

# Towards an Integral Career and Employment Counselling

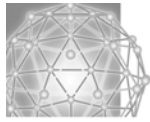
Durwin Foster

This article introduces the Integral approach to the fields of career and employment counselling. After describing major elements of the Integral model such as quadrants, lines and levels of development, and psychological types, the author develops a template for case conceptualization and assessment. Important career and employment counselling topics such as skills, multiple intelligences, self and values development, Holland's RIASEC model, diversity issues, and the labour market are all analyzed through an integrally informed lens. An Integral Case Conceptualization Template is introduced as a practical tool designed to assist counsellors wishing to translate this innovative, exciting, and promising theory into practice.

## Introduction

The purpose of this article is to introduce to the fields of career and employment counselling the Integral approach, an innovative, meta-theoretical synthesis developed by philosopher Ken Wilber.<sup>1</sup> Key elements of the model will be introduced—in particular, *quadrants*, *lines* of development, *levels* of development, and psychological *types*—and these concepts will then be applied in the service of developing a more comprehensive, inclusive, and therefore more effective approach to career and employment counselling.

The goal of the Integral approach is to find a *pattern that connects* as many of the multiple perspectives and truth claims from diverse sub-fields as possible, thereby effecting a genuine theoretical integration. Having developed the fundamentals of this meta-theoretical framework over the past thirty years, Wilber is now working alongside a growing number of academics and practitioners from multiple fields in the application of the model. Strengths of the Integral approach include at least the following: first, Integral Theory represents a *constructive* postmodern approach, addressing itself to the increasingly well-recognized problems inherent in social constructionist and other postmodern approaches to career counselling.<sup>2</sup> Second, Integral Theory is emerging as valuable on entirely pragmatic grounds; in other words, elements of Integral Theory demonstrate their usefulness as heuristic devices. For example, this article hopes to put forward the usefulness of the quadrants to organize the assessment of career counselling clients. A third and strong claim of Integral Theory is that the model represents the *structure of experience itself*; thus, at this level of claim, by learning and using Integral Theory we become more familiar with the very contours of our own awareness, moment by moment. In this way, Integral Theory can help both counsellors and clients engage their experience more deeply and fully. Given all these reasons, the time is ripe for exploring the potential benefits of an Integral approach in enhancing theory and practice within employment and career counselling.



### The Five Elements of Integral Theory

The Integral approach proposes an irreducible set of *five* elements, as follows: quadrants, levels, lines, types, and states. As Integral theorists Sean Esbjörn-Hargens and Ken Wilber explain:

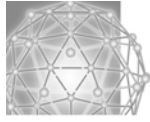
These five components represent the basic patterns of reality that occur over and over in multiple contexts. To leave any one of them out in any given inquiry or exploration is to forgo a truly comprehensive understanding of that which you seek to understand. By including these basic elements an Integral practitioner ensures that they are covering the main aspects of any phenomena.<sup>3</sup>

In this article, I will be focusing on four of these five major elements: quadrants, levels, lines, and types. (States will likely be addressed in a future work.) The first of these elements, quadrants, includes experiences (subjectivity), behaviours (objectivity), cultures (intersubjectivity), and systems (interobjectivity).<sup>4</sup> These fundamental perspectives are referred to as “quadrants” because they can be mapped out conveniently on a two-by-two grid (see figure 1).<sup>5</sup>

<b>UPPER LEFT</b>	<b>UPPER RIGHT</b>
Self and Consciousness	Brain and Organism
<b>Interior-Individual</b>	<b>Exterior-Individual</b>
<i>Experiences</i>	<i>Behaviors</i>
Subjective	Objective
<b>Truthfulness</b>	<b>Truth</b>
I	IT
WE	ITS
<b>Interior-Collective</b>	<b>Exterior-Collective</b>
<i>Cultures</i>	<i>Systems</i>
Intersubjective	Interobjective
<b>Justness</b>	<b>Functional Fit</b>
Culture and Worldview	Social System and Environment
<b>LOWER LEFT</b>	<b>LOWER RIGHT</b>

Figure 1. Some Aspects of Quadrants

Note that the quadrants are often referred to by location: Upper Left (UL) for individual interior, Upper Right (UR) for individual exterior, Lower Left (LL) for collective interior, and Lower Right (LR) for collective exterior. They are also associated with certain pronouns that most intuitively reference a particular perspective: “I” for the Upper Left; “You/We” for the Lower Left; “It” for the Upper Right; and “Its” for the Lower Right. The quadrants address the major first-person, second-person, and third-person perspectives available to us to take on phenomena; thus, we can already begin to grasp the integrative possibilities of Integral Theory.



This conceptualization of some of the most fundamental perspectives available to human beings can help us engage in more comprehensive and inclusive—and therefore more effective—approaches to career and employment counselling. In effect, we can look through each of these perspectives when investigating a particular issue, problem, or case. One immediate advantage of the quadrant model is that it helps illuminate distinctions between career counselling and employment counselling. Referring to the diagram above, we note that the quadrants on the Right-Hand side denote *exterior* aspects of reality; that is, elements that can be seen or otherwise perceived through any of the five senses, or through sense-extending instruments (e.g., microscope). The quadrants on the Left-Hand side, in contrast, denote *interior* aspects of reality; that is, they refer to those aspects of reality that cannot be seen or touched or measured directly but rather are known through *interpretive* methods such as introspection, hermeneutics, ethnography, and others. In the past, *employment counselling* has tended to refer to what we see when we look through the exterior, Right-Hand quadrants: job search skills and labour market information, for example. On the other hand, *career counselling* has tended to refer to what we see when looking through the interior, Left-Hand quadrants: values, interests, needs, and cultural and personal narratives about the role of work in one's personal system of meaning. By demonstrating the inseparability of interiors and exteriors, the Integral model allows us to readily see how important it is that career and employment counselling form two interrelated parts of one whole approach to helping others.

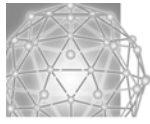
To illustrate the utility of the quadrant model, we will investigate a generic career/employment counselling case, viewing it through each of these four perspectives. We can start with any quadrant, although all four will be included before finishing our study. We might choose to start with the UR quadrant of *behaviours*, noting that this quadrant also includes material aspects of the human being such as the body and the brain, or any other aspect as seen through a primarily third-person, objective, “scientific” mode.

### The Upper-Right Quadrant

Thinking about the fields of career/employment counselling, and looking through the UR perspective, we can see all material or physical elements of the individual, including the enactment of skills in behaviour and the presence or absence of physical dis/ability. Information from assessments of physical strengths and limitations, as well as interventions related to ameliorating physical problems such as adaptive devices, would be included here. Also included here would be information related to other micro-physical, neuro-physical or bio-psychiatric issues amenable to medication. While the counsellor may not be trained to directly address any or all of these issues, they are important for a counsellor to be aware of in her roles of case manager and referral agent.

### The Upper-Left Quadrant

When we look at the individual subjective dimension, what we find are three different types of developmental lines, defined as aspects that evolve through multiple levels of complexity.<sup>6</sup> The first type of developmental line is that of cognition, with cognitive development here defined in a broad sense as the increasing capacity to take and coordinate multiple perspectives. The second type includes the self and self-related lines, development which is brought about as a function of the self-system's capacity for identification. The self or ego-line has been studied in depth by Jane Loevinger.<sup>7</sup> Key self-related lines are those of morals (e.g., Kohlberg; Gilligan), values (e.g., Graves), and needs (e.g., Maslow). Within Integral Theory, cognitive development is seen



as *necessary but not sufficient* for the development of the self and self-related lines, since in order to identify with something we must first be able to register it in awareness. The third type of line is that of skills, capacities, or talents. Gardner's list of multiple intelligences are a good example of this third type of line: linguistic intelligence, logical-mathematical intelligence, musical intelligence, bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, spatial intelligence, interpersonal intelligence, and intrapersonal intelligence.<sup>8</sup>

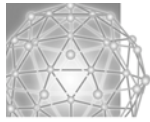
Viewed as central to employment counselling, skills are often further sub-categorized by type as *soft*, *hard*, or *transferable*. Soft skills would include intrapersonal and interpersonal intelligence, for example, while hard skills generally refer to abilities for interacting with tools such as computers, machinery, and so on. A skill is considered to be *transferable* when it can be applied across contexts. For example, word-processing skills are transferable across a range of work contexts including education, business, law, and office administration.

Taking computer skills as an example, we note that a low level of computer skills development is characterized by relatively little mastery of the complexity of this domain. Thus, a person with what we could simply call a "Level 1" in computer skills might only be able to turn the machine on, navigate the operating system in a rudimentary manner, compose simple documents in the word-processor, and send and receive e-mail. At Level 2, a person's skills may have developed to master a considerably higher level of complexity such as creating documents that include power-point slides, excel spreadsheets, and pictures downloaded from the internet. Finally, at Level 3, an individual's skills might include advanced troubleshooting and programming capabilities. Additional skills that could be conceptualized in this manner include resume-writing skills, time management skills, and job search skills, among others. In sum, any skills that can be viewed as hierarchically organized towards greater complexity or mastery can be conceived within the Integral model via the concepts of lines and levels.

While conventional employment counselling has tended to focus on skills as the most important lines of development, career counselling typically broadens its focus to include self-related lines such as values. One contribution of Integral Theory to both these fields is its focus upon additional lines of development that may prove to have significant value, such as a person's overall self-identity development. Discussing clients' self-development in counselling, Cook-Greuter and Soulen write:

Although people may use several perspectives throughout the day, they tend to prefer to respond spontaneously with the most complex meaning making system, perspective, or mental model they have fully mastered. This preferred perspective is called a person's "center of gravity" or their "central tendency" in meaning-making.<sup>9</sup>

Understanding an individual's level of ego-development is important because it can help the counsellor to achieve the kind of empathic resonance essential for a good therapeutic relationship, as well as to provide developmentally-appropriate interventions.<sup>10</sup> One of the best validated measures for self-development is Cook-Greuter's Sentence Completion Test (SCTi), which she developed based on her earlier extensive study with Jane Loevinger, author of the well-established Washington University Sentence Completion Test.<sup>11</sup> An additional source is the Subject-Object Interview, which has been used in at least one study of career transition.<sup>12</sup>



While values have been used in career counselling through interventions such as values sorts, they have not been viewed through the developmental lens described here.<sup>13</sup> Pioneering work elaborating the development of values systems was completed by Graves, popularized in a system called Spiral Dynamics by Beck and Cowan, and more recently refined by Cowan & Todorovic.<sup>14</sup> Familiarity with these developmental models and their associated worldviews (e.g., does a client have traditional Blue values or modern Orange values?) can greatly help a career counselor in supporting their client.

**Introducing the Psychograph**

After assessing (through informal or formal means) the client’s general level of development on a number of a relevant lines, an Integral career or employment counsellor can organize this data into a *psychograph*.<sup>15</sup> Creating a psychograph is valuable because it provides a picture of the client as a whole and, most importantly, allows the counsellor to tailor interventions to meet the client where he or she is at in various domains of functioning. For example, when working with a client who is high in cognitive development but low in self-development, a career counsellor might initially use a more intellectual approach. As the therapeutic relationship develops, however, the counsellor might gradually challenge the client to explore her interior sense of self through process-experiential methods.

An example of a psychograph that includes all three types of lines is shown below. Note that the x-axis illustrates four generic levels of complexity.

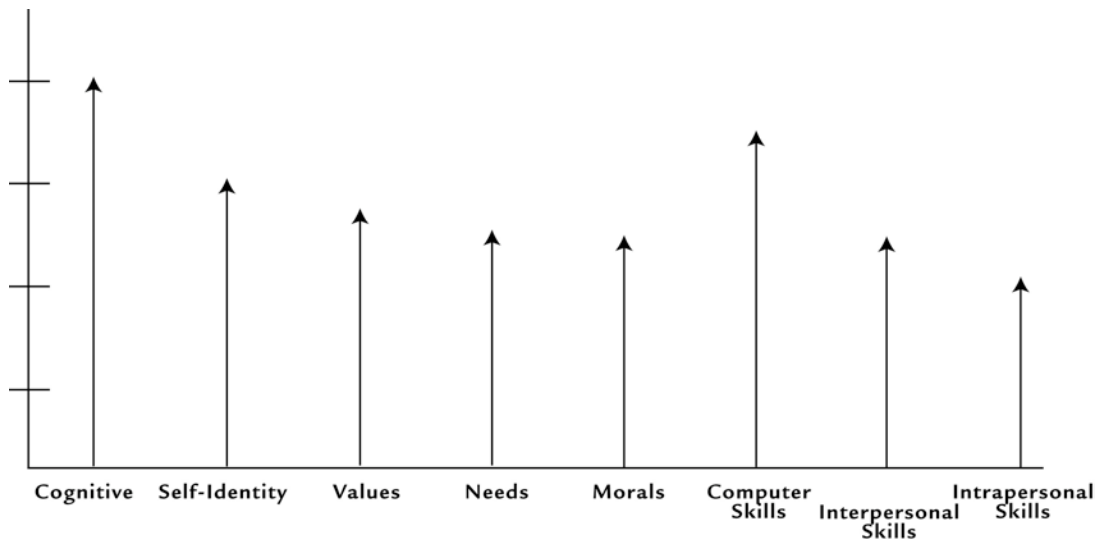
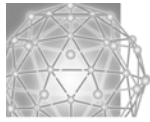


Figure 2. Psychograph with Three Types of Developmental Lines

**Relationship of Lines/Levels to Types: Expanding Our Map of the Psyche**

Discerning the relationship of lines/levels of development to personality types is crucial for forming the most adequate and helpful map of the interior subjective (UL) aspect of the client. Of the various typologies currently being used within career/employment counselling, perhaps the most well-known is Holland’s RIASEC model.<sup>16</sup> Holland’s theory of “vocational personalities” outlines six major type distinctions: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional (RIASEC). Completion of the Self-Directed Search assessment



instrument typically yields a three letter code for an individual's personality (composed of the top three types endorsed on the test). For example, a person might be "ISA," or "Investigative," "Social," and "Artistic." Once the person's code is determined, it can be cross-referenced to lists of occupations and areas of study that have been similarly classified.

Within Integral Theory, a basic principle informing the relationship between types and levels is that a given type (a *horizontal* construct) can potentially be present at any given level of development (a *vertical* construct). The relationship between types and levels is illustrated in the figure 3.

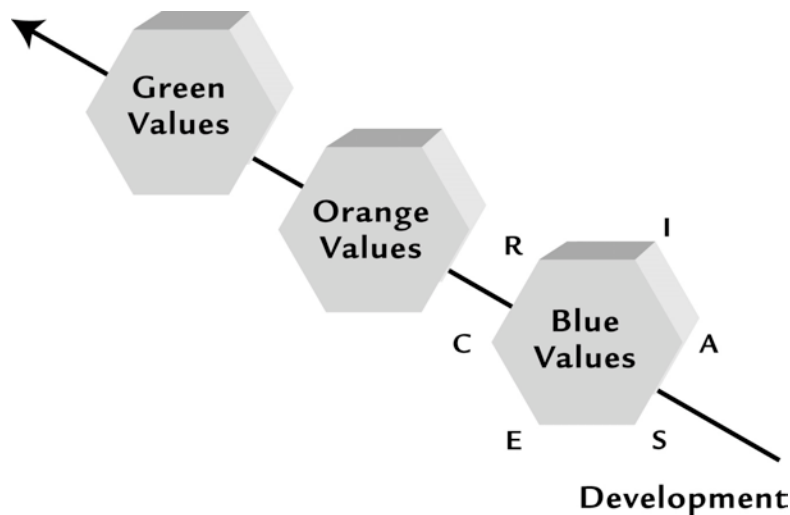
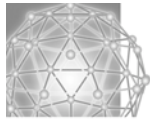


Figure 3. Relationship between Levels and Types

The synthesis of horizontal types with vertical levels greatly enriches the nuance and explanatory power of our career counselling theories in perhaps an unprecedented manner. For instance, two people might have Realistic as their primary code, but the individual at a Blue values system (mythic-traditionalist) might be interested in becoming a commercial fisherman, while the person who is at a Green values system (pluralistic) might be more interested in becoming an environmentalist. Thus, differences in values systems will likely lead to significant differences between these individuals' career-related behaviour, in spite of the equivalency of their RIASEC codes. Exploring the interface of these vertical and horizontal elements could be an empirical research frontier with significant implications for the future of the field. As practitioners begin to assess both vertical levels and horizontal types, their knowledge base of clinically-relevant intersections of these aspects of the psyche and their relationship to careers will expand significantly. Most important, clients will be helped by receiving assistance that more precisely meets them "where they are at," in multiple dimensions of their personality.

### The Lower-Left Quadrant

When we enact the intersubjective view of a career counselling case, what emerge as key components are the intimate relationships (e.g., spouses), close friendships, family, and broader cultural contexts of meaning-making, all of which can inform, empower, and even constrain a client within his or her career and employment decision-making process.



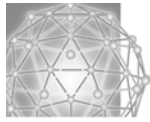
Within the family domain, the counsellor could investigate or assess the family constellation and power dynamics, focusing particularly on family narratives related to career. What has been the career path of the client's spouse, parents, siblings, and close friends? What is the role of those significant individuals' expectations upon the career choices of the client? How have the expectations of gender roles influenced a client? The relationship between family and cultural variables can overlap. Depending on the culture of the individual (addressed in greater detail below), the role of the family in career decision-making may be enhanced or downplayed. For example (and speaking very generally), clients of Asian origin may experience strong pressure to conform to *familial* expectations of career choice; conversely, individuals from Caucasian families may tend to focus on their sense of *individual* preference in career and employment choice. Such differences in type of orientation between those of European vs. Asian origin have been frequently noted in the multicultural counselling literature.<sup>17</sup>

Also crucial to consider when exploring the Lower-Left perspective of a case is the presence or absence of marginalizing pressures experienced by that client. Here we are focused on biases and opinions held by members of more powerful subgroups towards members of less powerful subgroups. For one, there is considerable evidence on the deleterious effects of heterosexist bias upon lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered individuals within the workplace.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, those of traditionalist values will be upset by liberalization, all of which needs to be taken into account by an integrally informed counsellor.

Sensitivity to the role of family and culture in career counseling suggests the inclusion of the important fields of family systems therapy, feminist therapy, and multicultural counseling in Integral career counselling theory and practice. Postmodern therapy approaches, such as narrative therapy, are also particularly attuned to the impact of background interpretive contexts on the agency of clients, and thus are well-situated to help address issues arising in the Lower-Left quadrant. In addressing the impact of contextual factors upon the client, it is important to remain cognizant of the dialectical tension between *self-authoring* and *other-blaming*. As integral counsellors, we want to address external elements that may indeed be undermining client autonomy in a way that does not inadvertently *further* undermine their agency.

### The Lower-Right Quadrant

When we enact the Lower-Right perspective of a career-counselling case, we find all those important factors commonly referred to in the field of employment counselling as relating to issues of the *labour market*. Labour market research, whether via informational interviewing, media, or computer database consultation, is a crucial element of any comprehensive approach to career and employment counselling. For example, a client may be sincerely interested in a career in horticulture, but what if prevailing labour market conditions are unfavourable? Thus, within this quadrant, we include all the relevant economic and demographic trends and indicators, as well as educational and institutional (credentialing) requirements of particular occupations. Issues related to housing and transportation and the legal and financial status of the client are included here, in addition to institutional and adaptive barriers to employment. An institutional barrier to employment might be the requirement of a particular credential; an adaptive barrier to employment, on the other hand, refers to physical barriers, such as lack of wheelchair accessibility. We might note that the professions of social work and occupational therapy have developed particular expertise in addressing issues relevant to the Lower-Right quadrant. These disciplines, therefore, have much to offer an Integral approach to career and employment counseling.<sup>19</sup>



## Putting It All Together: Case Assessment and Intervention

The following four-step model is proposed as a guide to case assessment and intervention within Integral career and employment counselling.

### Step 1: All-Quadrant Career and Employment Counselling Case Summary Template

The following template offers one way for career counsellors to organize their assessment of a client, so as to be as comprehensive as possible. Keywords are provided to guide the counselor in addressing the various aspects of each quadrant. Counsellors may find they need more space, so this template can be reproduced on larger paper, or each quadrant can be allotted an entire piece of paper, at the discretion of the counselor.

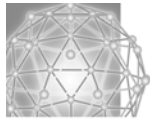
Client Name: \_\_\_\_\_

<p><b>UL: Personal Subjective</b></p> <p>Look at assets/barriers: Interests, strengths, values, types (SDS, Myers-Briggs), Life narrative (timeline, biography, etc), career vision, psychograph</p>	<p><b>UR: Personal Behavior/Objective</b></p> <p>Look at assets/barriers: Hard skills such as job search skills, resume-building skills, decision-making processes, self-efficacy, time management, goals stated in measurable terms, neuro-physiological disabilities</p>
<p><b>LL: Family and Cultural Context</b></p> <p>Look at: Family constellation, family history, key influences/relationships, view of family members towards careers, family narrative/timeline, family values, family power dynamics</p> <p>Look at: Cultural value systems, status markers, frameworks for meaning around jobs, diversity issues (including possible oppression)</p>	<p><b>LR: Institutional/Social Context</b></p> <p>Look at: Labor market information, economic and demographic trends and indicators, financial status, institutional requirements and policies (education, government), transportation, legal issues, human rights policies</p>

Figure 4. Integral Career & Employment Counseling Case Conceptualization Template

### Step 2: Analyze Relevant Relationships Across Quadrants

Once the initial assessment based on data within each quadrant is complete, the counsellor can take the important step of analyzing relationships across quadrants to enhance case conceptualization. Central to Integral Theory is the conception that all four quadrants “tetra-mesh” and “tetra-evolve.”<sup>20</sup> That is, they are seen as mutually constitutive of one another. Therefore, while the first step of an Integral case conceptualization involves exploring relevant factors *within* each quadrant, the second step involves investigating the presence or absence of



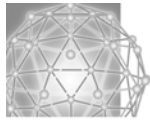
cohesion, consistency, or integration *across* the quadrants. Parsons, a pioneer in the career field, coined the term “person-environment fit.”<sup>21</sup> Elaborating upon that concept considerably, Integral counselling is concerned with the dynamically-evolving “tetra-fit” between subjective-experiential, objective-behavioral, cultural, and systems dimensions of the counselling case. Thus, the interface of any two or more quadrants can be examined as potential sites of either integration or disjuncture, yielding a matrix of at least six “inter-quadrantal” relationships that can be examined for their degree of “fit.” These six relationships with an example provided for each are presented in figure 5.

Relationship Between Quadrants	E.g., Disjuncture or Disequilibrium
Upper Left <-> Upper Right	Holland type and values level fit for park ranger (UL); But, presence of physical disability (UR)
Upper Left <-> Lower Left	Individual values communitarian social service ethic (UL); Key family members value corporate achievement ethic (LL)
Upper Left <-> Lower Right	Individual type and values fit for school teacher (UL); Labor market currently saturated (LR)
Upper Right <-> Lower Left	Male preschool teacher has demonstrated skills in the teaching of small children (UR); Faces attitudinal barriers to being hired: “He won’t be nurturing enough,” or, “What if he is a pedophile?” (LL)
Upper Right <-> Lower Right	Immigrant engineer from South Africa has appropriate skills (UR); Faces credentialing barrier (LR)
Lower Left <-> Lower Right	Immigrant physician from China; Client is aware that his home culture places high value on achievement (LL); However, credentialing process is biased against him being able to actualize that in Canada (LR)

Figure 5. Various Quadrant Clashes

**Step 3: Develop an Intervention Plan**

In this step, the counsellor selects interventions in accordance with the types of problem areas identified. Similar to assessment, interventions can be seen to focus more or less on a particular quadrant. Therefore, as the counsellor becomes more familiar with the Integral model, he or she will notice the relationship between a particular intervention and a particular quadrant.



#### Step 4: Carry Out Plan and Review Results

In this final step, the counsellor reflects with the client on the relative helpfulness of the interventions that have been employed, revising as required plans for moving forward. While presented here in a linear fashion for convenience, please note that these steps need not be followed sequentially. The attuned Integral counsellor adjusts his or her mode of interaction moment-by-moment and session-by-session in response to the dynamics of the unfolding therapeutic relationship with a particular client.

#### Conclusions

This article has provided an introductory overview of key components of Integral Psychology as it applies to the fields of career and employment counselling. In particular, the concepts of quadrants, lines moving through levels, and the relationship of levels and types were introduced for their integrative utility. A schema for case assessment and intervention was proposed, including a template for counsellor use. Future studies in this exciting and innovative field could further explicate the relationship between fundamental elements of Integral Theory, as well as elaborate a more comprehensive case analysis and treatment planning process, focusing in particular on the relationship between various interventions and the elements of the Integral model. Future work could also usefully explore in more detail the relationship of Integral Psychology to other career counselling theories.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Wilber, *Sex, ecology, spirituality: The spirit of evolution*, 1995; Wilber, *Integral psychology: Consciousness, spirit, psychology, therapy*, 2000

<sup>2</sup> Thrift & Amundson, "Hermeneutic-narrative approach to career counselling: An alternative to postmodernism," 2005

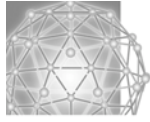
<sup>3</sup> Esbjörn-Hargens & Wilber, "Toward a comprehensive integration of science and religion: A post-metaphysical approach," 2006, p. 4

<sup>4</sup> Esbjörn-Hargens & Wilber, "Toward a comprehensive integration of science and religion: A post-metaphysical approach," 2006

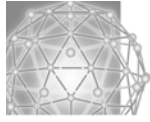
<sup>5</sup> It is important to note from the outset that these four perspectives *tetra-arise* in any given moment. Thus *tetra-enactment* means that the dimensions disclosed by perspectives are not simply pre-given but instead are partly co-created by the subject taking or bringing forth those perspectives. *Tetra-enactment* means that the four quadrants mesh with each other or mutually-inform each other, when disclosed. Thus, no one perspective is independently constituted nor has meaning apart from the totality of all four perspectives (technically called *perspective-dimensions* to capture both the epistemological and ontological meanings).

<sup>6</sup> Esbjörn-Hargens & Wilber, "Toward a comprehensive integration of science and religion: A post-metaphysical approach," 2006

<sup>7</sup> Loevinger, *Ego development*, 1976

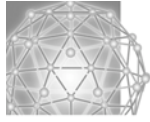


- <sup>8</sup> Gardner, *Frames of mind: The theory of multiple intelligences*, 1983; Gardner, "Multiple intelligences after twenty years," 2003
- <sup>9</sup> Cook-Greuter & Soulen, "The developmental perspective in integral counseling," 2007, p. 7
- <sup>10</sup> Kegan, *In over our heads: The mental demands of modern life*, 1994
- <sup>11</sup> See Cook-Greuter, "Postautonomous ego development: A study of its nature and measurement," 1999; Huan Hy & Loevinger, *Measuring ego development*, 1996; Loevinger, *Technical foundations for measuring ego development*, 1998
- <sup>12</sup> Lahey et al., *A guide to the subject-object interview: Its administration and interpretation*, 1988. For the use of the Subject-Object interview in career transition, see Marshall, *NATCON papers—23rd national consultation on career development*, 1997.
- <sup>13</sup> Super, *Work values inventory*, 1970
- <sup>14</sup> Graves, "Levels of existence: An open systems theory of values," 1970; Beck & Cowan, *Spiral dynamics: Mastering values, leadership, and change*, 1996; Cowan & Todorovic, *The never ending quest: Clare W. graves explores human nature*, 2005
- <sup>15</sup> Wilber, *Integral psychology: Consciousness, spirit, psychology, therapy*, 2000
- <sup>16</sup> Holland, *Making vocational choices: A theory of vocational personalities and work environments*, 1997, and Holland et al., *Self-directed search form R internet version 2.0*, 2001
- <sup>17</sup> See Sue, "Multidimensional facets of cultural competence," 2001
- <sup>18</sup> Ragins & Cornwell, "Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees," 2001
- <sup>19</sup> It is also worth noting that the historical development of the entire field of career and employment counselling has been tied to the evolution of the techno-economic base (from agrarian to industrial to informational), which is situated within the Lower-Right quadrant. See Savickas & Baker, "The history of vocational psychology: Antecedents, origin, and early development," 2005.
- <sup>20</sup> Wilber, *Integral psychology: Consciousness, spirit, psychology, therapy*, 2000
- <sup>21</sup> Parsons, *Choosing a vocation*, 1909



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