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AUTHOR	Haug, Marie R.; Sussman, Marvin B.
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ABSTRACT

A roster of all persons who perform rehabilitation counseling in the United States was compiled, and random samples of 40 each were selected from 25 sampling cells representing the total population of 4,559. Case records, job histories, early career aspirations, and education were examined in order to place the rehabilitation counselor in the second or first career group. Second careerists were considerably older on their entry into the profession than the first careerists. Their modal entry age was 35 to 39 while the modal age of the first careerists was 25 to 29 years of age. Significant differences in undergraduate grade averages were found. Over 60 percent of the second careerists had grades of B or better, while over half of the first careerists were admitted with grades of B- or below. Over half of the second careerists had majored in education or the humanities, and nearly 50 percent of the first careerists had college majors in sociology, psychology, or social work. No difference was found in the rehabilitation counselors' place of work. Equal percentages of the two groups worked for the three most frequent employers of rehabilitation counselors--the Veterans Administration, private agencies, and Federal and state offices of the Rehabilitation Services Administration. (BC)

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SECOND CAREERS: REHABILITATION COUNSELING IN A NEW CONTEXT

Working Paper #6

CAREER CONTINGENCIES OF THE REHABILITATION COUNSELOR

Professions Project
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in the Field of Rehabilitation

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Marie R. Haug, Ph.D.
Project Coordinator

Marvin B. Sussman, Ph.D.
Project Director

Department of Sociology
CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
Cleveland, Ohio

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PREFACE

The Department of Sociology of Case Western Reserve University, in cooperation with the Rehabilitation Services Administration, is currently conducting a study of the career contingencies of the rehabilitation counselor and the process of professionalization of this occupation.

Career contingencies are those circumstances and events which produce patterns of stability and change in typical occupational histories. Professionalism is a set of attributes acquired by some occupations, basically a unique body of scientific knowledge and a social service outlook, from which follow independence in task performance, prestige, and other desirable conditions of work.

Two major groups are being studied. They are (1) a panel of students who were scheduled to complete their rehabilitation counseling training in the spring of 1965 and whose careers are being followed over several years and (2) a national sample of practicing rehabilitation counselors and supervisors in three settings: the Veterans Administration, private agencies, and state-federal offices of the Rehabilitation Services Administration. Findings with respect to a relatively new occupational mobility pattern, the second career, are presented in this paper, which is concerned with the extent and meaning of the second career phenomenon in the rehabilitation field.

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INTRODUCTION

The career concept defines the patterned movement between jobs and statuses over the life of the individual. A career involves elements of occupational choice, training, education, recruitment, stages and levels of progression in various work positions, mobility, and retirement. A career, even when it contains a sequence of jobs, is limited to a single occupational field and is usually considered coterminous with what Form and Miller call a "stable work period."[1] In this sense every employed worker can have an occupational career, whether it is as a welder, a toolmaker, a salesman, or a physician, provided his intentions are to continue in the particular occupation or profession in the foreseeable future or that he actually does remain in this field, regardless of his intentions. Although personal progress may well be part of the expectation built into any career, it need not become a reality. For this reason mobility or advancement within a field are not considered an essential ingredient of careers.

Second careers represent a recently emerged occupational mobility pattern which is an apparent consequence of various changes in industrial societies. A second career, while involving a change in job, is more than this. It is a shift in occupational field or line of work, a disjunction in what has been perceived as the individual's normal work history. Further, the shift in work is not to be construed as temporary, but as entrance into a new career sequence, with elements of choice, training, or mobility similar to those found with a first career. Various personal, structural, and work system factors "push" or "pull" the experienced job holder into a fresh career.

THE SOCIETAL CONTEXT

The course of occupational careers is affected by the relative stability or flux of social structures within industrial societies and the rate of modernization and occupational differentiations. The more rapid social change, the less possibility that a career pattern will persist over a person's work life. There is no longer a typical career for streetcar conductors, and the bank record clerk is vanishing, while a career is undoubtedly taking shape for computer repairmen.

Technological developments require structural realignments of various kinds with resultant effects upon typical work histories. The impact of technological progress makes some occupations obsolete while creating others; new technology can truncate and modify existing careers or initiate new ones. Migration between areas of countries undergoing rapid modernization results in a growing number of second careerists. The principal shift is from a career suited for rural living as farmer to one found in the developing industrial urban environment.

Another relevant issue is increasing specialization, a characteristic of the present occupational structure which hardly needs documentation. The 1965 Dictionary of Occupational Titles contains descriptions of more than 21,000 separate occupations in the United States.[2] This proliferation of specialties broadens the range of career choices and affects the specific pathways and stages of career development.

A third trend with particular impact on second career potentials is the changing balance of occupational types; with increasing societal complexity and concomitant industrialization, the proportion of white-collar employment rises while blue-collar jobs decline. Furthermore, within the white-collar category, professional, administrative, and technical occupations in particular are on the rise, as this societal complexity expands demand. For example, over a million and a half of these workers are forecast as needed in the United States by 1975, a two-fifths increase.[3] Sometimes "demand" is created by government programs which are responses to the needs of segments of the population. In rehabilitation counseling, for example, 800 to 1,200 additional counselors will be needed annually to fulfill the obligations set by new legislation with its broader standards of eligibility.[4] These vacancies cannot be filled by new entrants into the labor market; a reshuffling of existing careers is indicated, with available openings attracting personnel from a variety of occupational fields.

Change in the age composition of the population is yet another structural condition with implications for careers. Increased life expectancy in the United States has not only resulted in larger numbers of older persons; it has lengthened the average work life of both men and women by about ten years since the turn of the century.[5] The large increase in the rate of women entering the work force since 1940 is still another structural condition which has implications for careers, especially second careers. Since World War II single and married women have comprised one of the more important sources of labor to meet the demands for skilled white-collar and professional workers in service industries.[6]

These various developments, taken together, forecast some major changes in typical occupational histories. As the average work life extends over a longer time, while old jobs become obsolete and new lines of work are created, second careers, and in some instances third careers, become a virtual necessity for many individuals if they are to remain gainfully employed. At the same time, however, these structural conditions open up pathways to second careers on a voluntary basis. This can be seen in a preliminary estimate of the "push" or "pull" factors affecting the actions of the potential second careerist.[7]

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

A person's inability to continue in his field is a major push factor. This may be structurally determined: airline pilots, boxers, and baseball players, for example, must leave their specific occupations at a relatively early age. Although a few may continue in their field, as when a pilot secures a training or ground operations post, or an athlete makes it as coach or front office manager, these are the exceptions. In most cases retirement during the middle years of life is mandatory, preventing job incumbents from settling at intermediate levels in a way common in other careers.

Inability to continue because of mental or physical disability is another push factor. The newly handicapped person is often unable to compete or function in his original occupation and is rehabilitated for a second career, either by himself or with agency assistance.

Another push factor is the disappearance or unavailability of a prior type of job. Victims of automation in office and factory and those unemployed for other technological or economic reasons fall in this category, as do migrants, immigrants, and refugees forced by social and political change to start a work life anew.

Push factors need not be external or societal. They can also be internal or attitudinal. One such push, for example, is the desire for innovation and change, to escape from a career that has become tiresome and repetitive. Such a quest may be expressed as a desire to be socially useful or attain some humanitarian goal before the onset of advanced age or death. If an old job's challenge and excitement are missing, one rationale for change acceptable to others is to declare oneself as desiring socially useful activity. For some, becoming part of a social movement or a social reform organization represents a genuine push into a new career, for ideological reasons. It is not so much an escape from boredom or search for innovation as discovery of commitment and the push to express it through a service career.

Alternatively, a first career may be virtually complete or at a dead end. Women in their forties who have finished the task of child rearing, as well as military men with 20 years of service who have come to the last stop in their career line, are similar with respect to this push factor.[8]

Finally, push to a second career can be generated by dissatisfaction with the pay, security, work conditions, organizational objectives or status of a first. Those are the classic upward job mobility motivators which are equally true for career changers.

Pull towards a second career because of perceived higher status, pay, security, job satisfaction or potential for advancement in some different occupation is the corollary of the push factor of dissatisfaction. Since the judgment an individual makes about his work is based on his view of what makes and what exists as a "good" job, dissatisfaction in an earlier post may be a function of the realistic probabilities of being satisfied in another job or career. Nevertheless it is possible for some to be pulled into a second career which promises higher status or pay without any major dissatisfaction with the tangible rewards of a present line of work. Equally if not more powerful pulls are the innovative challenges of a new occupation, or the opportunities to serve others in some capacity. Some individuals, because of a host of psychological factors and personality characteristics and early socialization experiences, are movers and challengers. Life to them is a constant challenge and being "on the go" a normal process. They opt not only for new jobs in their fields but are the risk takers in new lines of work, natural recruits for second careers.

The effect of these pushes and pulls will, for the majority of career changers, be mediated by the level of economic and psychic risk involved, while entrance requirements and the availability of employment in a second career are universal intervening factors. These mediating circumstances can work at cross purposes. Relative financial freedom allowing for job experimentation might come in later middle age after the children are reared, but few career changers in this age group currently have educational prerequisites for professional, administrative, and technical fields and usually require

retraining or further education. Rehabilitation counseling, with its entry requirements of at least a bachelor's degree plus specialized training, might seem an unlikely field for second career interests. Yet, as will be seen, many of those in rehabilitation came to it after a career in another occupation.

The second career concept and theorized explanations for such adult changes in career choice have considerable relevance for rehabilitation counseling. Leaving aside the issue of applicability to the rehabilitation process, where knowledge of second career motivations might be useful in client counseling, the focus of this paper is on problems of counselor recruitment and retention and on professionalization.

An examination of the differences in characteristics, histories and motivations of the first careerists as compared to the second careerists in actual rehabilitation counseling work will illuminate the operation of the push, pull, and risk factors in this field and suggest strategies for attracting and holding professional personnel. Analysis is limited in this paper to findings from the National Sample of practitioners and supervisors. Although some exploratory work was done with the Student Panel which was highly useful in refining the method of allocating persons to first and second career categories, analysis of findings from this group must await final follow-up data on the Panel.

COLLECTING THE DATA

In order to gather the data for this study, a roster of all persons performing rehabilitation counseling in the United States was compiled. All 90 state divisions of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (DVR's) supplied lists of caseload-carrying counselors as of spring, 1965, for a total of 2830.[2] The Washington Office of Veterans Benefits provided the list of 166 counseling psychologists performing rehabilitation counseling in benefits offices throughout the United States. All 132 Veterans Administration hospitals in the country submitted lists of their personnel engaged in rehabilitation counseling for at least one-third of their time, totaling 197 individuals most of whom carried the title of counseling psychologist. Using the 1964 Directory of Rehabilitation Facilities of the Association of Rehabilitation Centers and the 1964 Directory of the National Association for the Blind, 459 private agencies were identified and asked to supply counseling personnel lists. Of these 427 complied and the names of 586 persons engaged in rehabilitation counseling for at least one-fifth of their time were secured. Job titles varied widely for this group, including social worker in many cases. In all, the roster contained 3779 names; it was exhaustive of government agencies and virtually complete for private settings.

In addition, a roster of supervisory personnel was developed from The Directory of State Divisions of Vocational Rehabilitation and State Agencies for the Blind, issued in January, 1964, by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. State directors and supervisors, district supervisors, area supervisors and counselors in charge were included for a final count of 780 DVR staff at these administrative levels. The target population, then, consisted of this leadership personnel plus the 3779 practitioners for a total of 4559.

This population was stratified by membership or non-membership in one of the three professional associations in the field. The VA was further subdivided into hospital and benefits office staff, private agencies were grouped as general or services for the blind and the DVR was stratified by supervisory status, regular counselor, or special experimental program staff. Supervisors and counselors were furthered subdivided by major geographical region. These procedures produced 25 sampling cells.[10] Random samples of 40 were then selected from each cell. From this total sample of 1000, 888 persons responded to a mailed questionnaire, for a response rate of 89 percent.[11]

DETERMINING CAREER STATUS

Since differentiating persons in rehabilitation work as a second career from those in the field as a first career is a critical step in this analysis, considerable care was taken in allocating respondents to their appropriate career category.

A career is the pursuit of a line of work within a single occupational field for an extended period of time, with the intention and expectation of remaining in the field for the indefinite future. A single career is likely to include a number of jobs, particularly if there is upward mobility, but is unlikely to include a variety of occupations, unless these are closely related in an expectable sequential pattern. Conceptually career is therefore both a subjective and an objective phenomenon, involving the career incumbent's outlook and expectations vis-a-vis his occupational future as well as the facts of his work history.[12] Length of time is a crucial variable modifying the subjective aspects of career. An individual who has been in an occupational field for many years will be considered to have a career in it, even if he claims not to have expected in the past or currently to expect to remain in it. Thus a person may have a career almost by default. On the other hand, when an individual has pursued a line of work for only a relatively few years, he may still be considered to be embarked on a career if he has trained for his vocation and has the intention of continuing in it.

This interplay of time, expectations, training and actual job history presented difficult operational problems in evaluating the presence of a career, and suggested a clinical approach. Two judges who had excellent knowledge of occupational issues independently evaluated each case record, examining job histories, early career aspirations, education and other evidence which taken as a whole could indicate whether or not the subject had another career prior to his becoming a rehabilitation counselor. Broad guidelines only were laid down. Based on Form and Miller's[13] conception of three years on a job after formal schooling as a minimum requirement for job stability, a cutoff time of three years in a line of work was initially set for a career except in unusual circumstances, for example, long training followed by a work period of less than three years broken only by an external event such as wartime military service or a disabling physical condition.

Different occupations which suggested a natural mobility sequence were coded as a career: instances found included school teacher to guidance counselor to principal, or clerk to assistant manager. Homemaking was considered a career in the case of married

women who had a lengthy break in their job histories. Persons who held a sequence of disparate jobs, even though some might have exceeded three years in duration, were likely to have been considered as floundering rather than having several careers; in other words it was believed unlikely that such a pattern evidenced any commitment to a previous line of work. In doubtful cases, reference was made not only to the nature of prior training, at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, but also to the congruence between the job pattern and the career aspirations reported for the respondent's high school and college years.

These independent clinical judgments produced initial agreement on career status in 88 percent of the cases. Discrepancies between the judges were resolved by consulting in a joint review of the case history in question.

A validity check on the procedure from the viewpoint of the subjective evaluations of second careerists themselves was made from analysis of Student Panel data. Among the 324 students completing their training as rehabilitation counselors, 112 had been evaluated as second careerists by the same research team, using the same methods as discussed above. This Student Panel was resurveyed after the data for the present study had been collected, and respondents were informed of the prior career judgment concerning their own work histories and asked for their comments. One hundred of the 112 student second careerists answered, and 89 percent agreed they had had a prior career as evaluated by the research team. Those who disagreed were predominantly younger persons who had worked five years or less in their "career" occupations previously. On this basis the National Sample career definitions were tightened, and cases with five years or less in a prior line of work were re-allocated to the first career category. As a result, 465 persons were considered "second careerists" and 407 as "first careerists" in the rehabilitation counseling field.

Comparing these two groups to determine differences in demographic backgrounds, histories and attitudes is the technique now used to explore the second career phenomenon in rehabilitation.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The second careerists were considerably older at the time of their entry into rehabilitation counseling than their first career counterparts.[14] Their modal entry age was 35 to 39 years, and nearly three-quarters were over 35 when they took their first rehabilitation counseling field job (Table 1). The picture is quite the opposite for the first career group: their modal age of entry was 25 to 29, and well over 90 percent were under 35 when starting in rehabilitation. Since these data rely on information supplied by the respondents, failures of memory and possibly some inaccuracy in reporting present age may have occurred. However, such errors are unlikely to explain the marked differences in entry age, which in any event are consistent with the concept and definitions of the second career, as well as consonant with the age differences found between career groups in the Student Panel.[15]

Present age exhibits even more marked variation. In this case the modal category for the second careerists is 55 years or over, while the modal category for the first careerists is 25 to 29 years. About half the second careerists are 50 or over, while nearly half of the first career group is under 35.

Comparing present age with entry age within each career category uncovers divergent patterns. Those in rehabilitation counseling as a possible first career not only entered the field young but are predominantly still young: over a quarter were under 30 when they began this work and are still under 30. There is no assurance that these incumbents will stay in the field, and it is therefore quite possible that rehabilitation counseling will not be a career for some of them. Second careerists, on the other hand, particularly those over 35 when they entered the field, tend to cluster in the older present age categories of 50 years and above. This suggests a likelihood of less turnover among second careerists, a notion which cannot be tested since no data are available on the numbers of erstwhile second careerists who have left the field in previous years and thus were not in the population sampled for the present study.

TABLE 1

PRESENT AGE AND AGE AT ENTRY INTO REHABILITATION COUNSELING FIELD BY CAREER STATUS[a]

	Present Age		Age at Entry into Field	
Age Grouping	First Career (N=407) %	Second Career (N=463) %	First Career (N=402) %	Second Career (N=458) %
Under 25	3.9		19.9	.2
25 to 29	21.9	.2	44.8	3.7
30 to 34	20.9	5.8	26.1	25.3
35 to 39	18.2	11.7	7.5	27.7
40 to 44	9.3	14.0	1.2	19.9
45 to 49	13.0	12.7	.5	13.1
50 to 54	9.1	19.4		6.3
55 or over	3.7	36.1		3.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9

[a]Totals vary from 407 and 465 because of not-ascertained data.

Findings which show the proportion in each career category by date of entry are consistent with a low turnover rate for second careerists, however (Table 2). Those who entered rehabilitation counseling before 1945 and were still in the field in 1965

were predominantly second careerists, and the same trend persists, although with somewhat smaller majorities, for each five-year period of entry thereafter until the most recent: only among the 1960 to 1965 entrants do the second careerists fall below 50 percent. This could, of course, alternatively mean only that the proportion of second career entrants has steadily declined over the years. Such decline doubtless occurs when a relatively new field such as rehabilitation counseling, after requiring recruits from other fields in its early years, begins to attract new entrants to the labor market as it becomes better established and actively engages in recruitment and training. Yet the second careerists have on the average a longer period of service in rehabilitation counseling than the first careerists. This attests to their staying power, whatever the differential rates of their entry at various points in time.

TABLE 2

DATE OF ENTRY INTO REHABILITATION COUNSELING FIELD, BY CAREER STATUS

Date of Entry into Field	First Career %	Second Career %	Total N	Total %[a]
Before 1945	29.1	70.9	(86)	100.0
1945 to 1949	40.7	59.3	(162)	100.0
1950 to 1954	46.8	53.2	(77)	100.0
1955 to 1959	44.9	55.1	(187)	100.0
1960 to 1965	54.5	45.5	(352)	100.0
			(864)[b]	

[a] Percentages are computed horizontally in order to show career type distribution within each entry cohort.

[b] Total varies from 888 because of not-ascertained data.

These age variations are marked enough to suggest that differences between first and second careerists in demographic, occupational and attitudinal variables may be due less to career status than to stages in the life cycle. In the comparisons and analyses which follow, therefore, the effect of taking age into account is specified.

On the basis of our study of rehabilitation counseling students, it was expected that the second careerists would show a disproportionate number of women, and this is supported by the findings: nearly a quarter of the second career group are female as compared to 11 percent of the first careerists (Table 3). This difference is not attributable to age variations: the same pattern persists when present age is held constant at under 40 years and 40 or older.

Marital status also varies by career category. Although both groups are predominantly married, somewhat larger proportions of the second careerists are former marriage partners, being presently separated, divorced or widowed, while the first careerists are disproportionately married at present. Age differences have contrasting effects on marital status: among those under 40, the second careerists continue to be disproportionately in the previously married category, but among those who are 40 or over, the second careerists are disproportionately single. This finding is in consonance with the one that a disproportionate number of second careerists are women; nearly half the women, as against less than 10 percent of the men, are not presently married. Being in the once-

TABLE 3

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS BY CAREER STATUS[a]

Demographic Variable	First Career	Second Career
Sex	(N=407)	(N=465)
	%	%
Male	89.2	76.6
Female	10.8	23.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Marital Status	(N=406)	(N=463)
	%	%
Single	12.5	13.0
Presently married	84.0	79.9
Ever married[b]	3.4	7.1
Total	99.9	100.0
Number of Dependents	(N=399)	(N=453)
	%	%
None	17.8	23.0
One	13.8	25.6
Two	21.1	16.1
Three	21.1	15.0
Four or more	26.3	20.3
Total	100.1	100.0

[a] Totals vary from 407 and 465 because of not-ascertained data.

[b] Ever married = divorced, separated or widowed.

TABLE 3 (Continued)

Demographic Variable	First Career	Second Career
Parental Social Class[c]	(N=403) %	(N=461) %
I. Upper	7.7	6.9
II. Upper middle	14.6	10.2
III. Middle	27.5	30.6
IV. Lower middle	33.7	32.5
V. Lower	16.4	19.7
Total	99.9	99.9

[c] As measured by the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position and adjusted for wife's occupation and education; see text for explanation.

married or single category requires self-support and increases the probability of seeking entrance to new occupational fields which are not yet constrained by restrictive norms of entrance, training, or membership.

An anomalous finding concerns the number of dependents, adults and children, claimed by sample members of both sexes. Consistent with the hypothesis that persons embarking on a second career would tend to be unencumbered, thus minimizing the risk of their new venture, the data for the total group show nearly half the second careerists reporting only one dependent or none at all, while about the same proportion of first careerists claim three or more. The same situation holds for those who are 40 or over. But among the younger counselors, under 40 years of age, the picture is reversed. Here it is the second careerists who have the greater number of dependents: over half have three or more, as compared to less than half of the first careerists. While the contrast is small enough to fall within the range of chance variation, the trend pattern is clear and not consistent with the notion that second careerists tend to be less encumbered with family responsibilities. An alternative view, that these younger career changers are pressured by growing family needs to improve their occupational prospects, will be explored below.

The social class milieu shaping the incumbents' childhood socialization years was measured by an adaptation of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position,[16] based on the education and occupation of both parents, since a mother's occupation and education help form the family's class position. In terms of this measure, there are only minor variations between the first and second career groups in family social class background. The findings do show, however, that a majority in both career categories are somewhat upwardly mobile in relation to their parents, since the present class of most respondents would be II, or upper middle, in terms of the Hollingshead scale, and about 80 percent of the parents were below this rank.

With respect to various other background demographic characteristics, the findings also reveal very few differences between the two groups. For example, when age is held constant, there are only random variations in religion. And the locale of the respondent's childhood, elicited by a question asking the location of his high school, differs but slightly across career categories between big cities, suburbs and small towns or rural areas.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Although incumbents' education ranges from no college at all to the Ph.D., no differences beyond chance fluctuations appear between the first and second career groups in educational level attained (Table 4). About half in each category have been awarded the master's degree or better, and this is true even when present age is held constant.

Educational achievement, as measured by undergraduate grade averages, does distinguish the career groups. Over 60 percent of the second careerists reported they had grades of B or better at college, as compared to the first careerists, over half of whom admitted to grades of B- or below. Although these grades are self-reported, and not independently checked, there is no reason to expect greater error in one group than in the other. However, when present age is controlled, the differences, although generally in the same direction, are less marked and fall within the limits of chance variation, suggesting the effect of memory differences by age or modifications in educational standards over time. These explanations of the differences should not be taken to minimize the impact of a predominantly older second career group whose self-image includes an acceptable academic record, as compared to a predominantly younger first career cohort, many of whom were in the lower half of their college class.

TABLE 4

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY BY CAREER STATUS[a]

Educational Data Degree Level	First Career (N=406) %	Second Career (N=462) %
No college	.5	1.5
Study, no degree	1.7	5.6
Bachelor's level	17.7	16.0
Graduate study, no degree	24.9	22.1
M.A. level	26.6	25.3
M.A. plus additional study	16.7	20.8
Ph.D. level	11.8	8.7
Total	99.9	100.0

[a] Totals vary from 407 and 465 because of not-ascertained data.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Educational Data	First Career (N=395) %	Second Career (N=443) %
Undergraduate Grade Average		
A or A-	9.1	11.5
B+	18.5	22.3
B	20.5	28.9
B-	25.1	19.9
C+	22.0	13.5
C	4.8	3.8
Total	100.0	99.9
Undergraduate Area of Major Study	(N=398) %	(N=443) %
Sociology or social work	13.3	11.3
Psychology	35.7	18.3
Education or the humanities	39.7	51.9
Physical science	3.5	9.0
Business	7.8	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Graduate Areas of Major Study	(N=318) %	(N=346) %
Rehabilitation counseling	27.0	16.8
Sociology or social work	7.2	12.7
Psychology	34.6	28.9
Education or the humanities	27.4	36.7
Physical science	.0	1.4
Business	3.8	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0

[a] Totals vary from 407 and 465 because of not-ascertained data.

Another educational difference concerns major areas of academic study. Over half the second careerists had majored in education or the humanities. On the other hand, nearly half the first career category had college majors in sociology, psychology or social work. This more direct preparation for rehabilitation counseling would be expected among those selecting it as a first career; thus the differences hold when present age is held constant at over and under 40, although only a trend is apparent in the older cohort.

The graduate study pattern introduces specific rehabilitation counseling training which, along with psychology, is more characteristic of the first career types; these two topics account between them for over 60 percent of major graduate-level areas of study. Sociology, social work and education are disproportionately represented among the second careerists. These patterns once again make sense in terms of the definitions of the career types, and they persist when age is held constant, particularly for those aged 40 and over.

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

Although occupational data are relevant to direct analysis of the push and pull factors, as will be discussed below, some information is needed on a descriptive basis to round out the profiles of the disparate career groups.

Rehabilitation counselors work in three major types of organization -- the Veterans Administration, private agencies, and state-federal offices of the Rehabilitation Services Administration. The percentages of first and second careerists in each of these locales are almost exactly equal, thus eliminating this potential structural element in career type variations.

Another possible confounding variable is supervisory position. Indeed, more than a third of second careerists are supervisors or administrators, a larger proportion than is true of the first careerists, only about a quarter of whom are in these higher positions. However, these differences are largely attributable to age: older persons are likely to have moved up the bureaucratic ladder, and second careerists are more likely to be older. Controlling for age almost completely wipes out any supervisory-level distinctions between the career groups.

Measured by Hollingshead's seven step scale of occupations,[17] the data also show that larger proportions of second than first careerists came from professional or managerial backgrounds, either in terms of their own prior occupations and careers or those of their fathers (Table 5). Over 90 percent of the second careerists enjoyed these higher statuses, as against less than 75 percent of the first career contingent. The contrast persists only with the younger group when age is controlled for those over and under 35 at entry into the field. This analytic control is used in preference to present age, since it reflects the period when sample members actually held these earlier jobs.[18]

When parental occupations are dropped from consideration and the respondents' own work experiences alone are considered, the picture changes slightly. Ninety percent of the second careerists remain in the professional-managerial category with respect to prior employment, but fewer are top executives and major professionals, and more are in the minor professional, administrator class. Once more, the contrasts persist only among those aged under 35 at entry into the field; among the older entrants the pattern weakens to the point where differences can be attributed to chance.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY AND CAREER STATUS

Occupational Data	First Career (N=399) %	Second Career (N=460) %
Highest Occupational Status Enjoyed Prior to Rehabilitation Counseling[a]		
1 Major professional and executive	16.5	25.4
2 Minor professional and administrator	54.8	67.0
3 Upper white collar and small business	12.3	4.6
4 Lower white collar	7.5	2.2
5 Skilled blue collar	5.3	.9
6,7 Semiskilled and unskilled blue collar	3.5	.0
Total	100.0	100.1
Own Highest Status Prior Employment	(N=402) %	(N=448) %
No employment	16.9	.0
1 Major professional and executive	8.2	17.9
2 Minor professional and administrator	52.2	72.4
3 Upper white collar and small business	10.0	4.7
4 Lower white collar	6.7	3.2
5 Skilled blue collar	2.2	1.3
6,7 Semiskilled and unskilled blue collar	3.7	.4
Total	99.9	99.9
Intergenerational Occupational Mobility[b]	(N=318) %	(N=459) %
Own highest prior occupational status above father's	51.3	70.2
Same as father's	33.9	19.0
Below father's	14.8	10.9
Total	100.0	100.1

[a] Own or father's status, whichever is higher, based on Hollingshead's seven-step occupational status scale, one component of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position.

[b] Based on Hollingshead scale as above. Persons never previously employed are considered at the same occupational level as their father.

All this suggests some differences in intergenerational occupational mobility between first and second careerists. Again utilizing Hollingshead's seven step scale of occupations, one can compare fathers' and children's occupational levels. Second careerists exhibit more intergenerational upward mobility than their first career colleagues. Over two-thirds achieved higher occupational levels than their fathers, as compared to only half the first careerists. A minority of both career types are below their fathers, with the first careerists showing a slightly larger percentage than the second careerists, 15 percent as against 11 percent.[19] The pattern of more frequent second career upward mobility is maintained among those entering rehabilitation counseling before the age of 35, but is reversed among those entering later. Among this older group, it is the first careerists who show somewhat more upward mobility, although in this instance the differences are small enough to be due to chance fluctuations.

One final occupational datum is of interest, and that is a detailed breakdown of the kinds of prior careers of the second career cohort (Table 6). Most common are educational careers, either at the teaching level or at the next higher steps of school guidance and administration: almost a third of the prior occupational histories were in this field. Next most frequent are social work careers, followed by business and white collar, clerical or sales backgrounds. Vocational counseling, which might be considered a natural "lead-in" field to rehabilitation counseling, is only marginally represented, with six percent of prior careers; and the clergy, another occupation with a counseling component, is represented by less than two percent. The major work lines, it should be noted, are those with face-to-face relationships as a dominant part of the task.

TABLE 6

PRIOR CAREERS OF SECOND CAREERISTS AND LENGTH OF TIME IN PRIOR CAREER

Prior Career	N	% of total	Those spending ten years or more in career, % of category
Homemaker	17	3.7	94.1
Medical, paramedical or therapist	27	5.8	48.1
Teacher, coach or special teacher	76	16.3	39.5
School guidance or administration	76	16.3	72.4
Psychologist	17	3.7	58.8
Social work	57	12.2	36.8
Vocational counseling	27	5.8	33.3
Clergy	6	1.3	66.7
Public welfare administration	14	3.0	35.7
Other social service including corrections, occupational therapist	22	4.7	50.0
Other professionals	20	4.3	60.0
Business	41	8.8	70.7

TABLE 6 (Continued)

Prior Career	N	% of total	Those spending ten years or more in career, % of category
White collar, clerical, sales	39	8.4	43.6
Blue collar	15	3.2	53.3
Armed services	11	2.4	72.7
Total	465	99.9	53.4

The types of prior careers vary considerably in the strength of the previous commitment, as estimated by the length of time spent in the earlier line of work. Those careers in which the majority spent at least ten years do not coincide with the ones most frequently occurring. Homemaking, school guidance and administration, psychologist, clergy, other professionals, business, blue collar, and armed services are the career types exhibiting this more prolonged attachment, whereas teaching, social work, vocational counseling, public welfare administration and white collar jobs were in the main pursued for less than the ten-year period. Armed services and homemaking, two prior careers which are apt to be completed before a second career is undertaken, evidence the largest percentages with long incumbency, a finding consistent with the career completion hypothesis.[20]

COMMENTARY ON CAREER GROUP COMPARISONS

Two findings -- the large number of women and of persons from business and professional backgrounds among the second careerists -- are related phenomena. For example, 60 percent of the former therapists, 42 percent of the former social workers and 33 percent of the former vocational counselors among the second careerists are women. Any occupation, like rehabilitation counseling, which attracts career changers from lines of work heavily populated by women is likely to include disproportionate numbers of females among a second career group, provided that an equivalent percentage of males and females leave the first career for the second. This proviso is an important one; if a largely feminine occupation loses only members of its male minority to another line of work, the shift will obviously not increase the female component of the host occupation. This unbalanced change pattern seems to have occurred with respect to rehabilitation second careerists who were previously in education. Although teaching is largely a female profession, only 17 percent of the former teachers among the second careerists are women, suggesting that in this case there has been an exodus of males from an occupation dominated by the opposite sex. The implication is that a special motivational structure is involved for these "escapees," a notion which will be examined below. Another conclusion emerging from this descriptive review is that second careerists in rehabilitation work are a distinct social type, not simply older workers with more occupational experience.

As a group, the second careerists are predominantly older married males, with only one or no dependents; they are trained in education or the humanities, and their previous work, chiefly in minor professional or administrative positions and often in the educational system, was a step up from their father's work level. They have been in the field of rehabilitation for a number of years and often have reached a supervisory position. Obviously, characteristics differentiating the second careerists as a category from the first do not adhere simultaneously to all individuals in the group, but nevertheless are sufficiently pervasive to suggest that if a typical second careerist in this occupation could be found, he would fit this social type. The profile, furthermore, would be consistent with the notion that career change involves a minimum of risk, since older persons with few dependents might be less encumbered with responsibilities.

Subgroup variations in the profile are not as readily consistent with the low risk hypothesis. While the disproportionate number of women among the second careerists fits, the excess number of dependents among the younger second careerists does not, unless the increase in dependents[21] occurred after the accession to the security of a rehabilitation job, a likelihood which is related to the age of the second careerists. Still another possibility is that the low risk hypothesis generally does not apply to the younger second careerists. Their motivation to upward mobility might be so strong as to rationalize taking chances to get ahead, or the pressures of family demands and economic necessity could be great enough to make risk an irrelevant issue. In addition, upward striving is built into the white-collar middle-class ideology. Young people are expected to take risks and try to get ahead, in order to achieve greater power and security in the future.

The fact that a different motivational structure is therefore likely to apply to younger second careerists is taken into account in the analysis of the push, pull and risk factors which explain the career change phenomenon.

PUSH FACTORS

Several types of push into a second career are analyzed. Among external situational pressures, two are examined: one is personal disability, and the other is the job need implied in the acceptance of a cut in earnings when moving into rehabilitation work. Internal, motivational pushes are tapped through analysis of disability in the immediate family, while expressed reasons for dropping earlier interests and for entering the field offer clues to both external and internal causes for career change.

Data are presented separately for those entering rehabilitation work for the first time when under the age of 35, and for those entering after 35. Meaningful comparisons may be made between career statuses within each entry age group. In addition, data for the typically older second careerist may be contrasted with findings for the typically younger first careerists, highlighting the disparities between these modal categories.

Push Factors: External-situational

The presence of physical disablement is an estimate of inability to continue in a prior career. Respondents were asked if they had any "personal . . . . experience with disability" before they became rehabilitation counselors. The presence or absence of such disablement does not distinguish the second careerists from the first (Table 7): nearly 80 percent of those in both career statuses reported no such disability experience, before entering the field, regardless of the age at which entrance occurred. Slight differences do appear however in the type of ailment, particularly in the older entry group. First careerists are more likely to have visual problems, and second careerists to suffer from orthopedic conditions, such as post-polio crippling of limbs, or "other" ailments such as deafness, cardiac and respiratory conditions. When the typical first careerist, one under 35, is compared with the typical second careerist, one over 35 at entry, the variation in orthopedic problems is small but the differences in "other" and visual difficulties persist.

The contrast in blindness rates may be attributable to the fact that agencies treating this condition attempt to recruit their products (rehabilitees) into the system wherever possible, and because of their long history in the field, power, and ideology that the blind can best rehabilitate the blind, they have more than their share of blind counselors. Particularly those with congenital visual difficulties will have been socialized and indoctrinated by their blind agency training, and thus be prime candidates for loyal workers in the system as their first and only career.

The really noteworthy finding here is the extent to which both career types have physical abilities. According to Public Health surveys, the disablement rate of the

TABLE 7

EXTERNAL PUSH FACTORS, BY CAREER STATUS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE AT ENTRY

	Age at Entry: Under 35		Age at Entry: 35 or over	
Personal Disability	First Career (N=365) %	Second Career (N=134) %	First Career (N=37) %	Second Career (N=324) %
None reported	78.9	79.1	78.4	79.3
Visual	7.1	7.5	18.9	4.9
Orthopedic	9.0	7.5	2.7	7.1
Other	4.9	6.0	0.0	8.6
Total	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Reasons for Dropping Youthful Interests	Age at Entry: Under 35 — First Career (N=424)[a] %	Under 35 — Second Career (N=155)[a] %	35 or over — First Career (N=39)[a] %	35 or over — Second Career (N=352)[a] %
Lack of interest or ability	38.9	38.1	38.5	38.9
Physically disabled	2.4	3.2	5.1	4.0
Opportunities for employment or advancement in rehabilitation	20.3	20.0	20.5	13.6
Interest in rehabilitation work	24.5	20.6	15.4	19.3
Chance events, depression, war	13.9	18.1	20.5	24.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Relation of First Rehabilitation Earnings to Highest Prior Earnings	(N=227) %	(N=84) %	(N=22) %	(N=185) %
First rehabilitation earnings lower	7.5	15.5	0.0	20.5
First rehabilitation earnings same	21.6	14.3	13.6	24.9
First rehabilitation earnings higher	70.9	70.2	86.4	54.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] Entries in the table are according to frequency of mention. Since some respondents gave more than one answer, the number of responses exceeds the N of 888.

general population is at most 8.8 percent.[22] That found among the rehabilitation counselors is more than twice as great. It is apparent that disability acts as a social selector for a career in rehabilitation, whether as a first job venture or a second. Disability is one form of deviance, and the disabled person expects a greater acceptance and tolerance from members of a deviant system such as rehabilitation.

The point is, however, that for second careerists disablement may well have represented a situationally freeing event which initiated a career redirection. Unfortunately the data do not indicate how long before the beginning of rehabilitation counseling work the disability occurred: indeed in some cases it could have been a condition preceding even the first career and thus quite irrelevant to the second career decision. In other instances the nature of the response indicates that the physical condition was a precipitating event, for example, a war-incurred injury followed by rehabilitation counseling as a first postwar job despite prewar employment in another field.

Disability, however, is rarely offered as a reason for dropping an earlier career choice. Fewer than five percent in either age career category argue that a physical condition forced abandonment of an earlier career choice. This disparity between physical disability as an admitted fact and as a reason for occupation change may be part of a denial phenomenon all too commonly found among persons with some handicap. Denial in a pathological form rejects even the fact of disability, but at a less damaging level may reject its relevance, as a means of avoiding self-deprecation or a lowered self-image. For others it is less a denial phenomenon but more of a coping mechanism. To meet the expectations of the "normal" population and to "pass" within this group, they work diligently without awareness of a disability and expect no allowance from the normals. They are, to themselves, non-disabled. Alternatively, many of those with a disablement may in truth have adapted to it already in their first career and consequently not have been forced by this situation to change their work, even though the condition put them in tune with the rehabilitation movement and drew them to it. Evidence of this interpretation is the fact that those who do offer physical problems as a reason for dropping earlier career interests are disproportionately blind, a condition which makes certain types of careers very difficult to pursue and which opens up job opportunities in the blindness system.

The dislocations of social change are reflected in the higher percentage of the second careerists who mention chance or events such as the Depression, World War II, the Korean conflict and the like as the explanation for their work shift: nearly a quarter of the typical older second careerists as against less than 15 percent of the typical younger first careerists. Second careerists who because of their age have had more opportunities to experience external events are more likely to mention them as a rationale for career change.

Indirect support for the importance of external occurrences comes from the disproportionate number of second careerists who took cuts in earnings when they entered the rehabilitation field -- more than 20 percent of the older second careerists as against eight percent of the younger first careerists. Although much information is missing on before-and-after income -- as many respondents could not or would not supply the

necessary data -- there is no reason to believe that the findings as they appear are biased in any particular way: the assumption is that the errors of omission are randomly distributed. The greater sacrifice of the second careerists could, perhaps, be interpreted as evidence of their greater humanitarian motivations, a willingness to forego material gain for the sake of service to others; or it could reflect a readiness to postpone immediate gratification for the greater long-term advantages attendant on upward mobility in a new occupational system; or it might mean the availability of other financial resources, "risk capital," allowing the luxury of a rehabilitation career. Another possibility and less ennobling is that a few had no choice; blocked in their mobility in their former careers, having reached an income plateau, they chose rehabilitation counseling as an occupation which promised higher financial rewards over the years. These explanations are undoubtedly true in some cases.

Equally likely, however, is the possibility that these second careerists were forced to disregard monetary considerations because they were pushed out of a first career. Thus although the disability rate among these "income losers" is approximately the same as for the total second career group, the percentage of those leaving their prior work for this reason or because of lack of interest or ability on their prior job is over one half, higher than the group norm of about 40 percent. Also more than 30 percent had to apply for their jobs in rehabilitation, rather than being invited by or introduced to the agency; as will be seen below in the discussion of risk factors, this is a high risk method of seeking work, suggesting pressure to find employment, and is nearly twice the rate for the group as a whole. Finally, less than half mention humanitarian reasons for entering rehabilitation work, proportionately fewer than are found in the total group.

Push Factors: Internal-motivational

The presence of disablement in one's immediate family is not an external push factor in the sense that one's own disability can be, and yet intimate acquaintance with the need for rehabilitation services and the problems of physical handicap may be a strong motivational pressure to a rehabilitation career and can be considered an internal push (Table 8). About a third of both first and second careerists report some such family experience, with little difference between the groups. The data suggest the impact of this family experience on any rehabilitation career decision[23] but do not qualify as evidence. This cautionary note is necessary because the rate of immediate family disability may or may not deviate from that of the general population. It would be consistent with these data if most persons who experienced disablement in their family found the association with physical deviance highly unpleasant and would strenuously avoid work which put them in constant contact with disability. Because the National Sample consists only of those who did choose such work, it can offer no firm comparisons with those who did not.

Internal pushes to a second career were tapped directly when the practitioners were asked, "Why did you decide to do this kind of work (rehabilitation counseling)?"[24] The wish for humanitarian work appears frequently among the responses to this open-ended question. The goal of giving service to humanity, helping, doing worthwhile work, counseling others, and assisting the disabled is voiced only slightly more often by

TABLE 8

INTERNAL PUSH FACTORS BY CAREER STATUS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE

	Age at Entry: Under 35		35 or over	
Family Disability	First Career (N=365) %	Second Career (N=134) %	First Career (N=37) %	Second Career (N=334) %
None reported	70.4	66.4	70.3	67.9
Closest relative, parent or sibling	18.4	18.7	21.6	27.0
Closest relative, spouse or children	2.5	6.7	2.7	6.5
Other relatives only	8.8	8.2	5.4	8.6
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reasons for the Decision to Enter Rehabilitation	(N=339) %	(N=127) %	(N=36) %	(N=296) %
Positive, humanitarian reasons only	57.2	59.8	75.0	69.6
Negative reasons only	20.4	15.0	11.1	13.2
Mixed positive and negative reasons	22.4	25.2	13.9	17.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

the younger second careerists than the first, while among the older entry group, the first careerists are more likely to express these positive reasons for their choice. Others give only a more negative rationale, such as rehabilitation work being the closest available employment to an unattainable first choice, or practical considerations like the opportunities for free graduate study and rapid advancement.[25] It is noteworthy that majorities in both career categories offer the humanitarian rationale. Furthermore, the rates for this stance are higher among those aged 35 or over at entry into a rehabilitation job than among those under 35, regardless of career category. This finding is consistent in direction with the notion that older second careerists would be most motivated by the service ethos or most likely to express this rhetoric.

LOW RISK

Pushes to a second career, under circumstances where occupational change is voluntary rather than forced by the loss of earlier work, are mediated by the factor of low

risk, and with respect to this variable it is apparent that second careerists have an edge. Three ways are used to operationalize the concept of low risk. Persons learning about the job of rehabilitation counseling through contacts with a rehabilitation agency arising out of their former work are presumed to have links and relationships which minimize the dangers of moving into the new work milieu. Those who are invited or appointed to the rehabilitation counseling position take fewer chances in changing jobs, since the new work seeks them rather than the other way around. Finally, where earlier work provided interpersonal or organizational knowledge useful in the new occupational enterprise, this availability of transferable skills also reduces the risk of change.

On each of these measures, the second careerists are disproportionately in the low risk categories (Table 9). About 60 percent at both entry age levels became acquainted with their present career by way of a prior work relationship agency, compared to approximately 42 percent of the first careerists. A third or more were invited or appointed to the work, as against about a quarter of their first career colleagues. And close to 60 percent report their prior work provided transferable skills, while less than 45 percent of the first careerists had this advantage. Furthermore, when these three variables are plotted to intersect, only six percent of the second careerists suffer maximum risk in having none of the low risk advantages studied and nearly two-thirds have at least two of the advantages.

Each of these variables are in a single dimension, that of easy transfer between occupations, and are based on the reduction of danger as measured in its rational economic aspects. However, as previously noted, another measure of such risk does not occur uniformly in the second career category: few family responsibilities. Younger second careerists seem to take the greater chances in this regard, as they tend to have more dependents to care for than the older second careerists.[26] Since the data as collected do not preclude the possibility that these dependents were acquired after the initiation of the second career, the facts were reexamined among those who had become rehabilitation counselors within the last five years. Here also second careerists were the more burdened with responsibility: over a third of those under 40 had four or more dependents, compared to less than 20 percent of the first careerists. And the assumption is that most were probably not prolific enough to have produced this many dependents in five years or less, suggesting that they took the plunge of a job change in the face of heavy obligations. The alternative view, that these were financially well-off persons for whom job change offered little risk, is unlikely in view of their prior occupational histories: teachers and social workers do not usually pile up large bank accounts.

These risk takers may have been motivated by the American cultural value which applauds the courage to gamble for high stakes. Willingness to take a chance on an uncharted course in the hope of gaining a rich prize is part of the folklore of the pioneer and the rugged individualist entrepreneur. More than this, most middle-class families and schools socialize children in the competitive ethos; the dominant value system constrains the individual to put getting ahead above personal security. The challenge of something new and untried, to which an individual turns without any prior guarantees of success, but with high hopes of material gain, is thus perhaps a second career pull in its own right. In terms of the scheme used in prior analysis, it becomes an internal pull factor.

TABLE 9

RISK FACTORS IN ENTERING REHABILITATION COUNSELING FIELD, BY CAREER STATUS, CONTROLLING FOR AGE AT ENTRY

	Age at Entry			
	Under 35		35 or over	
Risk Factor	First Career	Second Career	First Career	Second Career
Source of Rehabilitation Job Information	(N=348) %	(N=129) %	(N=37) %	(N=306) %
School or vocational guidance	35.9	24.1	35.1	22.2
As a rehabilitation client	10.7	9.3	10.8	5.6
Work relationship with rehabilitation agency	42.0	58.1	40.5	60.5
Other	11.5	8.5	13.5	11.7
Total	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
How Rehabilitation Job Secured	(N=351) %	(N=123) %	(N=35) %	(N=300) %
Invited or appointed	22.5	33.3	28.6	39.0
Civil service examination or introduction through contact	48.7	47.2	45.7	44.7
Applied through employment agency, other	28.8	19.5	25.7	16.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Impact of Prior Job on Rehabilitation Career	(N=259) %	(N=111) %	(N=29) %	(N=258) %
Prior job provided interpersonal or organizational skills	44.8	56.8	41.4	62.4
Prior job provided introduction to the field, etc., only	55.2	43.2	58.6	37.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

At the other extreme, the ease of transition between careers can also be considered as a pull in its own right. This view is consistent with the theory of occupational choice discussed by Gross.[27] He points out that the negative selection process could include a decision to reject an undesirable course, followed by an assessment of available means, and then a search for ends to fit the means. This reversal of the ends-means sequence is implied in adding low risk to the list of hypothesized second career pulls. Easy accessibility, based on a stock of available assets, becomes an external pull factor quite independent of the advantages in money, status or mobility of a new position. In fact, these benefits may be analyzed by the potential second careerists only after an occupation has been found which fits the battery of means at hand.

In these terms, the family situation, including the number of dependents for whom a job holder is responsible, could be considered a pressure for job change if a first career produces inadequate support, since the payoff of success in a second career will alleviate family deprivation. In this circumstance the failure to change becomes high risk behavior.

The situational context, in short, cannot easily be categorized in terms of high or low risk with respect to one element of the situation only, but must be considered as an interaction process with such components as level of family responsibility, the availability of fall-back family resources, easy accessibility and likelihood of success in the second career, motivational and personality factors, whether the push out of the first career is external and cannot be denied, and other elements affecting the balance sheet of probable loss and possible gain. More importantly, even when the assessment of risk credit or debit is accurately made, there is no assurance as to which will facilitate a career change. Low risk will be considered by one as a situationally freeing condition, encouraging a new occupational role, but perhaps, for another, high risk will be the stimulator or at worst irrelevant to the challenge of the new. Once again, the critical issue may be age, with family responsibility a more common pressure among the younger and family backing a more common push among the older second careerists. Unquestionably the conditions permitting the push factors to operate are present for a sizable majority of the second careerists, a finding consistent with the low risk hypothesis.

PULL FACTORS

Among the possible attractions of rehabilitation counseling as a career, its implied professional quality is perhaps the most meaningful, because professionalism is symbolic both of lofty humanitarian goals and of more venal concerns such as increased status, pay, security and opportunity for advancement. Examining the different images of the professionalism of rehabilitation counseling is thus a global way to estimate the pull of this particular type of second career.

Respondents indicated their views of the professional level of rehabilitation counseling by positioning an arrow on a line ranging from low professionalism to high. Anchor points were given: county welfare social worker was placed at the low end, clinical psychologist in the middle, and physician at the high end of the line. These data were then coded from 0 to 8, on the basis of dividing the line into nine equidistant intervals. The results are as summarized in Table 10. The second careerists are more

likely than their first career colleagues to view their present line of work as highly professional. Since a current attitude is here being analyzed, present age is an important qualifying variable, as is present supervisory position. Neither of these controls affects the direction of difference between the career groups in their image of the professionalism of rehabilitation counseling: the second careerists consistently view their new work as higher on the professional scale. However, among those over 40 and among those who are supervisors, the variations by career cohort are small. Generally both the older personnel and the supervisors are more sanguine about the professionalism of their

TABLE 10

PULL FACTORS: IMAGE OF THE PROFESSIONALISM OF REHABILITATION COUNSELING

Professionalism Level Attributed to Rehabilitation Counseling	First Career (N=396) %	Second Career (N=443) %
Low (0 to 2)	25.0	18.5
Medium (3 to 5)	66.2	65.0
High (6 to 8)	8.8	16.5
Total	100.0	100.0

careers. This may be because they have a greater investment in their work and need to surround it with a positive aura; or alternatively, they may have more knowledge and perhaps experience with incumbents of other occupations and hence be in a better position to judge professionalism and develop a rationale for their choice.

Another pull toward career change is the higher pay to be secured in the new line of work. There is no evidence that money is uniformly a meaningful incentive. As shown above (Table 7), a sizable minority actually took pay reductions when entering the rehabilitation counseling counseling career. On the other hand, the same data indicate that nearly 55 percent of the older second careerists and 70 percent of the younger second careerists gained financially by the job changes. Clearly, the pull of higher pay is a factor for the potential second careerists, even if this attraction does not differentiate them from the first careerists.

Only tangential evidence is available on the extent to which the security of this particular government civil-service occupation is a pull for the potential career changer. More than half the second careerists agree that rehabilitation counseling is a lifetime career, on an index measuring this dimension of the occupation (Table 11) -- somewhat more than hold this belief among the first careerists. And two-thirds claim to have already achieved their life's occupational goal, as compared to less than half of the first career group. These differences, however, fail to withstand the test of controlling for present age. Apparently persons in this field who are currently over 40 tend to see themselves as permanently fixed, whether they are in rehabilitation counseling as first or as second careerists.

Somewhat less ambiguous is the support for the notion that the mobility potential of the occupation is an important attraction. Objectively it can be said that a government-sponsored field such as rehabilitation, which has been and still is expanding rapidly,[28] offers many opportunities for rising in the supervisory hierarchy. Speedy growth puts a premium on leadership and administrative personnel, who are needed to organize and manage the large numbers of neophyte staff. Thus real contitions exist allowing for

TABLE 11

PULL FACTORS: JOB SECURITY ATTITUDES, BY CAREER STATUS

Pull Factor Attitude		First Career	Second Career
Rehabilitation Counseling as Lifetime Career		(N=405) %	(N=465) %
No	1	.7	1.1
	2	10.4	7.3
	3	45.4	40.9
	4	36.3	40.2
Yes	5	7.2	10.5
Total		100.0	100.0
Occupational Goal Now Achieved		(N=395) %	(N=456) %
Yes		49.9	68.4
No		50.1	31.6
Total		100.0	100.0

promotions and upgradings. In addition, entering the rehabilitation career can itself be an upward step on the mobility ladder. In this respect, however, the older second careerists are somewhat more likely than their first career colleagues to have moved down the status scale in entering rehabilitation (Table 12). About 30 percent of both modal age-career groups, on the other hand, did improve their occupational status, as measured by the seven step occupational scale, ranging from major professionals and top executives down to unskilled labor, used as a component of the Hollingshead Index.[29]

Furthermore, substantial minorities in both groups have been promoted to supervisory positions since entering the field. Second careerists have the advantage in this regard, with a larger proportion promoted in both age categories. In addition 16 percent of the older second careerists entered rehabilitation at supervisory levels, as compared to less than five percent of the modal younger first careerists. Other advancements undoubtedly

TABLE 12

PULL FACTORS: STATUS CHANGES, BY CAREER STATUS

CONTROLLING FOR AGE

Relation Prior Work to Rehabilitation[a]	Age at Entry: Under 35 — First Career (N=361) %	Under 35 — Second Career (N=134) %	35 or over — First Career (N=37) %	35 or over — Second Career (N=307) %
Rehabilitation lower status	3.3	3.0	8.1	13.4
Rehabilitation same status	65.9	59.7	56.8	58.6
Rehabilitation higher status	30.7	37.3	35.1	29.0
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] Status measured by Hollingshead seven step occupational rating scale, one component of the Hollingshead Index of Social Position. For the first career group, prior job of highest status was used; for the second careerists, the status of the prior career.

occurred, but are obscured because no distinction was made in the job history data between grade level within the counselor, non-supervisory category; and in most locations there are usually such levels representing increased responsibility and earnings.

Age appears to play a major role in explaining the proportions for whom rehabilitation counseling is a step up or down the status ladder. Generally the older entrants are more likely to move down to a rehabilitation job, while younger second careerists and older first careerists are the most apt to step up. As for promotion within the field, entry age is not a sufficient explanation for career group differences. While there are only random variations in the 35 or over category, half the younger second careerists either entered as supervisors or moved up to this rank, compared to less than a third of the younger first careerists.

The implication is that the pull of advancement, both immediate and potential, is an active ingredient in the second career choice of the younger job-changers, those under 35 at the time of entry into the rehabilitation field. This finding, however, may be idiosyncratic to relatively new and rapidly growing emerging professions, of which rehabilitation counseling is one example, because these afford more opportunities for mobility than other older, more well-established professional and service occupations.

The only estimates of the internal pull, the intrinsic attractions of rehabilitation counseling as a career, are gleaned from the job satisfaction of the incumbents, as measured by direct inquiry and inferred from future occupational plans. Small but consistent differences between career groups emerge. While only 19 percent of the first careerists express some level of dissatisfaction with their present work and 19 percent also indicate their plans to leave the rehabilitation area at some time in the future, the rates for second careerists are even lower. In contrast, 15 percent of the second careerists are dissatisfied, and 14 percent have intentions of leaving the field. As is the case with professional and semiprofessional occupations in general, most practitioners are satisfied and plan to stay in the work, suggesting that it has a pull for persons seeking to change their careers from less gratifying endeavors. To the extent that present job satisfaction and intention to continue are indicators of incumbents' ego-involvement in their work, the second careerists evidence the higher rate of attachment.

PUSH, RISK AND PULL FACTORS--A RECAPITULATION

The operation of various push, risk and pull factors has been examined for their effects on the life histories of rehabilitation counselors. For the convenience of the reader, these factors are summarized below:

Factor	Variable Considered
External Push	personal physical disability need for a job social dislocation as reason for dropping earlier career interests
Internal Push	family physical disability desire to do humanitarian work
Low Risk	prior familiarity with work easy access to employment availability of transferable skills
External Pull	professionalism of rehabilitation counseling financial gain status gain
Internal Pull	work satisfactions

The general conslusion to be drawn is that the second careerists enter rehabilitation counseling with motivations and in situations and conditions which differ from those of first careerists.

With regard to the push factors, second careerists evidence a rate of personal disability above the national norm of about nine percent. Some of those who were over 35 when entering the field had to abandon earlier career interests because of external situations such as chance occurrences, depression or war, although the extent to which these events are typical of the population as a whole is not known. Among these older entrants there were also some who took a reduction in earnings to become rehabilitation counselors. In addition some second careerists reported family members who were dis-

abled. Most gave humanitarian reasons for entering the work and believed that incumbents in their occupation performed a worthwhile service to humanity. When age at entry is controlled these differences in motivations, experiences and situations are less marked.

Risk factors plainly support theoretical expectations. Most second careerists had prior connections with rehabilitation as clients or colleagues and in their earlier work developed interpersonal or organization skills useful in their new endeavors; in fact over a third were invited into their second careers. These factors are more characteristic of the second careerists than the first: nearly two-thirds had the benefit of at least two low risk conditions simultaneously.

As for the pull factors, most second careerists attribute a moderate or high level of professionalism to rehabilitation counseling. Also most gained an increase in earnings as a first result of their second career work, and a sizable minority advanced in occupational status by entering the field and/or enjoyed promotions at or after entry. Finally, most consider rehabilitation counseling a lifetime career and state that they have currently achieved their long-term occupational goals: they are satisfied with their jobs and do not plan to change in the foreseeable future. On these variables the second careerists are distinctly different from the first career group only on the professionalism scale and in the lesser extent to which they made financial gains in entering rehabilitation work. Controlling for present age or age at entry wipes out all other differences except that promotion variations persist among those who were under 35 when taking their first rehabilitation job.

Various comparisons across modal age-career categories introduce a new element into the analysis. It is apparent that older age itself is a condition of second career status which is responsible for a number of the characteristics and attitudes of second careerists.

In addition, the positive implications of more mature years, such as greater breadth and depth of experience, more informed judgment, more self-confidence, and greater stability could give second careerists an edge in certain types of job market. Negative attributes sometimes associated with advancing age, such as ill health, inflexibility or refusal to accept innovative ideas, would be deficits, if they occurred, in almost any market. Although age as an asset does not necessarily accrue to all second careerists, it must be conceptualized as potentially so.

This point of view places age unexpectedly in the pull as well as in the push category. Previously considered as a possible push factor, in that advancing years can write finis to a first career and force an individual out of a job into the labor market seeking new work, age clearly can also be a door-opener. To the extent that the availability of a specific job is an attraction luring the individual to a new line of work, the fact that in certain labor categories older persons are sought after might precipitate the choice of a second career.

In summary, it can be said that, while the push factors do not present a distinct picture of what propels an individual out of a first career, the pull factors which draw him in a new direction and the elements of low risk which smooth his transition to a second career are rather clearly delineated.

Ill health, the discontinuity induced by war, job loss and the yearning for social usefulness each apply to some second careerists, but do not form a consistent pattern. It is apparent that explanations for leaving a first career are many and varied, depending on individual and social circumstances.

The attractions which motivate a career change are less equivocal: they might indeed be dubbed the three P's -- professionalism, pay and promotion. Whether because of the status emoluments or the ego-gratifications of service, the imputed level of professionalism of an occupation appears a powerful lure for a would-be job changer. The reality of an immediate increase in earnings applies to persons in both career statuses and across age categories, while upward mobility is the particular reward of the second careerists, especially if they enter their new work before they are 35.

Low risk is the unique advantage of the second careerist. His connections from his previous career, along with the transferable skills he brings with him, offer a relatively easy entree to a new occupational domain. The dominant finding is that, while push and pull factors may be hazily defined, there is no question that most people entering a second career have minimized the risk of change.

SECOND CAREER AND REHABILITATION COUNSELING MANPOWER

Second careerists, it has been suggested, tend to enter rapidly expanding occupations, where vacancies are so numerous that they cannot be filled by new entrants to the labor market. The leadership in such mushrooming fields, in its search for needed personnel, turns to people whose capability has already been proven in related types of work or those who have skills which can be modified to fit the rehabilitation mold. Co-optation is a common practice in such situations. This was undoubtedly the pattern in the early periods of rehabilitation counseling, when a staff had to be swiftly gathered together to meet the legislative mandate for newly created services. History is likely to repeat itself in the late sixties: innovative government programs have extended the scope of services as well as the eligible clientele of the rehabilitation enterprise, and the needs for staff are mounting. Once again manpower must be sought, and openings for second career types will occur.

In solving its manpower problems, however, the rehabilitation field would be well advised to make systematic use of the data about the characteristics and attitudes of second careerists which have emerged from this study of the rehabilitation counselor. Both in terms of sources of new personnel and of motivations to change careers, the findings of this paper have a number of practical implications.

With respect to new sources, the data suggests that individuals who have experienced disability, either personally or through their families, might be open to a career shift. Those who have worked through a possible initial distaste for the reality of visible disablement should be less likely to reject the notion of employment requiring frequent contact with damaged human beings. Furthermore such persons might be highly motivated to perform helping roles, because of their recognition of the critical importance of such assistance during a life turning point.

A second source is among those whose prior career line has already been broken by an external event. Where previously they might have been hesitant to make a shift because of the security of the familiar, a changed situation can offer a new freedom of choice. Thus the closing-down of an industry or termination of a government program can release personnel who might be both in need of a job and ready to embark on a different career line. Essentially women in their middle years are an available source because they have been situationally freed by the departure of their children, just as the elderly are released from a former line of work by retirement. In fact, early retirement of members of target groups should be encouraged; prospects could be approached in their early fifties. Both these groups, it should be added, are apt to enjoy a maturity of outlook useful in the rehabilitation process.

Recognition of the opportunity involved in dislocation underlies present attempts to persuade men returning from military service to enter various public service occupations and professions, regardless of their former career lines. Similarly, armed services retirees from the middle ranks should be viewed as potential rehabilitation workers.

To the extent that rehabilitation counseling achieves the goal of professionalism, this line of work can exert a pull, attracting possible career changers. The aura of professionalism includes the giving of humanitarian service to others, a strong pull in its own right, but also the enjoyment of higher pay standards, status, and power over the functions of the rehabilitation system. While the rehabilitation field might be reluctant to attract personnel solely on this venal basis, the fact is that some prior second career motivation can be attributed to expected financial and psychic rewards. Certainly the numbers of persons who gained in pay or a step up the status ladder by switching to rehabilitation counseling underscore the importance of these factors. However, their chief appeal in the past has undoubtedly been to persons in professional positions whose emoluments failed to match their responsibilities, as witness the disproportionate numbers of teachers, coaches, school guidance counselors, and administrators who have transferred their allegiance from education to rehabilitation. As pay and working conditions for those in the teaching profession improve through community and organization action, the appeal of rehabilitation counseling will become relatively less powerful, and these groups may no longer be as rich a source of second careerists.

Low risk as a consequence of prior knowledge of the field, as well as transferable interpersonal or organizational skills, is undoubtedly a critical factor for many individuals in the decision to change a career line. This argues for seeking rehabilitation counselor candidates in related or ancillary fields, for example, social workers, welfare caseworkers and the like, as well as teachers and school counselors. Many in such prior

occupations are women, as of course are the housewives whose experience as community volunteers gives a background for rehabilitation work. Any lingering tendency in the field to resist the employment of women could therefore shut out a prime recruiting source.

Furthermore, other groups which have been previously foreclosed from counselor employment because of color discrimination or educational levels considered low by current standards could be a hitherto untapped source of second careerists, particularly if new methods of specialized training can be devised. A college degree is not a magic key to the knowledge or mature judgment needed by the capable empathic counselor. Pullman porters, bartenders, salesmen, union stewards, hospital orderlies and others who have dealt with people in their former work may have acquired a practical knowledge of human dynamics and may possess a high level of intelligence. With such a combination, college equivalency testing for those without the diploma plus an intensive specialized training program could well produce a second careerist easily able to match or exceed the youthful B.A. in doing a professional job.

One other implication of these findings for manpower problems in rehabilitation concerns the retention rate for second careerists. The findings as they stand suggest that second careerists are most likely to stay in the field, once they have entered it, since those with long service are predominantly in the second career category. This conclusion also follows logically from the definition of second careerists. As persons who have had first careers, they have remained in a previous occupational field over a period of time and have not wandered from one type of work to another. On the other hand, while they could have tried a variety of different jobs in their field and thus not have been steady employees, even though in the same career, the fact that they are older as they enter a second career and that older persons tend to change jobs less frequently argues for a relatively low turnover rate in rehabilitation. Longitudinal research now in progress, involving a sample of rehabilitation counselor students, will give some guides to different turnover probabilities among first and second career groups.

The capsule conclusion from this entire excursion into counselor job histories is that rehabilitation leadership will make a serious error if it focuses its recruitment efforts on the college senior. Without neglecting this source of manpower, the field must recognize that it is only one of many and perhaps not even the best, or the largest, potential staff pool. Possible second careerists should be considered as at least an equally important source.

NOTES

1. William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument," American Journal of Sociology, 54 (January, 1949), pp. 317-329.

2. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Dictionary of Occupational Titles, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965, p. xv.

3. "State and Local Governments' Burgeoning Need for Manpower," Occupational Outlook Quarterly, 2 (May, 1967), p. 19.

4. Occupational Outlook Handbook, Bulletin No. 1450, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Labor, 1966-67 edition, p. 66.

5. Seymour L. Wolfbein, "Labor Trends, Manpower and Automation," in Man in a World at Work, edited by Henry Borow, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964, p. 156.

6. See Statistical Abstract of the United States, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964, p. 228.

7. Marie R. Haug and Marvin B. Sussman, "The Second Career--Variant of a Sociological Concept," Journal of Gerontology, 22:4 (October, 1967), pp. 439-440.

8. The majority of career officers in the military who retire after 20 years of service are in their forties and do so because there is no room at the top. Few are selected by the upper echelons where retirement occurs around the age of 60.

9. In 1967, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration was reorganized as the Rehabilitation Services Administration of the Social and Rehabilitation Services division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Throughout this paper VRA will be used for the National Office, and DVR for the local offices of this agency in the states.

10. Small N made it impossible to differentiate membership versus nonmembership cells in private agencies for the blind.

11. Since sampling fractions varied by cell, findings were weighted by the inverse of this fraction when it was desired to generalize descriptively to the total population, as in early publications of the Professions Project. Weighting was not necessary in the analysis reported here, since the focus was on analytic comparisons rather than generalizations.

12. For a further discussion of the concept of career, see Marie R. Haug, "The Second Career: An Exploratory Study in a Counseling Profession," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1968.

13. Form and Miller, "Occupatio al Career Pattern."

14. As a convenient semantic device, all those who are not second careerists will be called "first careerists," although as many as a quarter may actually be in a trial job period and will not make rehabilitation counseling their career.

15. For a complete report of the findings from the earlier analysis of Student Panel career groups, see Haug and Sussman, "The Second Career."

16. Occupation is weighted by a factor of 7 and education by a weight of 4 in this scale, with each component broken into seven levels. See August B. Hollingshead, Two-Factor Index of Social Position, New Haven, 1957 (mimeo).

17. Hollingshead's seven step scale of occupations is one of the components of the Two-Factor Index, ibid.

18. Present age is used as a control when current characteristics or attitudes are considered, and age at entry into the rehabilitation field as a control when events or characteristics dating back to earlier career periods are considered. Present age is dichotomized at under 40 against 40 and over to differentiate roughly with respect to youth and middle age. Age at entry should logically be younger than present age, and the break at 35 reflects the modal time span in the field of five years, while providing an adequate N in each category. See Tables 1 and 2, supra.

19. It should be noted that first careerists, being generally younger, often have a longer future time span available to climb the career ladder. Thus some of those presently below their father's occupational level may eventually equal it.

20. "Completed" for the homemaker here refers to the child-rearing phase of the life cycle.

21. The excess of dependents among second careerists under 40 is significant only at the .20 level, and thus the odds are one out of five that this is a chance finding. See Table 3, supra.

22. This figure is calculated on the basis of percentages of persons whose age-specific activities are limited.

23. Differences in marital status do not account for these variations. When only the married respondents are considered, the higher rate for spouses and children among the second careerists continues to apply.

24. Question 32 in National Sample Questionnaire.

25. Only 17 percent of the first careerists explicitly mentioned that they entered rehabilitation counseling work because the job was available and they needed one, indicating the relatively low saliency of unemployment as a push factor.

26. See Table 3 supra.

27. Edward Gross, "A Sociological Approach to the Analysis of Preparation for Work Life," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 45 (January, 1967), p. 423.

28. As of 1967, experts were still predicting that as many as 1200 new counselors would be needed annually. Occupational Outlook Handbook, Bulletin N. 1450, Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Labor, 1966-67 edition, p. 66.

29. See Table 5, supra, for the detailed titles of the seven levels.