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Parents' Influence in the Construction of their Children's Vocational Trajectories

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**Abstract:** 

Departing from a constructivist approach of vocational development, the goal of this study is to analyze parents' explicit and implicit intentions to influence their children's vocational trajectories through a variety of ways, namely (a) concrete activities of exploration jointly developed by parents and children; (b) exploration of information about education/training opportunities; (c) emergent discourses in the family context about work meanings; (d) emotional support and level of autonomy allowed to children with respect to their vocational (training/occupational) choices.40 interviews were done with 20 adolescents/students of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades and their respective parents. From the content of those interviews we try to understand parent's view about the kind of things they do and/or don't to perform an active role in their children's choices. Simultaneously, we analyze how children perceive this influence in the construction of their vocational trajectories. Results are discussed in their implications for psychological intervention.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to promote the reflection and understanding of the explicit or implicit influences the family context exerts on the career development of adolescents, in order to influence the process of career development through intentional and systematic interventions. More specifically, it is intended to analyze which intentional actions parents perform or not, in order to support their children in different moments of the construction of vocational trajectories,

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especially when their children are confronted, by the formation social system, with the choice of a formation/degree in secondary or high education.

Throughout time, several theoretical approaches have been used to conceptualise career development leading to the emergence of multiple points of view about this issue, for instance, in terms of the delimitation of its bounds, as well as the intervention strategies employed to its promotion.

We assume that the career development is an integrative dimension of the global psychological development referring to the individual confrontation with successive tasks related to the elaboration, implementation and reformulation of multidimensional life projects throughout the life cycle, where education and training, qualification and professional activity are at stake, as well as the articulation of the choice of a life style which involves the co-ordination of different life roles (Campos, 1989).

From this starting point it does not make any sense to separate career development from the other dimensions of human development. Thus, career development can be considered as the synthesis dimension or the integration of all life dimensions and, in this sense, its promotion is inseparable from the promotion of the psychological development of multiple dimensions: family (as a son/daughter, spouse, father or mother), citizen, consumer, member of several groups, etc. (Campos, 1989).

Although recognising the contribution of other theoretical approaches to the 'career development' research, understanding and transformation, we consider the constructivist, ecological and developmental perspective, as the most useful and integrative because it considers that the vocational projects are not discovered, but are constructed upon the opportunities that the social-historical contexts allow or inhibit. Within this historical/constructivist framework, career development is always present during the individual life history through the relationships that the psychological subject establishes with diversified reality segments, under the shape of encounters, experiences, contacts, questionings and meanings, involving the deconstruction of prior projects and the reconstruction of new commitments (Coimbra, Campos & Imaginário, 1994). From the reasons which base our constructive option stand out the following guidelines: (a) this psychologically based perspective allows an integrative interpretation of the several dimensions of the complexity of human psychological functioning, that take part in the construction of one's vocational itinerary, because the dialectical relationship which the subject establishes with the world, through career

exploration and commitment is, at the same time, affective, cognitive and not dissociated from action (Campos & Coimbra, 1991), assuring the construction of idiosyncratic meanings that makes it possible the viability of human projects, historically organised and socially inscribed; (b) besides, it is the most adequate approach to overcome linear, unidirectional and ascending visions of career trajectories, inadequate to understand the complexity of the individual and social functioning, proposing, as an alternative, a multidimensional and recurrent conception of career development, where the logic of possibilities and viability are used instead of criteria of truth and validity (Coimbra, 1997/98; Sennet, 1999).

The choice of an ecological and developmental perspective is justified by the fact that it provides us a conceptual framework which, in turn, enables the articulation of personal and contextual variables, overcoming classic but persistent dichotomies of the extrapersonal "social whole" — coming from the approaches of a more sociological nature — and the intrapersonal "personal whole" — stemming from the classical psychological tradition (Campos,1992). The ecological approach to human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) offers us the possibility of a reconceptualisation of human development in general within the context of the significant, dynamic and reciprocal interactions between the developing subject and his/hers life contexts; thus considering, namely, career development as a deconstructive/reconstructive process of meanings and representations which the self establishes within his/her relationship with the family and with the world in which he/she is a part of (Vondracek *et al.*, 1994), for the subjects are not exclusively built based on internal scripts, plans, projects and resources, but rather intertwined with the scripts, plans, projects and resources of the world of others (Gergen, 2001).

Within the multiple contexts where vocational development occurs, family stands out as the first and most significant one, with a direct incidence on vocational trajectories in younger generations. Here it is learned, from the very first steps of childhood, the knowledge, the affections, and the most structurizing and organizing experiences that shall become the emotional matrix of relationship's meanings, construed between the individual and him/herself and the others, and where, fundamentally, the different roles of existence are prepared, which will ensure the subjects' psycho-social integration, turning him/her into the protagonist of his/her own story, built in dialogical relation with the others.

The family context, and mostly parents, as significant figures, influences directly or indirectly vocational trajectories of teenagers and youngsters- as, for example, happens in the choice of a professional formation project- with verbal and attitudinal, implicit or explicit messages that, intentionally or not, are transmitted in family daily life, contributing decisively for the construction of their children's projects' construction. This means that youngsters, as subjects in construction, are designing their life's' trajectories, as their development occurs, as a result of the significant relationships that are established together with the world that surrounds them, mainly the family, the school, and the social context of origin; from the quality of these relationships, and from the opportunities that their natural life contexts offers or not, will depend their way of facing the challenges of the present and of the future. (Campos, 1992).

Therefore, neither indifferent nor insignificant are the facts that one is born in a family context where emotional stability ensures the safety of a life project, or that one comes from an unstructured, dysfunctional family; the facts of living in a socially excluded ghetto, or living in privileged areas, where there is easy access to opportunities that will provide greater success; to belong to one social class or the other, to live on the coast or in the interior are not irrelevant. These asymmetries, among others, can predict different vocational paths, at the expectations level, in terms of exploration and investment in the formation that may prepare them for the entrance into a professional life.

Besides unemployment- which is becoming more and more structural- and with more restricted access to formation that will guarantee automatically the job for which one has prepared him/herself for, it is also true that the subjects less equipped in terms of formation and professional qualification are naturally the excluded ones from the few available opportunities, especially the ones perceived as more attractive and where work assembles conditions and characteristics capable of contributing for professional fulfilment and dignity (Gonçalves & Coimbra, 2000).

The researches conducted over the last years, in this field, have been progressively signalling an expressed will of the part of some families, mostly parents, to assume their responsibilities in the support of their children's vocational pathways, intending to have an irreplaceable and more active role in this vocational development process, for they realize that their children's vocational course depends on the quality of support and

commitments parents produce in this process of construction of their children's formation/education/profession project, being perceived as an integrating part in their family project (Gonçalves, 1997; Young, *et al.*, 1994; Young, Valach & Paseluiko, 1994; Young *et al*, 1997; 2001; 2003).

## The object and the goals of this investigation

This study aims to identify and analyze parents' explicit and implicit intentions to influence their children's vocational trajectories through a variety of means, namely (a) concrete activities of exploration jointly developed by parents and children; (b) support given in the different formation stages, namely in moments of vocational choices; (c) emergent discourses in the family context about work meanings; (d) emotional support and level of autonomy allowed to children with respect to their vocational (training/occupational) choices. Simultaneously, it is intended to understand how children perceive this family influence in specific moments of their development, especially when confronted by the system of opportunities of formation, having to make vocational choices, such as the choice of an area of specialization in secondary school or an university degree.

#### Method

In this study, a qualitative approach has been privileged, based on interviews made with teenagers and their parents, in order to identify how Portuguese parents are, progressively, taking on a more active part in the construction of their children's life trajectories, and, simultaneously, to observe how the adolescents feel this support. For this purpose, two semi structured interviews were constructed, in a parsimonious process, based on revision of the literature (*e.g.*, Brooks & Daniluk, 1998; Richie *et al.*, 1997; Young *et al.*, 2001) and on the experience gained with the intervention in vocational and psychological counselling. These interviews, one for the parents and the other for the youngsters, presented three main specific goals (a) to identify concrete actions that parents (mother and/or father) may or may not have done, in a intentional or not intentional way, either in explicit and implicit conversations, with the aim of promoting their children's vocational development; (b) to identify the quality of support

in school that parents make available for their children during the formation path; (c) to identify the meanings that parents attribute to work in the informal conversations with their children and the importance of the professional activity in family life.

## Sample

Twenty dyads of teenagers and their parents participated in the interviews. Participants are part of a larger study, which is in a conclusion stage, with a sample of 731 youngsters in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades of Basic and Secondary Schools in the north of Portugal. It was ensured, as much as possible, that a criterion of heterogeneity was respected, in what concerns the school grade, gender, geographical origin and sociocultural level of the family. Of the twenty parent – children dyads, 19 were composed of one child and two parents, while only in one dyad (interview 1-9<sup>th</sup>) the presence of the father was not possible. The average age of the youngsters is 16,1 years and the parents' is 46,7 (see sample characterization in table 1)

#### Sample characterization

Subject -age	School grade	gend er	School area	Type of school	Father's scholarity	Mother's scolarity	Father's profession	Mother's profession	Civil Status
E1- 16	9°	Mas.	Técnical- Sports	Urban	6°grade	9° grade	Security guard	Secretary	Married
E2-14	9°	Fem.	science- tecnology	Urban	degree	Bacha	Teacher	Superior Tecnician	Divorced
E3-14	9°	Fem.	science- tecnology	Urban	degree	degree	Finance inspector	Teacher	Married
E4-15	9°	Mas.	science- tecnology	Urban	12° grade	degree	Public worker	Teacher	Married
E5-15	9°	Mas.	Tecnolog y- electronic	Rural	4° grade	6° grade	Carpenter	Housewife	Married
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E6-15	9°	Mas.	Ed.So	Rural	4ºgrade	6° grade	Train driver	Housewife	Married
E7-15	9°	Mas.	C.Tec	Urban	degree	degree	Ingenieur	Teacher	Married
E8-15	9°	Fem.	C.Tec	Rural	Degree	Degree	Teacher	Teacher	Married
E9-15	9°	Fem.	CSH	Rural	4° grade	6° grade	Emp. Cont	tailor	Married
E10-15	9°	Mas.	C. Tec	Rural	Degree	Degree	Doctor	Teacher	Divorced
E11-17	12°		Ag.1	Urban	12° grade	12° grade	Salesman	Bank clerk	Married
E12-18	12°	Fem.	Ag. 4	Rural	9°grade	9º grade	Industrial	Industry worker	Married
E13-17	12°	Mas	Ag.1	Urban	degree	12º grade	Ingenieer	Secretary	Married
E14-17	12°	Fem.	Ag.1	Urban	Master	Phd	teacher	Teacher	Married
E15-18	12°	Fem.	Ag.4	Rural	6° degree	12°grade	Ensurance mediator	Ensurance mediator	Married
E16-17	12°	Fem.	Ag.1	Rural	6° grade	9°grade	enterpriser	Housewife	Married
E17-18	12°	Fem.	Ag.1	Rural	4° grade	4° grade	enterpriser	Housewife	Married
E18-17	12°	Mas	Ag.1	Urban	9°grade	12° grade	Office clerk	Receptionist	
E19-17	12°	Fem.	Ag.4	Rural	4° grade	4°grade	Industrial	tailor	Married
E20-18	12°	Fem.	Ag.4	Urban	Degree	12°grade	Contablist	Pub. Adm.	Married

#### Method

The interviews were conducted by psychology professionals, in the context of the vocational psychological counselling sessions, in the Department of Counselling and Career Development of the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, Porto University, and in the psychology and career guidance services of some of the Basic and Secondary Schools of the northern region of Portugal.

The interviews, recorded in audio, happened in different moments, first with the adolescents, and afterwards with their parents, so as to preserve the differentiated points of view of each of the parties involved. The recordings of the 40 interviews, after being transcribed by the same professional who conducted them, were given back to the subjects in order to be validated, giving them the opportunity to make changes in the transcribed narrative. The analysis was done on this final text, using NUDIST, and some results will be presented, providing them some psycho-social meanings, and, simultaneously, redraw some implications for psychological intervention.

#### Results

The results presented here refer to a preliminary analysis of the interviews, since the research team is still in the process of further exploring the data and making the intersections between parents' and children's speeches.

The results are grouped into three major categories, which correspond to the three main goals from which the interviews for parents and children were constructed from: (a) the intentional or non intentional support efforts revealed by parents, such as concrete activities of exploration to help their children in the construction of vocational projects; (b) the degree of parents' involvement in their children's school process; (c) emergent discourses in the family context about work meanings, their importance and centrality in family life;

1- Intentional or non intentional support, demonstrated by concrete actions, that parents perform to help their children in the construction of vocational projects

It can be seen, from the analysis of the parents' and children's discourse, an increasing involvement and intentionality of Portuguese parents in the support of their

children's construction of vocational projects, especially when children are faced with the choice of a formation/degree, dictated by the formation social system (in the Portuguese Educational System, this occurs in the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> grades). Yet, the guarantee of support is differentiated according to the educational and professional level of the parents and the parental figure, being evident a strong congruence between parents and children's speeches.

Of the twenty parents participating in this study, ten (50%) have carried out some form of educational intentional action to help their children in those moments when they had to make a decision between different formation choices of professional projects, although seven of these parents belong to a higher cultural level, that is, they have acquired an university degree. From the seven parents who have not obtained the minimum compulsory educational level (the 9<sup>th</sup> grade), only one manifested explicit support.

As far as the quality of support and the amount of actions done with the teenagers is concerned, major differences can be observed, according to parents' professional status and their educational level. As an example, I shall present the type of support described in interview of Int-14 parents, who are professors in the university: "We often speak with our daughter whenever doubts arise, especially in moments when she has had to make decisions; we asked for the help of specialized professionals in the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> year (psychologists) to help her in the choice of a formation; we accompany her in visits to professional and formation contexts (faculties)...". And now, the comment of this teenager shows us that it is in agreement with the one of her parents': "My parents talk with me regularly about what I like, about the degrees in the university, we make researches on the Internet about degrees and professions; they looked for a psychologist to help me with my doubts about my choices in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades; they came with me to Engineering faculty to interview a researcher and to visit a laboratory in the Chemistry Engineering department. (Int.14)

As a contrasting example, we can see a parents' of a 9<sup>th</sup> grader's speech, with a low educational level (4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades): "we tell our son to hold on to studying and get good grades, or else he'll have to work in the construction business". The teenager word confirms those of his parents: "my parents never did any activity, because they don't understand anything about these matters". (Inter. 6)

The ten teenagers of the 9th and 12th grade that felt their parents' presence in the crucial moments of exploration of their vocational project, value the active and committed part they performed, and evaluated the joint activities as very positive: "these activities gave me a lot more security in the choices I had to make", (Interv. 13); "it helped me to think about my future", (Inter. 1, 2, 3); "they solved my doubts and worries and made my knowledge increase about the degrees I was considering as possibilities for my future" (Inter. 14). It should also be noticed that these joint activities are mainly an initiative of the motherly figure (13 of the parents recognize that the mother is more aware of these issues): "The mother spends more time at home, so she is more available to accompany the children" (Interv. 6). Yet, it is also noteworthy how these differences fade, generally speaking, as parents show a higher educational level – seven parents explain that both are involved in these tasks- sharing the responsibilities of the process: "we both get involved in these activities, depending on the occasion presented" (Interv. 14); "The both of us, from an early stage, tried to make a careful accompaniment to our daughter to ensure her a good formation and prepare her future." (Inter. 13)

# 2- Degree of involvement of parents with the school in the accompaniment of their children's educational path

Concerning the degree of involvement of parents with school, or, in other words, to what extent parents accompany their children in their formation course, the differences between the quality of accompaniment and the resources available to guarantee school success between the parents with higher and lower educational level, and between the mother and the father figure, are evident. Undoubtedly, the mother exerts this educational task almost exclusively; the father appears as a frequently absent figure, and this absence increases in fathers with less educational level. Out of twenty parents, 13 recognize (which is also confirmed by the children's speech) that the motherly figure is in charge of this mission, and 7 claim that both mother and father do this accompaniment. These belong solely to the highly educated parents group.

Illustrating with an excerpt of a 9<sup>th</sup> grade teenager's parents: "from the first year in school, and now even more, since she got into secondary school, we talk with our daughter about the importance of studying and getting a formation to prepare herself for her professional future". (Inter. 3). In contrast, the parents of a 12th grade student,

who only have the 4th grade (father long term unemployed, mother working in a non-qualified, precarious job) state: "We don't understand anything about school, we just tell her, once in a while, to study, 'cause that's the best thing for her; we are willing to sacrifice ourselves so that she can graduate and doesn't have a life like ours" (Interv.12)

This accompaniment becomes more urgent in the 9th grade and during the secondary school, especially in the 12th grade, as almost all adolescents and the parents themselves have confirmed, even though the parents with higher school degrees have done this more carefully throughout the course of their children's formation (Interv. 1,2,4,7,13,15). What mobilizes parents to invest in this manner in the school accompaniment of their children (and this becomes more obvious in higher skilled parents) is that they realize that from the 9<sup>th</sup> grade onwards, that is, in the secondary school, school results become decisive to ensure the access to the most socially valued formations in terms of social prestige (the area of health sciences and sciences and technologies) and of the representations about professional opportunities in the future.

Let us illustrate with the words of one parent: "Our daughter is the one who has to explore the degree which suits her best, although we are interested that she chooses a degree that may, more likely, provide her with job offers, and where she can feel comfortable in. So, we stimulate her to work, without any pressure, assuring all scientific and pedagogical support is available: extra teaching, vocational exploration experiences, bibliographical resources, so that she can make her own choice". (Interv. 14) And now, the youngster's speech: "After the 9<sup>th</sup> grade I have to choose and area where I fit in and that has job offers, for my future depends on this choice." (Interv.4)

## 3° The importance, the meaning and the centrality of work in family life

It is evident in the content analysis of parents and children, that work/professional activity is a theme which is often an object of communication and sharing within the family- of the twenty dyads, only one teenager (Interv.17) states that there is no talk about work in his family- because of its impact, the emotional and time consuming factor it represents, and the need to maintain this work as a guarantee of the family's quality of life. Both the mother and the father are responsible for introducing work as a theme of conversation in the family daily's interaction.

Let us take a look at some of the parent's statements: "Yes, we often talk about the difficulties of our profession and about the problems that arise on a daily basis at work" (Interv.11). "We frequently talk about how difficult a farmer's life is, how it doesn't pay off...we talk about a better future for our daughter" (Interv. 14)

And now, the children's speech: "sometimes they speak about their jobs, the worries about my future, for there is lot of unemployment..." (Interv.7); "Sometimes they talk of the problems they have at work, and about the importance of getting a degree that offers good possibilities of getting a job" (Interv.7)

As for the meanings attributed to work, both teenagers and parents, generally underline as the most relevant and a priority the economical dimension of work. Let us see some statements common to both parents and children: "To ensure the economic conditions to provide the family survival"; "as a means to live a better life and be happy"; "so that we don't go through economic difficulties and ensure the best for our children"; "economic stability"; "financial independence that allows us to be autonomous...". Only two parents who hold a good economic situation, do not place the economic dimension as a priority: "Personal fulfilment, challenge and fun, especially in the research, the guarantee of a life of dignity for our daughters, autonomy and social and personal responsibility" (Interv. P. 14) and also: "Besides work being important for personal fulfilment, it dictates our quality of life". (Interv. P. 19)

As for the centrality of work in the family life, the children in families 15 and 19 place in the following order the roles: to be a mother/father; to be a worker; to be a citizen. Five of the parents place work before being mother/father.

## Discussion and implications of the results for intervention

This study signals what is being registered, progressively, in Portuguese families: a greater involvement in the accompaniment of their children in the construction of vocational courses of formation, giving them support in moments of vocational prolongation, performing several activities of vocational exploration, especially in phases where the system of opportunities confronts them with the choice of a degree/formation.

In the same line of studies that have been conducted in the last few years, (Gonçalves & Coimbra,1997; Soares, 1998; Soares & Pinto, 2004; Young, 1994; Young & Friesen, 1992; Young, et al., 1994; Young, Valach & Paseluiko, 1994; Young et al., 2002; 2003) this research has been confirming the relevance of family contexts in the configuration of vocational expectations in younger generations, being significantly dependant on the quality of support made or not available by significant others. In other words, parents who offer multiple vocational exploration opportunities to their children, giving them space to make their own decisions about their professional options or about their formation projects, will facilitate teenagers' vocational development and construction of realistic expectations of higher education commitment. In these family contexts, parents feel they have a significant role to play in their chid's career development, and do not want to abdicate this right, rather they intend to assume it with greater intentionality, not accepting to be replaced by others, like the school or the peer group, and children perceive this support as being positive, and request it (Gonçalves, 1997; Palmer & Cochran, 1988).

Throughout this brief incursion through the literature review and the results of this study, it could be claimed, with some consistency, that the family context has an influence on the career developmental process of teenagers and youngsters, underlining the existence of life contexts that provide numerous quality developmental experiences in terms of opportunities for exploration and investment- and others which make these opportunities impracticable. The teenagers coming from social and cultural disadvantaged families are the most penalized, perpetuating the reproduction cycle of social inequalities.

One final word about the relevance of work in family life, which is recognized by all the participants as a privileged object of daily familial communication. If, on the one hand, parents and children give priority to family dimensions (to be a mother/a father, husband/wife) over professional activity, on the other hand, they feel that work is essential to ensure the family's existence and happiness; thus explaining the importance attributed, unanimously, by parents and children to the more instrumental dimensions of work, confirmed, in fact, by several investigations (Gonçalves & Coimbra, 2004; Parada & Coimbra, 1998; Wach, 1997/98).

When, in modern western societies, the myth of full employment began to fall apart, that is, when job opportunities became slimmer or under precarious conditions,

work is seen as a precious thing to pursue, dispute and preserve. This study conducted with Portuguese teenagers and parents reaffirm recent studies that highlight that work is still a powerful instrument for achieving autonomy and psycho-social integration, being more relevant than personal fulfilment goals, such as friends, culture and leisure activities; only family overlaps the professional dimension (Gonçalves & Coimbra, 2004; Plant, 1999/2000). Social status, which provides subjects with a sense of their dignity and conquers others' respect, is inevitably connected to a profession (Schnapper, 1998; Sennet, 1998;).

Therefore, we could conclude that, in so called developed societies, work has not lost its importance in people's life, but this is not reduced to professional activities, as it happened in the industrialization era and the post-war decades. Thus, life does not sum up to paid work only (instrumental and productive dimension of the profession), but can be enriched with other complementary commitments, such as the family, domestic activities, leisure time, cultural activities (Laville,1999). It's the most intrinsic dimensions of work at the service of self-fulfilment.

Finally, one brief word about the implications of this study for intervention, seeing that it is not enough to produce knowledge about reality; it is necessary to become implicated in the transformation of this perceived reality. The awareness of the relevance of family influence, namely the parents, on teenagers and youngsters' vocational development places a quest for psychologists who intervene in this area to elaborate, implement and evaluate psychological vocational intervention projects that are not limited to the individual system, but to make them broader, embracing decisive and more accessible life contexts, like the family, creating a safe environment for the teenagers and youngsters, facilitating opportunities, experiences and qualified support in this domain of psychological development, and, simultaneously turning family into a dynamic agent with some protagonism in vocational development.

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