals congruent with achievement, success, and happiness. Animal stories are often told to children, as animals are attractive characters which hold the attention of children.

The folk tales used by the Igbo exemplify the process of the transmission of cultural values through literature. The modeling of values is achieved through the use of characters with which children can easily identify. McCarron (1987) acknowledges that the formal education system--while it should not have sole responsibility for the moral education of the younger generation--is nonetheless at the social forefront and thereby exists as a significant force in the conveyance of moral values across generations.

Bettelheim (1976) describes fairy tales as multi-level educational tools. The tales themselves provide a direction for children to follow along which they might learn more about the self and identity. Tales portray struggles as essential contributors to the process of self-fulfillment,
and point to experiences which are requisite for further development. Perhaps most significantly, fairy tales do not make demands on children. Rather, they provide a sense of reassurance, hope for triumph of the small or weak, and the promise of a happy ending.

Within the tales, the child encounters a hero and other simplified, clearly-developed characters (Bettelheim, 1976). These characters become easy for a child to understand, as characteristics such as good and evil, for example, are distinctly separated. A child can come to understand each quality itself before having to understand them as polarities which nonetheless comprise one individual. The story's hero is confronted in the beginning of the story with a problem similar to problems children face in reality. The plot of the story may next detour into the fantastic, and in the end, the hero returns to reality. Tales suggest to the child a means by which he/she can construct fantasies and daydreams and with these structures, achieve a better direction in life. In general, the hero gains autonomy by either remaining true to him/herself despite the confrontation of obstacles; or through obstacles, is able to discover his/her true self. This pattern within fairy tales teaches children that not only is struggle unavoidable, it is also a necessary part of development.

In terms of a story's presentation, it is first important to make adults aware of the importance of fairy tales (Bettelheim, 1976). Once established, a tale must not be merely read to children. In addition, children must be provided with the opportunity to reflect upon and talk about a tale, as it stirs up a variety of feelings and images which
may need some assistance in being brought to awareness. It is also important to allow children the opportunity to bring in their own associations. Rather than telling a child the meaning of a story or including illustrations, Bettelheim believes that the listeners benefit most from bringing their own meaning and imagery to a tale.

Finally, Bettelheim (1976) addresses the value of presenting fairy tale heroes/heroines as models for children:

Today children no longer grow up within the security of an extended family, or of a well-integrated community. Therefore...it is important to provide the modern child with images of heroes who have to go out into the world all by themselves and who...find a secure place in the world by following the right way with deep inner confidence (p. 11).

The heroes and heroines within fairy tales can serve as models of independent functioning and triumph over obstacles in the likely event that such models are not easily identified in the life of the modern child.

Similarly, Danilewitz (1991) suggests that fairy tales have both theoretical and developmental implications for assisting children in coping with real life issues. The fairy tale is a particularly relevant genre for children for several reasons. The fact that storytelling is universal provides a sense of cultural unification in the fairy tale as a mode of communication, education, and entertainment. Fairy tales are themed on real life conflicts and struggles, and they reflect the culture of origin through the use of symbols.
The fairy tale itself is well-suited for its audience (Danilewitz, 1991). Thematically, the fairy tale demonstrates the conflictual nature of human behavior. The child hearing or reading a tale is provided with the revelation that the characters in the story experience struggle and conflict, much like the child does him/herself. Through the tale, the child can also learn about ways of approaching a particular conflictual situation. Children are exposed to happy endings and through this exposure learn that obstacles can be overcome. Furthermore, the communication of the story most often occurs within a parent-child dyad, allowing for educational and emotional contacts to develop and deepen. The content of the fairy tale is simple so that the moral rather than the details of the story can be the focus of attention. Finally, a culture and its fairy tales are involved in a cyclical relationship. Over time, the fairy tale can influence the behavior patterns of individuals, while those individuals in turn serve to communicate the tale back into the culture.

In the research conducted by Danilewitz (1991), two considerations are investigated: the child's response to the fairy tale, and the parents' perceptions of the fairy tale. Hypotheses center around the assumption that for children, the tale allows for a feeling of connectedness and participation with other children—that the child shares similar thoughts and feelings with others. Through the actions of the characters in the stories, children are encouraged to face challenges and tackle obstacles, as they are shown that children can be courageous and that good can triumph over evil. In addition, a child's internal dialogue
may be given form through the figures portrayed in the story. Finally, it is important for the child to feel that he/she has emotional connectedness with the parent through the mutual enjoyment of the same tale. From the parental perspective, Danilewitz proposes that the parent telling the tale must maintain a genuine appreciation and respect for the story in order for the child to accept its basic truths. Parents’ own feelings about a story will also influence the child’s reaction to it.

Danilewitz (1991) provided thirty-six sets of parents of nursery school children with a questionnaire addressing attitudes toward fairy tales, and results indicate that 90% of the children sampled reacted positively to fairy tales and 94% of parents questioned felt that fairy tales are valuable for children. Eighty-three percent of parents remember being read/told tales by their parents.

The fairy tale can be seen as therapeutic for the child: through contemplation and reflection, the child can interpret what the story means to him/her, and find his/her own solutions to conflicts. Fairy tales are useful tools to be used for problem-solving, whereby the child is given both real and fantastic answers to be used in the mastering of challenges, and a range of possible behaviors is presented to the child. Parents viewed fairy tales as valuable in the stimulation of creativity and imagination, exposure to themes of the child’s heritage, and as sources of encouragement for children to deal with existential issues and concerns about growing up to face more frequent challenges and responsibilities (Danilewitz, 1991). On the familial and cultural levels, fairy tales provide generational continuity
(a connection between the childhoods of parent and child) as well as cultural continuity, as themes surrounding heritage and society emerge, are transformed, and fed back into the culture.

Folk and Fairy Tales as Therapeutic Tools

Moving the focus from cultural to clinical education, folk tales can be used in counseling practice. Greenbaum and Holmes (1983) cite the use of folk tales to bridge potential cultural gaps between a counselor and a client. Familiarity with and exploration of folk tales in counseling allows for therapeutic work to begin at the level of the client and is likely to produce such desired results as increased rapport and insight into problem-solving styles. A counselor can learn about a client's culture and environment, worldview, values, beliefs, customs, use of humor, and methods of problem-solving through familiarity with cultural folk tales.

Greenbaum and Holmes (1983) provide examples of a Vietnamese, an African-American, and a Puerto Rican folk tale. Through an analysis of each tale, themes emerge which can assist the counselor in the recognition and understanding of culture-related behavior and result in more accurate and effective interpretations and interventions. In addition to providing a cultural meaning of events for an individual, the use of folk tales is also shown as being relevant to group work. Through group discussion of stories, be they Puerto Rican or European-American, group members are provided an arena in which discussion of shared concerns can emerge from the interpretation of cultural themes.

To summarize the suggestions made by Greenbaum and Holmes (1983), folk tales can be used to fill a variety of
counseling functions: as culturally educational materials for the counselor, as vehicles for mutual discussion between an individual client and a counselor, and as springboards for exploration of issues of concern for group members. In addition to providing sources of cultural information and relevant themes on an educational level, the folk tales themselves can be used as both a starting point for discussion and as a therapeutic modality.

Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler (1984) provide an examination of the use of folk tales as a therapeutic modality with both child and adolescent populations. These researchers investigated the use of Puerto Rican folk tales (called "cuentos folkloricos") as a therapeutic modality in work with Puerto Rican children who presented behavior problems in school and significant levels of trait anxiety. Cuento therapy was developed from a focus on the need for culturally sensitive mental health services for minority populations experiencing economic disadvantage. This particular approach involves the modification of existing treatments through the extraction of relevant aspects of Hispanic culture and the incorporation of those aspects into a revised modality (Rogler, Malgady, & Costantino, 1987).

The rationale behind cuento therapy is based in social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). The folk tales used in the therapy involve models who display appropriate interpersonal behavior, moral judgment, and control of aggression with the intention of facilitating in the children hearing them the modeling of the adaptive behavior occurring in the stories. Historically, folk remedies and folk literature have been used in Latin American culture to convey cultural ideologies,
as mothers often use folk tales in the education of their children (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985).

The subjects of this study were drawn from elementary schools and were randomly assigned to one of four treatment conditions: original cuento therapy (using cuentos taken directly from Puerto Rican culture), adapted cuento therapy (using cuentos adapted to include values of Anglo culture), art/play therapy, and no therapeutic intervention. All subjects were pre- and post-tested to measure vocabulary, comprehension, and level of trait anxiety (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1984). In each of 20 cuento sessions, two folk tales were read to the children by their mothers and then analyzed and discussed with research assistants in terms of the story’s meaning, as well as values and adaptive behaviors portrayed by the characters. The discussion period was followed by subjects’ dramatization of salient themes, videotaping of the dramas, and a subsequent video playback and discussion. In the art/play treatment, mothers and children met with a therapist and engaged in games and recreational tasks, including puzzles, painting, puppets, and role playing. Results indicate that the original and adapted cuento therapies resulted in an increase in comprehension over the art/play and no intervention groups, but did not differ significantly from each other. Furthermore, the adapted cuento treatment significantly reduced subjects’ trait anxiety more than the other three groups. An unexpected finding—that preadolescent children believed the characters and content of original cuentos to be juvenile—is addressed in later pilot studies with Puerto Rican adolescents using folk heroes or biographies of relevant
individuals (rather than cuentos folkloricos) to promote adaptive behaviors.

In 1986, Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler published the results of more rigorous statistical procedures computed on the data collected in the 1984 study. In addition, one-year follow-up post test scores are reported, as well as the introduction of observational data of four experimental situations designed to assess level of adaptiveness of behavior. The results of the follow-up post test scores obtained one year after the 1984 study indicate that treatment effects on trait anxiety were stable one year after the therapeutic intervention, and were most evident for children in the adapted cuento group. Treatment effects as influencing comprehension (which significantly increased for both cuento groups immediately after intervention) were not evident in the one-year follow-up scores.

Observational data had been collected in the 1984 study (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1984), but not reported. The subjects were exposed to four experimental situations to assess ability to delay gratification, self-concept of competence, tendency toward disruptiveness, and aggression. The adaptiveness of their behavior was rated by observers. These observational situations were implemented to control for alleged bias in traditional personality assessment devices (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985). In terms of the observations, first grade children in the adapted group were rated as being less anxious after the intervention than subjects in the other three groups. Children in the original cuento and art/play groups did not differ from each other in terms of anxiety, but were rated as less anxious than
children in the no intervention group. Based on the follow-up results after one year, these outcomes held for all grade levels with the exception that the adapted group no longer differed from the original group. Thus, the adaptation of cuentos seems to be most useful for influencing trait anxiety, a significant result due to the prevalence of anxiety in many forms of psychopathology.

Cuento therapy was found to be more influential with younger children, as preadolescents judged the content of the cuentos to be juvenile (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1984). This unexpected finding led to the development of a folk hero modeling technique, where biographies of heroic Puerto Rican figures are presented to preadolescent youth as models of achievement, success, and adaptive coping in the face of barriers. The fact that many Hispanic youth reside in father-absent households often results in the lack of appropriate role models for adolescents to follow (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1988). The rationale behind folk tale modeling therapy is that biographical accounts of Puerto Rican individuals who have experienced achievement and success would provide appropriate models after which adolescents could model their own behaviors. Biographical role models demonstrating ego functions such as a sense of reality, interpersonal strength, social judgment, autonomous functioning, and self-identity were chosen to model success achievement, coping, and the surmounting of barriers. Puerto Rican preadolescent youth participated with their mothers in a pilot effort to expose the youth to these biographical models, emphasize the demonstration of ego strengths within the biographies, and draw comparisons between the experiences
of the characters and the study participants.

Following the intervention, the adolescents were interviewed in an effort to ascertain their perceptions of the experience. Common reactions included an enjoyment of the opportunity to learn about Puerto Ricans and their heritage, an increase in cultural pride, a clarification of future vocational interests, formation of a common bond through shared heritage, and an increase in self-confidence and trust in others (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1986). These results demonstrate folk hero modeling therapy to be a viable culturally sensitive modality for work with adolescents facing cultural and identity conflicts. Exposure to factual models in a literary format resulted in adolescent self-reports of encouragement of vocational interests and the learning of adaptive coping skills. These findings provide relevant preliminary evidence for the effectiveness of the therapy.

Of particular interest in the effort at a more comprehensive investigation of folk hero modeling therapy is family structure, centered around the statistic that in 1980, 44% of New York City's Puerto Rican households were headed by females (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990a). This fact speaks to the categorical absence of fathers and father roles, thus denying many Puerto Rican adolescents exposure to comprehensive parental role models. Adolescents receiving the hero/heroine modeling therapy are given exposure to successful adult role models in literature and are provided with the opportunity to draw parallels between the characters' stressful experiences and their own. A control group was established in which students met to discuss
current events and topics of interest.

In the analysis of results, treatment group was the independent variable of primary interest. Potential qualifiers of treatment effects were also investigated: sex, grade level, and presence/absence of father in the household. Results indicate that the intervention group had significantly greater Puerto Rican identity, significantly more ethnic pride, and significant interaction effects between treatment, sex, and father presence for ethnic identity and self-concept. There was a strong treatment effect for boys in father-absent families and for girls in families in which the father is present. In the intervention group, both boys and girls in father-absent families had a higher self-concept after the intervention, but girls in father-present families demonstrated a lower self-concept (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990a).

The finding that there was a negative self-concept outcome of treatment for girls in father-present households was unexpected (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990a). The authors believe that this might be explained by the internal conflict aroused by the adolescents’ comparison of the idealized role models with their own parental models. The intervention may have adversely sensitized the female adolescents on an emotional level. Furthermore, the female role models presented in the intervention typically reflected nontraditional female sex roles, providing a further source of potential conflict (Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990b). These results indicate that treatment outcomes may be influenced by an individual’s family structure in addition to culture. And, in addition to cultural sensitivity, an
individual's cognitive understanding of the therapeutic rationale must be considered. Cognitive awareness and familial structure further impact the level of success of culturally-relevant modalities and must be considered and accounted for in the research and treatment processes.

As Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1988) found that folk hero modeling therapy was effective not only for the presentation of adaptive behavior in the face of barriers, but also for the encouragement of preadolescents' vocational interests, a review of the relevant career development literature becomes the next step in the integration of literature modeling with career development.
Developmental Theory

Developmental theory of career aspirations suggests that career awareness begins in early childhood. Gottfredson (1981) proposes a four-stage process of development that incorporates the vocationally-relevant elements of social class, intelligence level, and gender. Gottfredson's theory provides a speculative framework for the organization of previous theory and for the assessment of gaps in the career literature. In her stage model, Gottfredson places emphasis on the importance of self-concept in vocational development. The formation of self-concept is influenced by the social class, intelligence level, and gender of the individual. Gottfredson's Stage 1 is labeled Orientation to Size and Power, occurring in the age range of approximately three to five years. During Stage 1, children focus on fantasy and immediate gratification, then shift to a thought process whereby they imitate the actions of the same-sex parent. Children grasp the concept that being an adult is something one does, and occupational preferences, while sextyped, quite probably reflect an imitation of the same-sex parent rather than a bona fide sex role orientation. Overall, there is an awareness of sex differences based largely on concrete and
observable dissimilarities.

Stage 2--Orientation to Sex Roles--occurs at about ages six to eight (Gottfredson, 1981). Youngsters grasp the concept of sex roles--that there are sets of behavior that "belong" to each sex. Again, the concept is based largely on observable cues. When asked about vocational preferences, children in Stage 2 demonstrate a concern with actions and vocations which are sex-appropriate, indicating that options are already divided according to sextype. There is a consensus on sex-appropriateness of occupations among both boys and girls, regardless of social class and parental role behaviors. It is believed that children may even emphasize gender stereotypes in an effort to clarify and demonstrate their own sense of gender identity for themselves.

Around ages 9-13, children enter Gottfredson’s (1981) Stage 3--Orientation to Social Valuation. During this stage, the evaluations of peers become particularly salient. Youngsters begin to demonstrate an awareness of prestige differences among jobs and ability and social class differences among individuals. Ability and social class strongly influence preferences for prestige level. For the majority of children, the reference group for prestige is the social group or class of which they are a member. For example, a middle class child will refer to middle class standards of occupational prestige. This environmental adaptation or community comparison group is likely to arise from the fact that youngsters tend to see the greatest number of adults occupying jobs closest to their own status background.
It is also during Stage 3 (Gottfredson, 1981) that children's ranges of preferences begin to be circumscribed. Circumscription is defined as a developmental process of the gradual elimination of occupational options from consideration (Holt, 1989). After already establishing a preferred sextype for occupations at Stage 2, Stage 3 children identify prestige and effort boundaries as well. A child's prestige boundary reflects the lowest tolerable occupational level considered by the child as appropriate for his/her social group. An effort boundary reflects the child's conceptualization of the level of effort that child is willing to invest in pursuit of an occupation. Youngsters at Stage 3 have established social identities based on social class and ability, which act to place additional boundaries around occupational options.

Finally, Stage 4--Orientation to the Internal Unique Self--begins around age 14 (Gottfredson, 1981). Here, adolescents acquire the capacity for abstract thought and thus begin to establish an identity based on internal values and knowledge. In addition, there is a recognition of and concern with the individual's unique abilities. It is during Stage 4 that interests are considered along with occupational choice.

Over the four stages, the placement of sextype, effort, and prestige boundaries results in the creation of a "zone of acceptable alternatives" (Gottfredson, 1981). It is within this zone that individuals make their vocational choices, influenced by the awareness of interests at Stage 4. The placement of these boundaries demonstrates the fact that occupational alternatives are not limitless. As an
individual develops cognitively, new criteria emerge against which alternatives are measured, and then retained or rejected.

Circumscription (Holt, 1989) is a gradual process, where career options are eliminated as an individual develops. Compromise occurs at the end of the process of circumscription, demonstrating the implementation of circumscribed options. The process of compromise seems inevitable. This fact, combined with the proposition that self-concept is influential in vocational development and decision-making, results in the hypothesis that some aspects of self-concept are more integral than others and will take priority in the process of occupational circumscription. Gottfredson (1981) suggests that interests are the most flexible aspect of self-concept (perhaps because they can be expressed in extra-vocational pursuits) and are thereby the first to go in the compromise process. Job level as expressed in terms of prestige and effort is the next aspect to be sacrificed. Gender self-concept or sextype is the aspect of self that will be most closely guarded and thus least likely to be considered for compromise.

Since the introduction of Gottfredson’s model (1981), several researchers have sought to empirically support or refute Gottfredson’s propositions, as well as speak to complexities that her model does not address. Leung and Harmon (1990) believe that research on the zone of acceptable alternatives is limited due to the lack of a method of measuring the zone. Their research used a retrospective method involving the recall of occupations ever considered by subjects in the study. Three hypotheses were tested: that
indicators of the zone would change and narrow over time, that indicators of the zone would be different for men and women, and that indicators would be different for persons with more flexible sex role orientations. Analysis of data taken from a sex-role measure and an occupations list resulted in a lack of support for the first hypothesis. Rather than a narrowing of the zone with time, also hypothesized by Gottfredson (1981), subjects demonstrated an expansion of the zone until age 18. Zone indicators were indeed different for males and females, providing support for the second hypothesis: females had broader ranges of acceptable sextype and prestige level than did males, particularly during the recollected age range of 9-17 years old. Male subjects showed smaller ranges of acceptable prestige and sextype than did females, with the exception of participants classified within a more flexible sex role orientation, lending support to the third hypothesis. Thus, gender and prestige boundaries were shown to be more important as zone indicators for men than for women.

The research of Leung and Harmon (1990) provides an operationalization of Gottfredson’s (1981) zone of acceptable alternatives and exemplifies the significance of the consideration of individual differences (gender differences in this instance) in the proposition of a model of career development, addressing a complexity of the model to which Gottfredson did not turn attention. Furthermore, Leung and Harmon believe that despite the fact that sextype range was shown to expand during adolescence, contrary to Gottfredson’s hypothesis of gradual circumscription, counseling and educational programs must be designed in reaction to the
evidence that sextype considerations do begin at age six (or perhaps even younger) and continue to change with maturity and are thus open to the positive influence of efforts aimed at counteracting traditional and stereotypical socialization processes.

Taylor and Pryor (1985) believe that Gottfredson's (1981) acknowledgement of the relevance of the compromise process was significant, but that the model also needs to address the individual differences that contribute to it. Their research involves an investigation of sextype and prestige as impacting the compromise process, compromise strategies, and characteristics of individuals who refuse to compromise.

High school students completed a questionnaire indicating first choice of a college course, as well as compromise plans if the first choice could not be realized. Responses were categorized according to course/occupational content, Holland code, prestige level, and sextype. Results indicate that when choice is not based on interest, it is based on prestige level (Taylor & Pryor, 1985). Males were shown to place prestige level above interests, while females attempt to keep choices congruent with interests. In terms of compromise plans, almost half of the sample indicated that the possibility of failure had not even been considered. Subjects who considered the possibility of compromise employed one of three strategies: refusing to compromise and continuing to pursue the same goal, pursuing the same interest field but at a lower prestige level, or choosing to pursue administrative or commercial occupations. The compromise process is also influenced by gender: males
compromise by moving from traditionally masculine to more sex-neutral occupations, while females move to choose from more stereotypically feminine rather than sex-neutral options. Gottfredson's (1981) model provides the structure and the basis for Taylor and Pryor's (1985) research which expands on that model to provide a look at individual (gender) differences in the processes of circumscription and compromise. Based on their results, Taylor and Pryor suggest that efforts must be made to educate students on the factors involved in occupational choice and how these factors are influenced by individual differences, as well as to prepare students for the possibility of compromise.

Holt (1989) believes the key factors in Gottfredson's (1981) model of compromise are gender self-concept as it relates to the sextype of an occupation, desired status and prestige levels offered by an occupation, and finally identity as it is expressed in an occupation through the implementation of interest in vocational decision-making. Holt designed a study to assess the influence of status and interest on preference for various occupations. Subjects were classified by Holland code into Social and Realistic personality types. Realistic types ranked both Social and Realistic high status jobs as equally preferable, while Social types ranked both high and low status Social jobs as equally preferable over high status Realistic jobs. Thus, status was a more important consideration for Realistic types, while Social types placed interest above status. These findings suggest that Gottfredson's compromise model may be more complex than that which was originally presented. Career counselors must consider values and interests within
each Holland type and explore with clients how individual values influence career aspirations, decisions, circumscriptions, and compromises.

Although much of the research done on Gottfredson’s (1981) model involves the use of late adolescent and adult subjects, the model does not lose relevance within the age range around which it was designed. Leung and Harmon’s (1990) retrospective method provides recollective evidence that career considerations are made at the age of eight and younger. Taylor and Pryor (1985) and Holt (1989) address individual differences within Gottfredson’s model, and suggest that gender as well as vocational personality type serve to influence the choice and compromise processes. Rather than using the model as a blanket statement of childhood and preadolescent career development, these researchers propose that individual differences in the process of compromise within Gottfredson’s stages be considered in both the understanding and the attempts at alteration of that process.

Demographic Considerations

In addition to gender differences in the process of career development, it has been shown that age, race, and socioeconomic status have an impact on the vocational aspirations of children. Vondracek and Kirchner (1974) investigated the aspirations of preschool children to determine the influence of age, sex, and race on occupational behavior. Responses to the question “What would you like to be when you grow up?” were categorized to reveal that the largest percentage of children who were able to project themselves into an adult role gave responses indicating a
specific occupation. The authors believe that a significant task in early childhood vocational development is the child's ability to project him/herself into the role of an adult in the future. It is particularly significant for children to conceptualize the role of adult in terms of occupational characteristics. Further categorization of the responses resulted in the emergence of individual differences within early childhood vocational development. Females' responses clustered more frequently into the occupations of teacher and nurse, while males' responses were much more dispersed. African-American children were less likely to respond with a projection into an adult role and within the category of adult responses, gave more general adult responses, while Caucasian children gave more specific occupation responses.

In addition, there was a significant increase with age in responses indicating projection into adult, and more particularly specific occupation, roles (Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974). The authors believe that both the relative constriction of the range of specific occupation choices indicated by females as well as a lower frequency of fantasy responses reported by them may indicate a restriction in scope of girls' vocational fantasies, a reflection of the occupational foreclosure process. Not only do girls choose occupations from a more limited number of categories, but they also appear to engage in less fantasy thought about vocational possibilities. The fact that African-American children are less likely to project themselves into vocational adult roles than Caucasian children may be an indication of differing levels of vocational maturity. Furthermore, African-American children may not be encouraged
to consider and explore a broad range of adult role options to the same extent that Caucasian children are. The fact that this study found gender and racial limitations to the vocational exploration of children suggests that individual differences within the process of career development must be considered at the preschool level of vocational education. Such efforts must address young children's understanding of vocations, awareness of stereotypes, and how the two interact to influence occupational aspirations.

In a related study, Miller and Stanford (1987) asked African-American elementary school children "What are some things you would like to be when you grow up?" The largest number of responses was given within the specific occupation category. Boys gave more responses than girls across all grades. In addition, the range of occupations was greater for boys than for girls across all grades. Both sexes demonstrated a preference for highly visible and traditionally sextyped occupations. Once again, it is shown that it becomes important for children to identify with workers in specific occupations once they are able to project themselves into future adult roles. It is evident that career guidance and education programs should focus on developing children's general understanding of the world of work and how their vocational perceptions influence the number and range of their occupational preferences.

Cox and Morgan (1985) investigated the association between social class status and level of occupational aspiration. Comparing the aspirations of children judged to be disadvantaged with those of children from more advantaged homes resulted in the finding that the aspiration levels of
both groups were remarkably similar. But on follow-up of actual occupational achievement, disadvantaged adolescents seemed much less likely to achieve their aspirations. Thus, it was shown that a mismatch occurs between aspirations and actual prospects for children from more disadvantaged homes. In addressing this mismatch, the authors believe that two approaches can be taken: to lower the adolescents’ aspiration levels or to increase the likelihood that expectations can be realized. Career guidance and education programs must make vocational information available to students at an early level to allow children the opportunity to make informed and realistic choices about the course of their education. In addition, an exploration of the presence of familial and peer occupational models, market trends in employment, and individual perceptions of the sources of job satisfaction can assist students in understanding their career motivations. Finally, programs must also address comprehensive issues such as coping with unemployment, finding self-fulfillment through extra-vocational pursuits, and exploring alternatives to the formal employment system. By approaching career programming from all sides, children, advantaged and disadvantaged, can be exposed to a variety of information as they begin to make choices which will influence their vocational futures.

Family Dynamics

In addition to investigating individual differences such as gender, race, and socioeconomic status on career development, researchers have also given consideration to the role of family dynamics. Seligman, Weinstock and Owings (1988) examined the relationships among children’s
perceptions of themselves and their families and how these perceptions serve to influence their work and family aspirations, as well as career awareness. Five-year-old children completed a structured interview addressing such themes as future career and family plans and perceptions of parents' primary activities as well as a family drawing to assess children's images of themselves and their families. Analysis of the information gained from the interviews and drawings indicated that the strongest correlation occurred between positive family environment (defined as closeness and communication within the family) and positive paternal image. Children with a positive family environment may be more likely to obtain information about their parents' activities in both family and career roles. Children's perceptions of the dual career-family role demonstrated by the father may indicate a valuing of that successful balance of responsibilities. The father serves as a role model of positive integration and has a strong influence on children's perceptions about their own career and family aspirations. Family dynamics, particularly the impact of the father-child relationship, are demonstrated to be a significant influence on children's perceptions of adult roles into which they project themselves. This finding has implications for the development of career education programs for children in that the role of the parents--and especially of the father--must be centrally integrated into the process. The dissemination of occupational information to children, as well as the processing of that information, will be influenced by consideration of the father as a significant model of occupational achievement.
In a follow-up study, Seligman, Weinstock and Heflin (1991) examined the relationship between the family dynamics and self-image of preadolescent children and how these impact career aspirations and development. Again, children completed a structured interview and a family drawing. Results indicate that by age ten, children’s career goals tend to be more realistic and include a consideration of individual values and interests to a greater degree than the goals of younger children. Analysis of the family drawing indicated a significant relationship between self-image and a positive maternal image (based on a positive and prominent drawing of the self and closeness of the mother to the child in the drawing, respectively), as well as desire to have a family and a positive maternal image. Whereas father positive influence was stronger for five-year-olds (Seligman, Weinstock, & Owings, 1988), a positive relationship with the mother at age ten is particularly important in the development of the child’s self-image and the promotion of children’s interest in marrying and having children. Between the ages of five and ten, the father’s influence on future aspirations diminishes in importance, while the mother’s becomes more important. In addition, family influence on career goals declines, while individual interests become more influential.

Models and sources of information on career and family roles are found primarily within the family for five-year-olds, and are acknowledged and accepted from external sources as children reach the age of ten (Seligman, Weinstock, & Heflin, 1991). As children are exposed to a greater number of external influences, parental influence on career
aspirations seem to decline. Thus, in addition to focusing on the relationship between the mother and child in an attempt to develop positive self-esteem among ten-year-olds, school guidance and career education programs would also do well to provide opportunities for children to explore and test out their interests and abilities, as extra-familial sources of occupational information become more influential on the career aspirations of older children. Modeling and encouragement as sources of occupational information both within and outside the family are shown as having a strong impact on the career development of children.

Social-Cognitive Theory

The research of Cox and Morgan (1985) and Seligman, Weinstock, and Heflin (1991), for example, has resulted in evidence indicating the influence of occupational modeling on the career development of children. Exploration of the influence of models—both internal and external to the family—provides children with a valuable source of vocational information. Hackett and Betz (1981) introduced their concept of modeling into the career literature through the application of Bandura’s (1977) self-efficacy model to career development. Bandura has suggested that the behavior of an individual is explained primarily by expectations of self-efficacy—a person’s beliefs that he/she can successfully perform a given behavior. There are four sources of information through which efficacy expectations are attained and changed: performance accomplishments, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and emotional arousal. Self-efficacy theory is related to the identification of internal barriers to behavioral achievement.
as well as to the management of external ones. The theory thus has relevance for the exploration of the process of career decision-making, particularly in the face of obstacles such as stereotyping and discrimination.

Hackett and Betz (1981) approach self-efficacy theory and career development with an emphasis on the socialization of women. In particular, the socialization of women may result in a lack of expectations about successful performance of several career-related behaviors, resulting in women's general failure to fully realize their abilities in the occupational realm. Women are often socialized within a restricted range of career options with few alternatives to the traditionally female roles and occupations presented to them.

While this article (Hackett & Betz, 1981) was written over a decade ago, stereotyping and discrimination are still being practiced. An analysis of the four sources of efficacy beliefs reveals patterning which may serve to reduce the career-related self-efficacy of women. Performance accomplishments--successful performance of a task or behavior--provide information which acts to increase efficacy expectations around subsequent performance of that task. Boys are more likely to be reinforced for assertive and competitive behaviors than are girls, and boys are more likely than girls to be exposed to activities external to the home environment. Thus, access to success experiences may be biased in favor of males and may lead to lower expectations of self-efficacy among women.

Vicarious learning addresses the use of models as sources of success experiences which can be observed and
emulated. Women tend to be portrayed in stereotypical roles in children's literature, school texts, and the media. Furthermore, the socialization of the previous generation of women resulted in occupational restriction as well, leading to the lesser availability of successful nontraditional female role models. The exposure of girls to nonstereotypical female role models is limited, depleting a second source of self-efficacy beliefs (Hackett and Betz, 1981).

Emotional arousal is the third source influencing efficacy beliefs (Hackett & Betz, 1981). The state of physiological arousal in which an individual finds him/herself provides information about perceived levels of anxiety and stress. Females typically score higher on measures of anxiety than do males, which tends to negatively impact performance and thus, efficacy expectations.

Finally, verbal persuasion is described as a source of efficacy information (Hackett & Betz, 1981). Encouragement from others to engage in a particular behavior serves to increase efficacy expectations. Traditional, stereotypical views of the roles of men and women in society result in a greater amount of external encouragement for boys to pursue occupationally-relevant behaviors, while girls do not experience the same encouragement and may even experience discouragement for expression of career aspirations, particularly those viewed as nontraditional.

Self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1977) provides a model for the understanding of career development (Hackett & Betz, 1981), particularly with the inclusion of an investigation of individual differences. Like Gottfredson's (1981) model, the
examination of the model as impacted by individual differences such as gender and race provides a wealth of information for career educators and counselors. In addition to a focus on the four sources of efficacy information as they contribute to the development of career-related behaviors in general, information provided within these sources must also represent a broader range of opportunities for achievement, modeling, and verbal encouragement for all children. In the strengthening of career-related efficacy expectations, individuals, regardless of gender or socioeconomic status, need to experience the availability of options. The exploration of individual differences within these models provides a focus for education and application.

Expanding on self-efficacy theory as applied to career development, Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994) describe Bandura’s (1977) social cognitive theory as a framework for understanding the influence of personal agency on particular realms of performance. Their social cognitive theory of career development looks at how self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goal mechanisms interact with personal, contextual, and learning factors to influence vocational behavior. The social cognitive theory of career development primarily addresses career entry and is thus focused on the life periods of later adolescence and early adulthood; however, the models of interest development and contextual variables do nonetheless relate to learning experiences achieved in childhood.

During childhood and adolescence, youngsters are exposed to career-relevant experiences in their environments. This exposure can be direct via participation, or indirect via
observation of models. In addition to the experiential component influencing career development, youngsters are also differentially reinforced for choosing and succeeding at particular activities. Through direct exposure, modeling experiences, and reinforcing feedback from significant others, children develop a set of self-efficacy beliefs (individual judgments of capabilities to perform a particular behavior or task), outcome expectations (beliefs about the presumed outcomes or consequences of the behavior), and goals (determination to achieve a particular outcome at some time in the future) surrounding career aspirations and decisions (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). The social cognitive model posits that interests emerging from the aforementioned environmental experiences lead to goals to achieve additional activity exposure, which results in greater opportunity for practice of the chosen activity, leading to performance success or failure which serves to modify self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations. It is believed that this process is repeated throughout childhood and adolescence, until a crystallization of interests occurs in late adolescence. Thus, children's early exposure to particular vocational experiences and models serves to shape the direction of their career development. Barriers such as lack of opportunity for exposure to relevant models or stereotypical patterns of reinforcement based on a child's gender, for example, change the direction of career development for some children, resulting in fewer educational opportunities and perhaps lower self-efficacy beliefs about certain career domains.
Furthermore, values--preferences for particular reinforcers--influence the development of outcome expectations (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). Values are acquired by children and adolescents through direct and vicarious learning experiences. Interactions with and observations of relatives, peers, educators, community members, and literary and media personae contribute to the value development of children. Perceptions of both internal and external rewards deriving from a particular behavior influence an individual's outcome expectations about that particular behavior. Observation of and interaction with these models acts as a source of vicarious reinforcement or punishment for engaging in a particular career-related behavior. By playing a direct part in the development of and participation in particular learning opportunities, educators and career counselors can influence children's career development through the selection of diverse experiences and models, as well as reinforcement of nontraditional options. Youngsters of different gender and ethnic groups receive exposure to differential environments. In order to increase the likelihood of exposure to a broader range of options, it will be important for intervention to occur in early childhood before circumscription and foreclosure of options take place.
Emergent from review of the folk and fairy tale and career development literatures is the conceptualization that these two distinct bodies of literature have a great deal to offer an effort at their integration. Folk and fairy tales present to children heroic models who face and overcome barriers related to age, gender, race, and social status, as well as existence in general (Bettelheim, 1976; Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1984; Danilewitz, 1991). The career development literature, though comprised of theories which frequently address the implementation of career decisions in late adolescence and early adulthood, nonetheless contains models relevant to childhood development. Gottfredson (1981) addresses the processes involved in the foreclosure of options due to sextype, effort, and prestige considerations that can occur for children at the young age of six. Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994) address influences on children's development of self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations in the process of career decision-making. Most significantly for the present research, Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1986) provide results which reveal a direct link between literature and career development: adolescents given an
intervention involving biographies of individuals overcoming barriers to achieve success indicated a clarification of their own vocational interests as a result of such exposure.

The fundamental link between the folk tale and the career development literatures is the social learning perspective which both reflect. According to Bandura (1977), learning takes place largely through observation of and exposure to relevant models. Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1984) take this assertion as the basis for their cuento therapy in the presentation of models in literature depicting adaptive and achievement-oriented behaviors after which children and adolescents can model their own behaviors. Similarly, Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994) discuss the importance of modeling experiences in children's development of self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations. Combined with Gottfredson's (1981) model which suggests that the process of career development, and more specifically the circumscription of options, begins in early childhood, these research efforts call for an intervention in early and middle childhood in an attempt to provide children with models acting counter to traditional gender and social class stereotypes.

An additional connection between the folk tale and the career development literatures is the assessment of individual differences as they impact the processes of career decision-making and the influence of models. Individual differences in race, ethnicity, social class, and gender serve to impact the exposure to and influence of folk tales in children's lives (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985). Furthermore, exposure to models of similar ethnic and
socioeconomic backgrounds results in greater identification with and comprehension of a tale. As in the folk tale literature, career development researchers also acknowledge differential exposure to career models for children of differing ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974). As a result, children’s vocational aspirations may be limited due to demographic considerations. Individual differences such as gender and personality type have also been shown to influence aspirations and compromises (Holt, 1989; Taylor & Pryor, 1985) in the process of career decision-making. Thus, models of career development are by no means universally applicable. Differences both internal and external to the individual must be considered in the application of a particular theoretical model of career development as well as in the presentation of a particular model depicting nontraditional career behavior.

A third affiliation between the two literatures is the importance of family dynamics and parental attitudes. Malgady, Rogler, and Costantino (1990a) found that family structure influenced the impact of folk hero modeling therapy on the self-concept of adolescents. Danilewitz (1991) reported an influence of parental attitudes toward fairy tales on children’s reactions to those tales. Seligman, Weinstock, and Owings (1988) and Seligman, Weinstock, and Heflin (1991) learned that children’s relationships with their parents differentially influence children’s future career aspirations depending upon children’s age. Family dynamics will thus influence the impact that the presentation of career models will have on children.
While using literature as a tool in the presentation of a diversity of occupational models to children is a valuable step in the integration of folk tale and career development research, it remains a complex process. Individual differences and family dynamics serve to further diversify the already-intricate task of choosing the models to which children will be exposed. Once a particular model in a particular story is chosen, Bettelheim's (1976) suggestion that tales should not only be read to but also processed by children must be considered. Merely reading a tale to children may not bring its message to awareness. Miller (1986) takes up this suggestion in her proposal of programming to reduce occupational circumscription. Miller asserts that too few interventions at the elementary school level are implemented to counteract the circumscription process outlined by Gottfredson (1981). At the elementary level, the focus of career education programs should be to address the likelihood of occupational elimination based on sextype. Not surprisingly, modeling is suggested as an effective means of counteracting this type of foreclosure. As children in early childhood are most frequently exposed to career models within the family, neighborhood, and community, it would be particularly influential to choose atypical sextype models from these sources to make classroom presentations, act as topics of videos and books, and to serve as representatives of a particular workplace for field trip activities. For the middle school grades, models representing atypical job holders based on social class should be emphasized. Guest speakers, videos, books, and field trips may be utilized in the effort to counteract
circumscription for older children. In addition, projects such as dramas, verbal presentations, and game show enactments of "What's My Line?" can be assigned, with the emphasis on the provision and demonstration of individuals who act against stereotypes based on social class.

Miller's (1986) article acts on suggestions made by other researchers (Cox & Morgan, 1985; Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974) that programs need to be implemented at the elementary school level to counteract occupational foreclosure. Such suggestions, in combination with Miller's contributions to efforts at reducing premature occupational foreclosure, Hackett and Betz's (1981) assertion that individuals need to perceive the availability of options, and Lent, Brown, and Hackett's (1994) self-efficacy model of career development all point to the necessity of developing a preventative intervention to be implemented during early and middle childhood. Taking the finding that preadolescents' exposure to folk tale and biographical models of similar backgrounds to their own resulted in the clarification of vocational interests (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1986), an integration of efforts becomes the next step.

Having established the background, necessity, and rationale of such an integration, the present research turns to focus on the development of a curriculum of stories depicting nontraditional sextype models and models acting counter to social class stereotypes in the consideration and implementation of career decisions. Based on findings that children more readily identify with characters whom they find interesting and similar to themselves (McCarron, 1987; Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1985), such a curriculum would
do well to include stories with heroes and heroines from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, it has been stated that the responsibility of the formal education system may not be to aggressively counteract traditional stereotypes in a portrayal of the moral tone of the day, but rather to assist in the acknowledgement of the existence of options. A curriculum of stories including a heroine in a traditionally male role, for example, is not providing a model that all female children must emulate, but is instead suggesting that such a role-taking is possible and probable. Children's books about individuals from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds are an important source in the development of children's attitudes toward individuals from backgrounds different from their own later in life (Bishop, 1987).
CHAPTER IV
CURRICULUM OF STORIES AND JUSTIFICATION OF COMPONENTS

In response to the direction suggested, the following five stories were developed out of themes emergent from folk literature sampled from a variety of cultures. Based on the project development of Costantino, Malgady, and Rogler (1985), tales were selected as representative of a culture's thoughts, beliefs, behaviors, and values, and modified to reflect the portrayal of a variety of occupational models.

Asian Indian Model

In a certain town lived a girl named Bharo. Her parents worked hard to support their family. Bharo's father was a very talented woodworker who built beautiful furniture. Bharo's mother helped her father set up a small shop in town where they sold furniture and woodcarvings to the town's villagers and visitors. After school, Bharo would work with her parents at the shop. She helped her father fit pieces together to form furniture. She helped her mother answer questions for the customers. But what Bharo liked best was to take the wood scraps her father did not need and put them together to form her own creations. She would make boxes shaped like rectangles and triangles. She also had a secret project: Bharo was building a birdhouse. This birdhouse was just the beginning for Bharo. She knew that when she got
older, she wanted to build bigger birdhouses for bigger birds, dwellings for her sister's dolls, and fine houses where friends and families could live. Bharo was very good at cutting the wood and fitting the pieces together—her mother had even sold some of her triangular boxes to customers in the shop. But with the birdhouse project, Bharo needed to do some extra work. She had to draw her design before she built it, and this gave Bharo a little trouble. Bharo knew her father would be happy to help her, but since the birdhouse was going to be a secret surprise, she didn't want to ask him. Bharo tried to design a few different birdhouse drawings, but they just didn't turn out quite right.

Bharo learned about a building and design class being offered in town. She had a small amount of money from the sales of her boxes, but she didn't have quite enough to pay for the class. So Bharo went for a walk to think about ways to earn the money she needed. She passed a new jewelry shop that was opening down the street from her parents' shop, and she stopped in to look around. The shop owner had a beautiful collection of colored beads, but told Bharo that he had no containers in which to display them. Bharo left the jewelry shop and returned with three of the wooden boxes she had made, and she offered them to the shop owner. He was very grateful to Bharo, but said he had no money to pay her for the boxes. He asked Bharo if she would like to choose a bagful of beads in exchange for the boxes. Bharo liked this idea, thanked the shop owner, and left with a sparkling selection of beautiful beads.
Bharo continued on her walk, stopping at her friend Rama's house to show him her new beads. Rama was busy thinking about getting a birthday gift for his mother that wouldn't cost a lot of money, because, like Bharo, Rama didn't have quite enough. Rama liked Bharo's beads, and Bharo offered half of them to her friend so that he could make a new necklace for his mother's birthday. This made Rama very happy, and in exchange for the beads, Rama gave Bharo two loaves of fresh bread he had helped his mother bake.

Bharo, on her way back to her parents' furniture shop, passed by the bakery. She stopped to look in the window at the delicious sweets, and she saw her mother's friend speaking to the baker. The baker was telling Mrs. Gujerati that he was out of fresh bread until more could be baked that afternoon. Mrs. Gujerati was explaining to the baker that she needed two more loaves to serve at her luncheon. After hearing this conversation, Bharo stepped into the bakery and offered Mrs. Gujerati the two loaves she had just gotten from Rama in exchange for the bountiful beads which Bharo had received from the jeweler in exchange for her beautiful boxes. Mrs. Gujerati was so happy that her luncheon would not be ruined that she offered Bharo a small amount of money. And the baker was so pleased that he didn't have an angry customer, he also gave Bharo a small amount of money. But when Bharo put these small amounts together, she found that she had enough money to pay for the building and design class after all.

Bharo went to the school, signed up for the class, and paid the fee. Two weeks later, she had learned how to draw
her building designs, and she put her new skills to use on a design for the secret birdhouse. One night, as Bharo and her parents walked home from the shop, she led them around to the backyard before they went inside. Her parents looked up and saw a beautiful birdhouse placed on a post near their porch. Bharo's parents were very proud of her hard work, and Bharo was very proud of herself. When word spread about Bharo's building abilities, orders for birdhouses came in from all over town. Bharo saved the money she earned from making birdhouses to pay for more building and design classes so that bigger birds, delightful dolls, and families and friends could someday command her creations.

Justification

Asian Indian beliefs, including the value of the family, a woman's propensity at solving problems or riddles, and the belief in outwitting fate, or turning destiny to one's advantage, are contained within this story (Ramanujan, 1991). Furthermore, a female character pursues the occupation of builder, a profession rated as one with a highly masculine sextype (Gottfredson, 1981). Thus, the young girl in this story can serve as a model acting counter to a traditional occupational sextype while maintaining contact with her culture's values.

American Indian Model

As the days were becoming shorter and the evenings cooler, the students in a town much like yours were preparing to return to school. Several of those children had received a mysterious classroom assignment. They had been told that their teacher's name was Mr. Seneca. Mr. Seneca was new to the school, so none of the children knew anything about him.
And even more mystifying was the teacher's name: Mr. Seneca. In all the school, the teachers' names were Miss This or Mrs. That. No one had ever had a Mr. before, and the children were not sure what to expect.

Much to their surprise, the children's first day of school and the days that followed were filled with new lessons and activities in which they learned about numbers, names, and news. The children quickly grew to like Mr. Seneca. The answers he gave to students' questions were helpful, and the lessons he taught were both factual and fun. But better than his answers and lessons were Mr. Seneca's stories. He would read to the children during story time, and he would tell a story to help a student understand his studies.

Each day, the children would tell Mr. Seneca about how much they liked his stories, and they would try to convince him to tell just one more before the school day ended. One of the students asked Mr. Seneca what he was going to do when he ran out of stories. Mr. Seneca laughed and told his class that he didn't think he would run out of stories. He had heard them from his grandfather and great-grandfather when he was a young boy. His grandfather and great-grandfather not only taught him many of the stories they knew, but had also taught him how to create his own. This gave Mr. Seneca an idea. He asked each of his students to think about the stories told to them by someone in their family, to write down their favorite, and bring it to school the next week.

The students did what Mr. Seneca had asked: they each returned to class with a story that they had heard. Some students had asked their parents or grandparents for a story,
some had read from their favorite book, others had simply remembered one. The children learned that teachers come in many forms: Miss, Mr., mother, grandfather. For the next several weeks during story time, Mr. Seneca would choose from the collection his students had made. One story was about dreams, one was about spirits. In one story, animals talked, and in another, people turned into stars and planets. Some children laughed when they heard about buffalo talking; others didn’t understand how people could live in the sky. Mr. Seneca explained with a story.

"Many years ago, the world was new. When people had questions, there were no books or teachers in which to find the answers. So people did their best with what they had. When a man saw the large size and strength of a buffalo, he thought it must be a powerful being and since powerful beings such as leaders and healers could talk, he assumed the buffalo could talk as well. And when a man moved on and away from those who loved him, it was a comforting thought that he who was away might be seated on a planet looking down at the ones who missed him, or bringing light to his family in the form of a star."

One of Mr. Seneca’s students asked him why these stories were still around now that people know that buffalo don’t talk and that people can’t live on stars. Mr. Seneca thought for a while before answering. What do you think his answer was?

Justification

This story presents an American Indian model who embodies the oral tradition of the Seneca tribe (Erdoes & Ortiz, 1984). In addition to exemplifying the value of
storytelling, the characters' stories themselves demonstrate themes of tribal tradition through the transmission of stories along generations and the belief in the power of nature. The ending of the story, like the endings of many American Indian tales, is unconventional. The occupation of the male character—an elementary teacher—provides a model acting against the feminine sextype rating which that occupation typically receives (Gottfredson, 1981; Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974). In addition, unfamiliarity with a male teacher is experienced by the children in his class first with reservation, and then with acceptance and enjoyment. This character can thereby model not only a nontraditional sextype occupational choice, but also a role that children are likely to encounter in their own experience which may be accompanied by trepidation, but is here modeled with a positive outcome.

European-American Model

As Maria walked home from basketball practice one afternoon, she began to think about something her coach had said to her. Maria and some of her teammates hadn't been playing as well as they had played earlier in the season, and the coach had been talking to them about their losing streak. Coach worked with the team to practice and improve their game skills. Coach changed their position assignments during one practice so that each player could see what the game was like from a new spot on the team. Coach complimented those players who were improving their game and those players who were still working at improvements. Coach talked to the team about ways to deal with being nervous before a game. Finally, Coach wanted each of Maria's team members to think
about his or her confidence in being a basketball player. Coach asked each boy and girl on the team to choose a basketball player whom he or she looked up to and to think about the admirable qualities that player had.

After talking with some of the boys on her team, Maria learned that their choices had already been made. There were hundreds of men’s basketball players to admire on both college and professional teams. Most of the girls on Maria’s team also chose a male player right away. But a few of the girls—and especially Maria—wanted to find out more about female basketball players.

Maria quickly learned that choosing a female basketball player whom she admired was not so simple. Looking through sports magazines and program listings, Maria found that women’s basketball was not very popular. She found a small amount of information about women’s college basketball, and an even smaller amount of information about women’s professional basketball. Maria already knew the men’s basketball players she admired, but she wanted to choose a female player for Coach’s assignment. Maria decided to talk to Coach about her predicament.

Coach was very understanding of the problem Maria was having in her search for information about women’s basketball players and agreed to help her with her investigation. But in the meantime, Coach suggested to Maria that she think about qualities she admired in her own teammates, in male basketball players, or in female athletes in other sports. Coach explained to Maria that the goal of the assignment was for each team member to think about qualities seen in another athlete that the team members would like to see in
themselves. After hearing this, Maria understood Coach's assignment. She was not going to give up her interest in learning about successful women's basketball players, but she was going to think about the qualities that make an admirable athlete so that someday, a young girl would be able to choose Maria as her basketball heroine.

**Justification**

This story contains elements found in the tradition of European-American folktales (Bettelheim, 1976). The main character models such revered qualities as the value of struggle, maintenance of a hope for triumph, and the ability to remain true to the self. Furthermore, the character is set up as a model of a female athlete, an occupation typically sextyped as masculine (Gottfredson, 1981; Miller & Stanford, 1987). Finally, the story establishes a relationship between the importance of acknowledging models as heroes (Bettleheim, 1976) and the components of building self-efficacy around a particular achievement (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994).

**African Model**

Abena, a very beautiful woman from a very well-respected family, had many admirers. Abena's younger sister Emme was equally beautiful, though her admirers were not yet as numerous because of her young age. The men who resided near Abena considered themselves lucky when they got the chance to talk with her, or simply catch a glimpse of her. She had received several marriage proposals, all of which she turned down. Abena was rather hard to please.

One particular admirer was called Masilo. Like the others, he had talked with Abena and Emme and caught glimpses
of them on occasion. Masilo enjoyed the times when he met up with the sisters, but he did not have much extra time to think about marriage, as he was a very busy young man. Masilo was studying to be a doctor, so his days were spent attending classes and lectures. Masilo’s family was not as wealthy as Abena’s, so he had to pay for most of his education himself. His nights were spent cleaning at the hospital to earn the money he needed to pay his tuition.

Masilo spent four years working hard to earn the top grades in his medical school class and to earn the money necessary to support himself. Although he still had several requirements to meet before becoming a doctor, he began to think about getting married. He had always enjoyed spending time with Abena and Emme, and the thought of marrying someday pleased him. Because Abena was of marriageable age, Masilo spoke with her family about his intentions, and Abena’s family approved. Abena, however, did not. She believed that it would be below her to marry a young man who came home late every night in soiled workman’s clothes. Emme explained to Abena that there was more to Masilo than his evening appearance, but Abena wouldn’t listen.

One day, Abena was admiring herself in a small hand mirror. The mirror fell to the floor and shattered, cutting Abena’s hand as she tried to catch it. The cut was large and bleeding heavily. Emme brought Abena to the hospital, and a doctor was called on to examine the cut on Abena’s hand. Into the room walked Masilo. Abena smiled and greeted him without surprise, thinking he was there to clean up after the previous patient. Her surprise came when Masilo informed her that he was the doctor on duty. Abena and Emme asked Masilo
many questions about himself as he stitched the cut. They learned about his medical studies, his interest in becoming a surgeon, and the long hours he put in at the hospital both as a student on the medical staff and as a night worker on the cleaning staff.

Abena’s opinion of Masilo began to change after that day. She had learned that Masilo was a good student, a promising doctor, and a hard worker. Abena told her father of her change of heart and of her interest in marrying Masilo, and her father took this news to Masilo. Masilo was surprised to hear it. He thanked Abena’s father for coming to talk with him. But Masilo also told Abena’s father that he could not marry Abena. Although he liked Abena and was happy to help her when she was injured, the fact that he came home late each night in soiled workman’s clothes had not changed. Masilo instead pursued his interest in Emme. As Emme had never though Masilo to be below her, when she reached marriageable age, the two were wed and lived happily.

**Justification**

African oral and literary traditions such as conflict between sociopolitical classes and the triumph of the underdog are given form in this story (Radin, 1952). In addition, the values of confidence and integrity are reinforced. As African tales frequently end on a moralistic note, so too does this story. The occupational model in this selection is an African doctor, representing an ethnically nontraditional career choice (Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974). In addition, the main character is described as developing out of a somewhat less advantaged background than his peers, thereby modeling achievement in the face of economic barriers
and representing an individual acting counter to occupational attainment as restricted by economics (Cox & Morgan, 1985). Finally, one secondary character is reinforced for failure to judge by appearances alone, and one is deprived of an opportunity because of using uninformed criteria in a decision-making process. These secondary characters provide additional models from which children can learn about the process of identity formation based on external symbols of prestige (Gottfredson, 1981).

Puerto Rican Model

Miguel was the oldest son in a family with six children. When he wasn’t busy with school or helping his parents take care of his younger brothers and sisters, Miguel liked to spend his time working on his computer. Like most kids, he used his computer to complete school assignments and play games. But Miguel also liked to create his own games. His family members often found him sitting at his desk, working on a design for his own computer program.

Miguel was very good at math, and this ability helped him both in school and at home. Miguel’s parents had taught him how to count and use a calculator when he was quite young. As Miguel progressed in school, he began to discover that in addition to being good at math, he also liked to complete problems and equations. He understood new ideas quickly, and he had a helpful way of explaining the more difficult lessons to his classmates who weren’t quite as good at math as Miguel was. As a result, a few of the students in Miguel’s class would ask him for extra help after school. And because Miguel’s family was large enough to form a small math class itself, he often tutored his younger brothers and
sisters who would come to him with questions from their own math books. Miguel enjoyed helping his family and friends with their math homework, and he was very good at it. His teachers, his parents, and his classmates often told Miguel that he would make a great math teacher when he got older. Miguel agreed, and for a long while, he planned to go to college to become a teacher. But as he continued to teach and tutor kids in math, he came to realize that he had done a lot of teaching already, and that he would like to consider another career, one which would provide him with a new challenge.

Miguel talked to his parents about his changing choices. He was respectful of their interest in his being a teacher, and they were respectful of his interest in pursuing yet another challenge. Miguel’s father suggested that he talk to his Uncle Marcos who used his mathematical skills in his position as an accountant. Miguel made arrangements to spend a day at work with his Uncle Marcos to learn more about what accountants do. Miguel was interested in what he learned about accounting, and he decided to take a summer job working at his uncle’s company. This job provided Miguel with the chance to see math from a different perspective. He liked the summer experience, but discovered that accounting was not for him. Miguel was interested in a job where he could use his mathematical skills in a more creative way.

As Miguel graduated from high school and began to think about college classes, he spoke with his college counselor about his interest and ability in math. His counselor suggested that Miguel might be interested in an introductory engineering course in which he would learn about yet another
application of mathematical concepts. Miguel took his counselor's suggestion and found that he was very interested in engineering. As he took more engineering courses, Miguel decided to choose a college major in computer engineering. Miguel was able to use his math skills and his creative ability to design and develop more effective computers, and he even got paid for doing what he enjoyed most: working on programs to create computer games.

**Justification**

Puerto Rican values such as industriousness and respect for family members are demonstrated in this story (Alegria, 1969). Furthermore, the importance of extended family and an appreciation for hard work are exemplified. The character makes use of prestige and effort considerations in his career decision-making process by accounting for the levels of prestige for the positions of teacher, accountant, and engineer, as well as the level of effort he is willing and able to expend to achieve his career goals (Gottfredson, 1981). By combining cultural integrity with developmental career considerations of effort, prestige, and interest, the main character in this story serves as a model who is appropriately able to fulfill the expectations of both himself and his family.

**Consolidation & Conclusion**

These stories can serve as an intital step in the development of an effective curriculum through which children can be exposed to a diversity of occupational models. It must be acknowledged that prior to the implementation of such a curriculum, researchers and clinicians would be required to engage in an experimental evaluation to gather data on the
effectiveness of the stories in influencing career decisions.

In the process of developing these stories, multiple considerations were made which speak to the links between the folk and fairy tale and career development literatures. From a multicultural perspective, the characters in the stories and the stories themselves maintain allegiance to the cultures from which they were sampled, representing the importance of considering individual differences and family values in the presentation of models and the career development process (Leung & Harmon, 1990; Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino, 1990a; Taylor & Pryor, 1985). Furthermore, the introduction of characters from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds can allow all children to find a character with whom they can identify, providing an opportunity for a greater sense of relation to that character’s actions (Costantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1988), as well as greater exposure to the variety of occupational options which children are likely to encounter (Hackett & Betz, 1981).

From a social learning perspective, these stories can fulfill the vicarious learning portion of a self-efficacy model of career development (Hackett & Betz, 1981; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). Through exposure to models engaging in a diversity of occupational choices and exposure to models being reinforced for those choices, children can be more likely to overcome barriers such as the lack of appropriate models in their environments (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). By combining the presentation of such stories with direct mastery experiences or performance accomplishments in chosen fields, verbal persuasion encouraging children to consider a diversity of options, and an exploration of the sources of
anxiety around nontraditional career decisions (Hackett & Betz, 1981), literature modeling can be an essential contributor to the career self-efficacy of children. The presentation of this career information in a timely fashion will have additional beneficial effects on children's occupational decision-making, addressing sextype and prestige and effort considerations through literature at the same time that children are addressing these concerns developmentally (Gottfredson, 1981). These stories can be used both in the home and in the school in an attempt to educate children (through modeling) as to the availability of occupational options (Miller, 1986).

Because the existence of gender and ethnic stereotypes has served to restrict options in the past (Hackett & Betz, 1981), the current proposal is by no means intended to create new ones for the future. Knowledge of the variety of career options available both for the individual child him/herself, as well as knowledge of the variety of individuals who can and will occupy a variety of roles within the child's life can serve to teach the child that gender or culture are not determinants of roles, but rather assets within them.
REFERENCES


61


VITA

Tracy Nemecek attended the University of Notre Dame, where she graduated with honors with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology and English. In addition to academic pursuits, Tracy was involved in the clinical experiences of applied psychology with adolescents in a group setting, and individual behavior modification planning for children; the rigors of researching childhood depression, adolescent suicide, and adolescent ego development; as well as writing contests in the field of accounting. Upon completion of her degree, Tracy pursued employment as a group leader in a therapeutic alternative high school where she acted as co-leader of daily group therapy, in addition to assisting in the individual therapy, discipline, and case management of emotionally and behaviorally disordered adolescents. After two years of group leadership experience, Tracy pursued and completed a Master of Arts degree in Community Counseling at Loyola University Chicago, where in addition to fulfilling her academic requirements, she sought involvement as a member of two research teams investigating self-efficacy, as well as explored adoption and folk tale modeling as areas of individual interest.
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Date  

Director's Signature