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Major Contribution

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Why Aren't We There Yet? The Status of Research in Women's Career Development

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Abstract

The career development of women has been a longstanding topic of inquiry in vocational psychology. Two previous major reviews in this area consistently identified that women tend to experience more career barriers than men. This major contribution sought to extend this work by providing a third systematic review of the literature on women's career development. We focused our review explicitly on the experiences of women rather than women compared to men. We seek to answer the question that has been asked for 50 years: Do we need a separate theory of women's career development? Our findings suggest that women experience several barriers at various stages during the trajectory of their careers. We make the case that perceptions of career barriers are an integral construct to women's career experiences and theoretical prepositions in vocational psychology should explicitly capture this construct in future investigations. We discuss implications for practice, training, and education.

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Keywords
career development, vocation, career counseling, career, jobs

Significance of the Scholarship to the Public
This major contribution reviews research in vocational psychology on the career development of women. It is found that women experience barriers to career advancement at all stages of their career development. The discussion then centers on how to improve scientific consensus on career barriers to support intervention on behalf of women.

Introduction

Vocational psychology researchers have been interested in women's work choices and career development since the 1960s. We define *career development* generally to denote the process of making decisions about work as one develops from adolescence through adulthood. Although once thought to be a choice made early in life, it is now believed that individuals make several decisions about their work and career over their lifetime. Early research emphasized girls' and women's choices of working or marriage (e.g., Matthews & Tiedeman, 1964; Parker, 1966), but shifted in the 1960s and 1970s as women entered the workforce in greater numbers. At that time, new attention was given to predicting women's entrance into careers, especially in nontraditional fields for women, such as law or science (e.g., Standley & Soule, 1974). Those early studies examined how women differed from each other, rather than how they differed from men. Critical reviews of the literature on women's career development by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) and Phillips and Imhoff (1997) also concentrated solely on the research that examined within-group differences for women. Many of those studies helped to frame the argument that the context in which women made career and work decisions was so different from that of men that the field needed a separate theory for women's career development (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980).

However, there has not been a review of research on how women differ from each other since Phillips and Imhoff's 1997 study ; thus, the debate over whether a separate theory is needed to explain women's career development has not continued. Vocational psychology handbook chapters have primarily reviewed research that differentiates men's work choices from women's. For example, Heppner and Jung's (2013) chapter in the fourth edition of the

Handbook of Vocational Psychology argued for a model that focused on the intersection of gender and social class. Their model posited that gender and social class help to determine accessibility of resources for both men and women, and early socialization experiences help to develop the construction of the self. Heppner (2013) focused on gender equity for both men and women in her chapter in the second edition of *Career Development and Counseling*. Eight years later, writing for the third edition of the book, Schultheiss (2021), focused on structures that led to gender inequity for both men and women, but also noted the occupational disparities between them. She covered gender inequities in pay, parenthood, and the ability to balance work and home, in addition to a section on men's career development. However, none of these authors argued that the contextual factors for women's career development were so different from men's that a separate theory was needed.

Two recent review articles addressed gender and diversity, however, their emphases looked outside of reviews of vocational psychology research that focused solely on within-group differences for women. Flores et al. (2021) reviewed research on women and work for the 50th anniversary of *The Journal of Vocational Behavior*. Although they examined some of the individual outcomes for women, theirs was an integrative and interdisciplinary review of counseling psychology and industrial/organizational psychology research that "prioritiz[ed] external and organizational factors over individual factors" (p. 104), noting that women are making choices within social structures that have oppressed them. The scope of Flores et al.'s review precluded a singular examination of the research in vocational psychology that led women to make those work and career-related choices and decisions. Blustein et al.'s (2019) contribution to the 50th anniversary of *The Counseling Psychologist* was even broader, not only reviewing some of the major areas of research in vocational psychology, but proposing a new vision for the field. They argued for a contextual perspective, and called for more research on intersectionality and the impact of marginalization on choices, but did not emphasize a discussion of gender.

Although calls for a separate theory of women's career development have generally disappeared in the last 25 years, we believe that it is time to revisit research on within-group differences for women and their work choices. Examining the results of that research will help clarify contextual influences for women, including how race, sexual orientation, child-bearing, and social class shape their career development, and whether current theories of career development can capture those influences. The COVID-19 pandemic, for example, has made evident the dramatic differences among women. For some women, the pandemic has been a disruption in routine, but also a relief from commuting or navigating difficult relationships at work. However, since the start of the pandemic, some women have left the workforce, some have been heavily involved in caregiving and homeschooling, some have been

disproportionately considered "essential workers," and others have reported being burned out and are preparing to leave the workforce altogether (Fry, 2022; Madgavkar et al., 2020). These examples elucidate differences among women, and emphasize the importance of understanding factors that contribute to those differences in contexts, choices, and outcomes. In this paper, we present the results of a review of the research on women's career development and career choices over the past 25 years, that has been published since Phillips and Imhoff's (1997) review. We only included research from a vocational psychology lens, as did Phillips and Imhoff (1997) and Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) before us, which together allows us to understand how research on women's career and work choices has grown and changed over 50 years. We begin with a brief historical review of the early calls for a separate career theory for women.

Women's Career Development: Need for a Separate Theory?

In response to women's growing participation in the workforce and advocacy for women's freedom of choice in the 1960s and '70s, the field of vocational psychology began arguing that women's career choices and career development were not the same as men's (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980). Expanding from the societal events impacting women's lives and careers during these decades (e.g., the women's rights movement and introduction of the contraceptive pill), there was advocacy for greater sex equity in education and employment, including reducing sex bias in educational and vocational tests. Further, career counselors advocated for and encouraged women to seek out nontraditional roles and not limit their occupational options (Farmer, 2006).

While career counseling articles focused on advocacy for women, researchers began studying aspects of women's career development rather than comparing them to men, and began to develop career development models unique to women. In 1975, Sam Osipow edited *Emerging Woman: Career Analysis and Outcomes*, the first attempt at a model of women's career development. The model included two initial types of factors: individual factors (i.e., attitudes, interests, and abilities) and social factors (i.e., family, school, church, helpers, mass media, and significant others). These were moderated by fear of success, role conflict and overload, direct or indirect discrimination, and time. Women's career development was predicted to then result in a successful career or marriage, level of achievement, self-exclusion, underutilization of abilities, or social change. Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) agreed with the need for a separate theory, arguing that women had unique career needs. Fitzgerald et al. (1995) continued to advocate for a separate theory, stating that "the study of women's relationship to work is more complicated than men's, requiring the identification and study of concepts and variables previously… ignored" (p. 68). However, some prominent scholars (e.g.,

Astin, 1984; Harmon, 1997) argued that the field did not need a separate theory, primarily because the factors influencing work and career choices were the same, although the relative emphasis of some factors might differ between men and women. For example, as Harmon (1997) argued, both men and women have to incorporate child-rearing in their work decisions, but women usually incorporate it more than men.

By the late 1980s and mid 1990s, enough research on women's career development had been done to warrant critical integrative reviews (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997). Both sets of authors noted that women who were employed full time were often still responsible for maintaining household responsibilities, were disproportionately represented in low-paying professions, were often put into positions to negotiate between work and family, and achieved less in terms of pay and success. Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) argued the need for a vocational theory specific to women's career development. Phillips and Imhoff's (1997) review demonstrated that a growing interest in the career development of woman was primarily framed within a number of existing career development theories, including social cognitive career theory (SCCT; Lent et al., 1994), life-span, life-space theory (Super, 1995; Super et al., 1996), and the theory of circumscription and compromise (Gottfredson, 2005). Using these theories, researchers found many of the same trends noted by Betz and Fitzgerald (1987), including that women experience more career barriers and manage more work responsibilities than men. Phillips and Imhoff (1997) did not, however, advocate for a separate theory of women's career development.

Similarly, since the mid 1990s, scholars have not advocated for the development of a separate women's career development model. This is likely due to the contextual variables mentioned by Astin (1984), Betz and Fitzgerald (1987), and Fitzgerald and Harmon (2001) that were added to newer theories of career choice, such as the psychology of working theory (PWT; Duffy et al., 2016) and SCCT (Lent et al., 1994). For example, PWT explicitly considers marginalization, including marginalization due to sexism, as a construct influencing work volition and career adaptability. Kantamneni (2013) called for greater study, within a PWT perspective, of the limits to the opportunity structure for women, and the need to help women realize the options they have for decent work. SCCT originally included gender as an input variable, presumed to affect access to opportunities for learning experiences that formed self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations (Lent et al., 1994). In 2000, Lent and colleagues added proximal and distal contextual affordances to their model, including environmental supports and barriers that ranged in proximity from the point of choice actions. The authors noted that the inclusion of career barriers "emerged largely from the literature on women's career development" (p. 37), citing work by Swanson and colleagues (Swanson et al., 1996; Swanson & Woitke, 1997). In a 2019 review

of the meta-analytic research on SCCT, Lent and Brown concluded that the model fit data across women and racial/ethnic groups, further noting that the model was designed to "account for the educational and career outcomes of women and racial/ethnic minority persons" (p. 8).

Overview of Present Study

Since Betz and Fitzgerald's (1987) and Phillips and Imhoff's (1997) integrative reviews, much more research has been done on women's career development. Searching "women career development" in PsycINFO produces over 5,000 peer-reviewed articles, 423 of which were published since Phillips and Imhoff's (1997) review in targeted vocational psychology journals. We argue that it is time for another review of the research in women's career development. We further argue that it is important to review what is known about women's career development and work choices, rather than what distinguishes women from men's career development, as some factors are relevant just to women. These factors may lead the field to consider the need for a new theory for women's career development and trajectory, rather than simply applying theories originally developed for men to women. Studies that compare men and women are implicitly assuming that the influences and outcomes on men's and women's choices about work and careers are similar in scope. Thus, our review is only on research that focused on women. Following many other vocational psychology reviews (e.g., Fouad, 2007; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997; S. D. Brown & Lent, 2016), we reviewed studies that examined individual and internal factors that influence the work and career choices of women across their lifespan. The remainder of this major contribution will be on the process, results, and conclusions of that review. We describe our process as well as inclusion and exclusion criteria in the methods section, and summarize the findings of the studies using a framework focused on career decisions across the lifespan in the research findings section.

In our review of the research, we use the term *women* (or *girls*) operationally defined by the authors of each article, although we do not limit our review to research on cisgendered women. Despite our interest in the intersections between women and race, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation, we were limited to the research questions investigated in each study; thus, we could only report on those intersections if they were a focus of the study. Rather than critiquing each individual study, we provide three main critiques in the third section of our article. The first critique is a summary of the overall number of women in the studies, along with a critique of the methods of recruitment and suggestions to improve research on career development of women. The second is an overall methodological critique of the studies, and includes suggestions to improve future studies of women's career development. The third critique addresses the theoretical frameworks (or lack thereof)

in the studies. Finally, we finish our review with a discussion of the implications of our results in a framework for future research, as well as implications for training, practice, and advocacy.

Our discussion of the research often cites theories of career development that undergird individual studies, however, providing detailed information about career development theories is outside the scope of this paper. Readers are referred to S. D. Brown and Lent (2020) for in-depth information on each theory's development and constructs.

Methods

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

As noted, we were interested primarily in reviewing studies of the experiences of women rather than in the experiences of women compared to men. Functionally this meant that we excluded articles investigating gender differences between cisgender men and women. We further were open to examining studies aimed at understanding the experiences of all women, but we did not include research on transmen, gender nonconforming, or gender queer individuals, since we were primarily interested in those who identified as women. However, we also did not exclude studies with samples of individuals with these identity markers. We made this decision because cisgender women were not being treated as the comparison group in studies where transwomen, gender nonconforming, or genderqueer individuals were included. In other words, we did not want to make arbitrary decisions about who counts as a woman and instead opted to show deference to the operational definitions of women as retained in the literature. This decision had the net effect of allowing gender to vary so long as the paper claimed to be studying women or women's career development and did not include men or the male gender identity as a comparison group. Research where mothers and their children were the population of interest were included in the sample of articles even if their relationships with male children were examined (e.g., O'Brien et al., 2017; Toyokawa & McLoyd, 2013).

We also made the decision to limit this portion of our review to empirical research only. For our purposes, *empirical* meant studies with an explicit research design where data were collected and analyzed and results were reported. Although excellent theoretical and critical contributions have been made in response to calls for understanding the experiences of women at work (e.g., Fouad & Santana, 2017; O'Brien et al., 2021), we believed that a review that focused on empirical research would allow us to focus more directly on the methods used to study the area. Case studies that were illustrative of a preexisting theoretical paradigm rather than investigating a new phenomenon did not meet our criteria for empirical work and were subsequently excluded from

the review. This included special issues in extant journals devoted to career counseling or test interpretation to specific cases from a variety of perspectives (e.g., Chen & Leong, 1997, Savickas, 1998).

Finally, we limited our studies to those with samples within the United States. Our main concern was that our target journals may not be fully descriptive of the experience of international women. We acknowledge this is a limitation of the present review given that our conclusions are limited to the experiences of women living in the United States and subsequent discussion of diversity and intersectionality are in light of this limitation. However, studies involving immigrant women working and studying within the United States were included in the review. Figure 1 is a PRIMSA compliant diagram that is illustrative of our selection process.

Procedures

A group of thirteen advanced doctoral students in counseling psychology, diverse along intersections of race and gender, in a vocational psychology research team supervised by a vocational psychologist made up the research team. Specifically, the team was comprised of seven cisgender men and seven cisgender women. Two women identified as Latina, two women identified as East Asian, and three women identified as White. One man identified as Latino, one man identified as Pacific Islander, and the remaining men were White. Six team members identified as growing up in working poor households, while the remaining students identified as growing up in either middle or upper-middle class households.

Each doctoral student had coursework and supervised mentorship in critically evaluating research prior to participating in data collection. Two student raters conducted a literature search using the following keywords: women, girls, SES, intersectionality, race, ethnicity, career development, work, and job for articles published between 1995–2020, building off the previous review of the literature in women's career development (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997). Because we were primarily interested in women's career development research within vocational psychology, we limited our search to journals that publish primarily vocational psychology research. These journals were selected because previous reviews of vocational psychology (e.g., S. D. Brown & Lent, 2016) have identified these journals as primary outlets for vocational psychology research. The journals were *The Career Development Quarterly, The Counseling Psychologist, The Journal of Career Assessment*, *The Journal of Career Development, The Journal of Counseling Psychology*, and *The Journal of Vocational Behavior.* Results were verified through a hand search of the journals by the same two raters, who reviewed their findings with the entire team until consensus was reached. The entire research team was split into two groups for the review phase of the project. One group reviewed

papers and provided summaries of the study's research questions and findings. The other group reviewed papers according to four criteria decided upon by the entire research team: population of interest, research design, statistical methodology, and theoretical approach. Summaries of the findings and critiques of the literature were then reviewed and discussed by the research team, during which time no substantive disagreements emerged. The results and research implications portions of the review were then completed by the first two authors, while the critiques and implications were completed by the first five authors. Tables and editing were completed by the first, second, and sixth authors.

Research Findings

Organization of the Research Findings

Vocational psychology has been traditionally defined as the study of work behavior across the lifespan (Blustein et al., 2019; Savickas, 2019); in keeping with this tradition, we made the decision to organize the results across three key periods across the lifespan, reflecting the key populations of studies in our review. These were: adolescence, women in postsecondary education, and women in the workforce. It is important to emphasize these three major sections are descriptive of the current state of research and not meant to be prescriptive. We do not intend to imply that women's careers "should" develop in any particular way (e.g., Richardson, 2012). Rather, we organized the results in this manner to provide a useful framework for understanding within-group differences among women occurring in different life stages. We hope that doing so would invite longitudinal questions in future scholarship: an underutilized research design thus far. What follows is a summary of the research in these three populations of interest to those studying women's careers during the review period. We have made efforts to highlight methodologies common to the study of women's career decisions in light of our critiques in the third portion of the review, but the emphasis here is on describing the findings of studies in our review. The subheadings represent common research questions. Table 1 contains study characteristics for the reader's review.

Adolescence

In adolescence, the academic self-efficacy, academic achievement, career interests, and career planning of girls and women seem to be shaped by parental input, which in turn may be shaped by larger societal messaging including a consideration of the traditionality of the career (Flores & O'Brien, 2002; Meinster & Rose, 2001; Novakovic & Fouad, 2012; O'Brien, 1996; O'Brien et al., 2000;

Table 1. Study Characteristics

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Albaugh & Nauta (2005)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	129	82% Caucasian; 12% African American; 2% Hispanic; 2% Asian American; 2% Biracial; 2% Other
August (2011)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Kaleidoscope Career Model	14	64% Caucasian; 29% African American; 7% Japanese American
Austin & Nauta (2016)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	620	89% White; 4% Black/African American; 3% Asian/Asian American; 2% Hispanic/Latina; 1% other; <1% American Indian/Alaskan Native; <1% multiracial; <1% did not report
Baker et al. (2016)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	124	87.1% European American; 3.2% International student; 3.2% Multiracial; 2.4% Latino/a; 2.4% Asian American/Pacific Islander; 1.6 African American; 0.8% Did not report
Battle & Wigfield (2003)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Expectancy-Value Model	216	74% White; 12% African-American; 9% Asian; 2% Hispanic; 3% Other
Baumgartner & Schneider (2010)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Glass Ceiling	7	85.7% White; 14.3% African American
Betsworth (1999)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Occupational Realism	198	94% White
Betz & Schifano (2000)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Self-Efficacy Theory/ Interests	54	83% Caucasian, Non-Hispanic, 6% Asian American, <1% African American, <1% American Indian, <1% International, 4% did not provide race

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Blake-Beard (1999)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Relationship between Race and Mentorship	195	79% White; 21% Black
Boatwright et al. (1996)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Feminist	10	90% White; 10% African American
Bonifacio et al. (2018)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	202	100% Latina (37.6% Mexican; 16.3% South American; 13.9% Mixed; 10.9% Puerto Rican; 8.4% Dominican; 4.5% Central American; 2.5% Cuban; 5.4% Other; 0.5% Did not report
Breese & O'Toole (1995)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Role Exit Theory	221	92% Caucasian
Brooks & Daniluk (1998)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	8	100% Caucasian
C. Brown et al. (2000)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Self-Efficacy Theory	71	45.1% Caucasian; 32.4% African American; 4.2% Hispanic; 4.2% Native American; 5.6% Other; 8.4% Did not report
C. Brown et al. (2005)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	IPV and Career Development	13	69.2% African American; 23.1% Caucasian; 7.7% Other
C. Brown et al. (2009)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	IPV and Career Development	6	67% African American; 33% White
C. Brown et al. (2012)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Development in Transwomen	9	77.8% European American; 11.1% Latino; 11.1% Biracial

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Burke & McKeen (1997)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Mentorship	280	"Considerable diversity in demographic and situational characteristics" (p. 46)
Cadaret et al. (2017)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	211	73% White; 13.7% Asian American; 4.7% African American/Black; 4.3% Bicultural; 2.8% Hispanic/Latino(a); 0.9% Pacific Islander; 0.5% Mexican American/Chicano
Caldera et al. (2003)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory	290	55.86% Mexican American; 44.14% Non-Hispanic White
Chalk et al. (2005)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Possible Selves	98	75.5% European American; 10.2% African American; 10.2% Hispanic; 2% Asian American; 1% Native American; 1% Other
Chronister & McWhirter (2004)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	74	58.1% European American; 10.8% Latina; 8.1% African American; 6.8% Native American; 10.8% Biracial; 5.4% Multiracial
Chronister & McWhirter (2006)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	72	75% European American; 6.9% Latina; 1.4% Pacific Islander; 5.5% American Indian; 5.6% Biracial; 4.2% Multiracial; 1.4% Other
Clark & Bower (2016)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Poverty and its Impact on Women's Careers	10	60% African American; 30% Multiracial; 10% Caucasian
Cron (2001)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Career Adaptability	197	Race not assessed

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Darvin (2020)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Occupational Turnover	12	75% Caucasian; 25% Black
Deemer (2015)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Regulatory Focus Theory	255	81.1% White; 9.3% African American; 4.6% Asian American; 1.6% Multiracial; 1.4% Native American;
Deemer et al. (2016)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Stereotype Threat	650	74% White; 13.2% Asian/Asian American; 3.7% Black/African American; 3.2% Multiracial; 3.1% Latina; 1.2% Arabic/Arab American; 1.2% Other; 0.4% Native American
Dunn et al. (2013)	Women in the Workforce	Mixed Methods	Expansionist Theory/ Stigma	51	100% White
England et al. (2020)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Psychology of Working	528	88.5% White/European American/Caucasian; 4% Multiracial; 3.4% African/African American/ Black; 2.4% Asian/Asian American; 1.1% Hispanic/Latina/o American; 0.2% American Indian/Native American/First Nation; 0.2% Arab American/Middle Eastern; 0.4% Other
Falco & Summers (2019)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	88	52.3% White; 47.7% Latina

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Fisher et al. (2011)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	381	74% White/Caucasian; 7% Asian/Pacific Islander; 5% Hispanic/Latino; 3% African American/ Black; 5% Multiracial; <1% Native American; <1% Middle Eastern; 4% Other
Flores & O'Brien (2002)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	364	100% Mexican American
Fouad et al. (2016)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Integrated Model	514	80.6% Caucasian; 8.75% Asian/Asian American; 3.15% Latina; 2.3% African American; 1.7% Multiracial
Ganginis Del Pino et al. (2013)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Considering Future Family Plans	401	60.4% White; 13% Asian/Asian American; 7.4% African American; 6.6% Hispanic/Latina; 5.3% Biracial/Multiracial; 1.1% Middle Eastern; 0.3% American Indian; 3.7% Other; 2.1% Did not report
Gibson (2004)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Mentorship	9	Race not assessed
Gomez et al. (2001)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Life Path	20	100% Latina
Gray & O'Brien (2007)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Career Aspirations	1,264	58.7% White; 31.0% Hispanic/Latino/a/Mexican American; 5.7% African American; 2.5 Asian American; <1% Native American; <1% Biracial; <1% Other; <1% Did not respond

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Gregor & O'Brien (2015)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Leadership	202	74% non-Latina White; 9% Asian/Asian American; 6% African American; 5% Hispanic/Latina; 3% Biracial/Multiracial; 1% American Indian; 2% Other
Gregor & O'Brien (2016)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Career Aspirations	583	66.2% White, Non-Hispanic; 11.5% Asian/Asian American; 10.6% African American; 5.1% Hispanic/Latina; <1% American Indian; 3.5% Biracial/Multiracial; 2.9% Other
Gushue & Whitson (2006)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	104	51.9% Black; 46.2% Latina; 1.9% Biracial (Black-Latina)
Hernández & Morales (1999)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Perceptions of Barriers	9	100% Latina
Hite & McDonald, (2003)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Aspirations	26	Race not assessed
House (2004)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory	10	100% Caucasian
Kim & O'Brien (2018)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Perceptions of Barriers	4,195	56.89% White; 18.20% Asian; 14.60% African America; 10.30 Latina; 1.8% Did not report
Kossek et al. (2003)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Human Capital/Ecology	249	49% Black; 41% White; 4.8% Arab/Chilean; 1.9% Hispanic/Latina; 0.5% Native American; 6% Did not respond

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Kozan et al. (2020)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Psychology of Working	17	58.8% White; 17.6% African American; 11.8% Asian American; 11.8% Multiracial
Lapour & Heppner (2009)	Adolescence	Qualitative	Feminist	10	100% White
Lee & Flores (2019)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	348	77.7% White; 9.2% Asian American; 3.4% Latina; 4.4% African American; 2.1% Multiracial; 2.1% Asian international; 0.6% European international; 1.3% Other
Lindstrom et al. (2013)	Adolescence	Mixed Methods	Self-Efficacy Theory	110	64% White; 15% Hispanic; 13% Multiple Races/ Ethnicities; 3% African American; 2% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander; 1% American Indian/ Alaskan Native; 1% Asian
Lopez & Ann-Yi (2006)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Perceptions of Barriers	359	42.2% White; 24.7 Hispanic; 19.2% African American
Lopez et al. (2014)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Multiple Role Planning	268	28.4% White; 23.5% Asian or Pacific Islanders; 22.4% Black; 19.4% Hispanic/Latino; 2.2% Multiracial; 0.4% Native American; 3.7% Did not report
Madill et al. (2000)	Adolescence	Mixed Methods	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory	156	Race not assessed
Marks et al. (2018)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Career Calling	400	36.3% Black; 26% Asian; 22.5% Hispanic; 4.5% American Indian; 10.8% Multiracial

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Mau et al. (1995)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Career Aspirations	930	71.9% White; 13.2% Hispanic; 6.6% African American; 5.6% Asian American; 1.6% Native American
McCracken & Weitzman (1997)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Multiple Role Planning	131	61% White; 28% African American
Meinster & Rose (2001)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Holland's Theory of Congruence	92	94% European American; 6% Asian, African American or Latino
Moffitt & Szymanski (2011)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Sexual Objectification	11	81.8% White; 9.1% Asian American/Pacific Islander; 9.1% Multiracial
Motulsky (2010)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Feminist	13	92.3% White; 7.7% African American
Nauta & Epperson (2003)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	204	97% Caucasian; 1% African American' <1% Asian American; <1% Hispanic/Latina; 2% Did not report
Nauta et al. (1998)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Career Aspirations	546	91% Caucasian; 6% Asian American; 2% African American; 1% Other
Noonan et al. (2004)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	17	76.4% White/European American; 11.8% Black/ African American; 5.9% Asian American; 5.9% Hispanic/Native American
Novakovic & Fouad (2012)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Adolescent Career Planning	217	24% African American; 3% Asian; 17% European American; 35% Latina; 6% Middle Eastern' 0.5% Native American; 15% Multiracial

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
O'Brien (1996)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Attachment	282	81.2% Caucasian; 10.6% African American; 1.4% Asian American; 4.6% Latina; 1.1% Native American; 0.4% Other
O'Brien et al. (2000)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Attachment	207	88% White; 6% African American; 2% Asian American; 3% Latina; 0.5% Biracial; 0.5% Other
O'Brien et al. (2017)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Self-Complexity Theory	176	91.5% White; 1.7% Black/African American; 2.8% Hispanic/Latina; 1.1% Asian; 2.3% Biracial/ Multiracial; .6% Other
O'Shaughnessy & Burnes (2016)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Adjustment	22	72.7% White/Caucasian; 13.7% Multiracial Latina or Mixed Race Asian and Latina; 9.1% Asian; 4.5% Declined to specify
Packard & Nguyen (2003)	Adolescence	Qualitative	Possible Selves	41	32% European American; 22% African American; 17% Asian, Hispanic, or Native American; 24% Multiethnic or Other Ethnic Background; 5% Did not report
Pearson & Bieschke (2001)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	14	100% African American
Pina-Watson et al. (2014)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	176	100% Mexican American
Proudfoot (1999)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Stigmatization	16	Black and White participants, but a further breakdown is unknown.

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Pruitt et al. (2010)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory/Social Cognitive Career Theory	12	58.3 White; 25% African American; 8.3% Latina; 8.3% Asian
Quimby & De Santis (2006)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Holland's Theory of Congruence	368	82% White; 8% African American; 4.7% Asian American; 1% Biracial; 0.3% Latino/Hispanic; 4% Other; <1% Did not respond
Quimby & O'Brien (2004)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Self-Efficacy Theory	354	71% Caucasian; 15% African American; 2.5% Asian American; 3.8% Latino; 3.1% Middle Eastern; 1.3% Native American; 0.6% Biracial; 3.1% Other
Rainy & Borders (1997)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Integrated Model	276	96% White; 2.9% African American; 0.7% Native American; 0.4% Hispanic
Raque-Bogdan et al. (2015)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Cancer Survivorship and Career Development	13	69.2% White; 15.4% African American/Black; 7.7% Latina; 7.7% Biracial Indian and White
Raskin et al. (1998)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Integrated Model	164	70.1% White; 5.5% African American; 2.4% Latina; <1% Asian; 15.9% Did not respond; 3.7% Other
Rees et al. (2007)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Holland's Theory of Congruence/RP	123	92.6% Caucasian; 1.7% African American; 4.8% Biracial; <1% Chicana/Hispanic/Latina
Reichel & Muchinsky (1995)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Holland's Theory of Congruence	296	Race not assessed

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Reybold & Alamia (2008)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Academic Transitions	23	78.3% European American; 13% African American or of African descent; 4.3% European; 4.3% Hispanic/Chicana
Richard & Lee (2019)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Ecological Model	15	53.3% African American; 33.3% Multiracial American; 6.7% Hispanic/Latina; 6.7% Native American
Richie et al. (1997)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	18	50% African American-Black; 50% White
Rivera et al. (2007)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	131	29.8% Dominican; 24.4% Puerto Rican; 17.6% Ecuadorian; 9.9% Colombian; 3.1% Salvadorian; 0.8% Cuban; 14.5% Hispanic
Robinson et al. (2003)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Possible Selves	198	87.8% White; 9.1% Black/African American; 2% Latina; 1% Native American
San Miguel & Kim (2015)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	8	100% Latina
Savela & O'Brien (2016)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Integrated Model	177	72% White; 16% Asian/Asian American; 11% African American; 4% Biracial/Multiracial; 3% Hispanic/Latina; 1% American Indian; 2% Other
Scalise et al. (2019)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Adjustment	13	84.6% White; 15.4% African American
Scheuermann et al. (2014)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	194	100% African American or Black

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Scott & Mallinckrodt (2005)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Self-Efficacy Theory	41	78% White; 10% Asian American; 4% Biracial; 2% Native American; 2% Latina; 2% Did not respond
Shivy et al. (2019)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	491	Intervention Group: 59.7% Caucasian; 36.4% African American; 1.6% Hispanic; 0.4% Asian American/Pacific Islander; 0.4% Middle Eastern; 1.6% Other | Control Group: 58.4% Caucasian; 37.8% African American; 0.8% Hispanic; 2.9% Other
Singh et al. (2013)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	5,562	84% Caucasian; 3% Latina; 2% African American; 3% Multiracial; 8% Asian or Asian American
Snodgrass et al. (2017)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Narrative Career Counseling	8	100% African American
Stebleton et al. (2020)	Early Adulthood	Qualitative	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory/Systems Theory Framework	18	78% Students of Color
Storlie et al. (2016)	Early Adulthood	Qualitative	Lifespan, Lifespace Theory	10	100% Latina
Toyokawa & McLoyd (2013)	Adolescence	Quantitative	Work Socialization	245	100% African American

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Velez et al. (2018)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Theory of Work Adjustment	276	46% Black or African America; 21% Asian/Pacific Islander or Asian/Pacific Islander American; 15% Hispanic or Latina American; 9% Biracial/ Multiracial; 3% American Indian or Native American; 1% Arab American or Middle Eastern; 1% Other
Vermeulen & Minor (1998)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	40	100% White
Walsh et al. (2020)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Career Calling	186	77.4% White/European/European American; 11.4% Black/African/African American
Werbel (1998)	Women in the Workforce	Quantitative	Value-Based Model of Career Choice	70	Race not assessed
Wettersten et al. (2004)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	IPV and Career Development	10	50% Native American; 40% European American; 10% Latina
Whiston et al. (2015)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Career Adaptability	13	85% European American; 15% African American
Whitmarsh et al. (2007)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	27	85% Caucasian; 8% African American; 4% Asian; 4% Did not report
Williams et al. (1998)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Women's Career Development	13	100% White
Yang (2014)	Women in the Workforce	Qualitative	Ecology	20	100% Hmong American

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Authors	Developmental Period	Methods	Theory	*N*	Racial/Ethnic Backgrounds of Participants
Yeagley et al. (2010)	Early Adulthood	Quantitative	Social Cognitive Career Theory	156	80.1% White; 10.9% African American; 2.6% Asian American; 0.6% American Indian; 1.9% Biracial; 3.8% Other Ethnicities

Note. Studies labeled "women's career development" were exploratory studies or studies that followed up with calls for studying an explicit theory of women's career development. Studies labeled "integrated model" were studies that integrated more than two theoretical perspectives.

Rainey & Borders, 1997; Scott & Mallinckrodt, 2005; Toyokawa & McLloyd, 2013). Specifically, some research has uncovered a link between an individual's positive relationship with their mother and the development of a healthy career identity, including an interest in nontraditional careers and positive perceptions of the value of education (O'Brien, 1996; O'Brien et al., 2000; Rainey & Borders, 1997; Toyokawa & McLloyd, 2013). The converse may also be true, as harmful parenting styles and associated attachments correlate with poor scientific self-efficacy (Scott & Mallinckrodt, 2005). Additionally, young women with lower educational aspirations and academic self-efficacy are more likely to engage in multiple role planning and express an interest in traditional careers (Meinster & Rose, 2001; Novakovic & Fouad, 2012).

It also seems that scientific interests in women and girls are both stable and amenable to interventions that act on the four sources of self-efficacy, in addition to general ingredients in career counseling intervention for women in adolescence (Betz & Schifano, 2000; S. D. Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Falco & Summers, 2019; Madill et al., 2000; Packard & Nguyen, 2003; Quimby & De Santis, 2006; Whiston et al., 2015). For instance, Nauta and Epperson (2003) supported a modified SCCT choice model in a longitudinal study where high school math and science interests, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations were predictive of a science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) major choice at the collegiate level. Further, studies evaluated the utility of career interventions with adolescent girls and women. Further, studies that evaluated career interventions targeting self-efficacy demonstrated significant and practical posttest treatment effects (Falco & Summers, 2019; Lindstrom et al., 2013).

Intersectionality Research in Adolescence. Intersectional research in career decisions for adolescent girls and women is notably sparse, but as is evident throughout this review, race very much affects the trajectory throughout a woman's career. In adolescence, race and class differences in career decisions may begin with perceptions of career choice traditionality and perceptions of opportunities (Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Lapour & Heppner, 2009) in which a supportive family, a feminist attitude, levels of acculturation, and/or experiences of systemic racism may also play a role (Flores & O'Brien, 2002; Toyokawa & McLoyd, 2013). Further, educational aspirations, perceived parental expectations, science proficiency, and grade point average (GPA) emerged among the better discriminating predictors in STEM career interest across racial groups in a large sample of diverse girls, with one exception in Asian American girls where science proficiency emerged as a stronger predictor of interest in a science or engineering career (Mau et al., 1995).

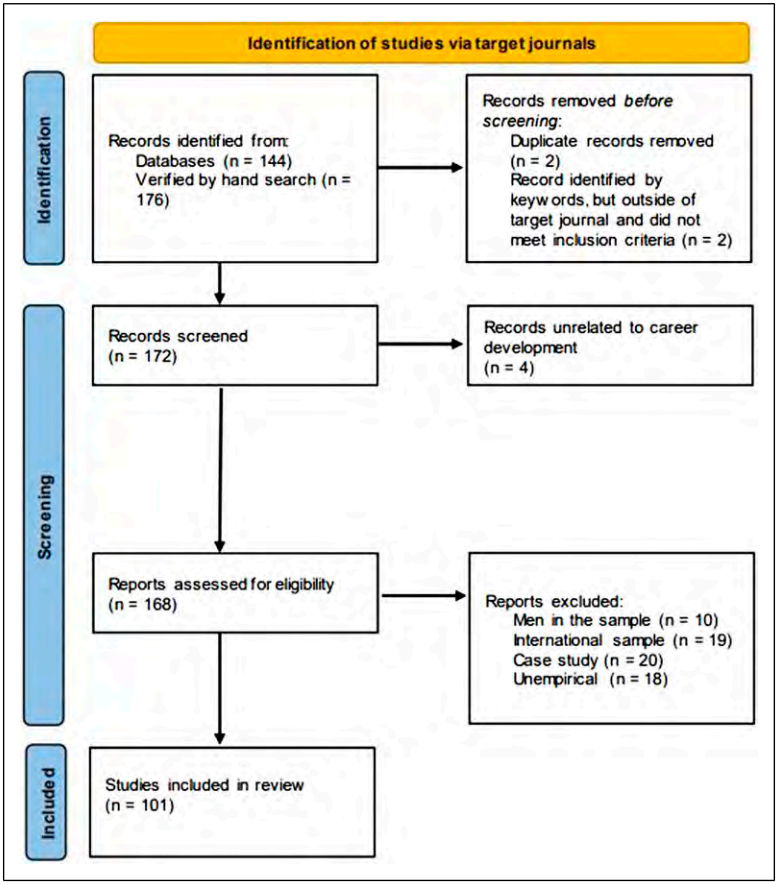


Figure 1. PRISMA compliant figure of the review process.
Note. Adapted from Page, M. J., McKenzie J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T.C., Mulrow, C. D. , et al. The PRISMA 2020 statement: an updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. BMJ 2021;372:n71. doi: 10.1136/bmj.n71.
For more information, visit: http://www.prisma-statement.org/

Early Adulthood

The research in early adulthood for women is primarily focused on college women, perhaps reflecting a tendency towards convenience sampling given these studies almost exclusively took place at four-year universities. Thus, the within-group differences for young women who did not enter college or attended community college remains virtually unknown (see Robinson et al., 2003 for an exception). What we do know is that college women may be anticipating career barriers while making career decisions ahead of actually experiencing

them (Gregor & O'Brien, 2015; Lopez et al., 2014; McCracken & Weitzman, 1997; O'Brien et al., 2000) and that these barriers might be more strongly felt for minoritized women (Baker et al., 2016; C. Brown et al., 2012; Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006; Piña-Watson et al., 2014; Savela & O'Brien, 2016), although women who were nontraditional college students appeared to report few career barriers when social support was adequate (Breese & O'Toole, 1995; Quimby & O'Brien, 2004).

For example, college women experienced "chilly" environments in academic and career settings where the career choice for women is viewed as nontraditional (e.g., STEM majors; Caderet et al., 2017; Deemer, 2015; Deemer et al., 2016; Nauta et al., 1998), which may persist into their actual career setting and are not necessarily experienced by women in career settings viewed as more traditional to women (Fouad et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2013; Whiston et al., 2015; Whitmarsh et al., 2007). Consequently, women in college may feel trapped between choosing what could be viewed as a less prestigious, but more traditionally feminine career environment or an unwelcoming environment found in more traditionally masculine career settings (Cadaret et al., 2017; Chalk et al., 2005).

It also appears that women's engagement in multiple role planning—the extent to which women's career decisions are affected by their family decisions—can affect the traditionality of their career choice (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997), in which women who are actively engaged in this process may be more relationally inclined than their counterparts (Lopez et al., 2014). Snapshots of this process unfolding over time might demonstrate women's tendency in postsecondary or graduate education to assign high intrinsic value to their education early in their careers only to rank family over educational, career, or leadership aspirations later, perhaps reflecting diminishing career aspirations over time as women feel more pressure to compromise for a family (Battle & Wigfield, 2003; Gregor & O'Brien, 2015; 2016; O'Brien et al., 2000).

Measurement. In order to be more confident in these findings, some scholars worked to create valid and reliable instruments for use to study women's careers in college. In this area, three measures are noteworthy. First, the Career Aspirations Scale (Gray & O'Brien, 2007) was developed specifically to measure the decisions college women make about their careers, which was later revised by Gregor and O'Brien (2016) in a large sample of undergraduate and graduate women. The latter investigation supported a three-factor structure measuring achievement, leadership, and educational aspirations. Secondly, Ganginis Del Pino et al. (2013) developed the PLAN scale with the final retained result containing a general considering future family when making career plans factor and two specific factors: (a) considering children and prioritizing and (b) compromising for partner. These studies provide some

factorial evidence for the career aspirations of college in light of career barriers and work–family compromise among college women. Finally, Kim and O'Brien (2018) supported strong measurement invariance across three samples of racially-diverse college women in the Career Barriers Inventory (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001).

Tests of Vocational Theories. For classical interest theories (c.f., Holland, 1997), there is preliminary evidence that other personality traits and psychological processes might be predictive of work interests. For example, one study (Rees et al., 2007) suggested that strong relational personalities in women predict artistic and social interests, whereas strong autonomous personalities predict enterprising and conventional interests. Another found that women with high investigative interests rated themselves as participating less in athletic endeavors, having less interest in social leadership, and perceived themselves as less feminine than women high in social interests in another study (Reichel & Muchinsky, 1995). Realistic interests were further influenced by self-efficacy and mentorship interventions appeared to be stable (Betz & Schifano, 2000; Quimby & De Santis, 2006).

Within the SCCT paradigm (Lent & Brown, 2013; Lent et al., 1994), the interest model was largely supported in tests in which college women's leadership interests were the domain of study, including cases when an extraversion subtrait was added as a person input (Baker et al., 2016; Yeagley et al., 2010). In the entrepreneurship domain, another study (Austin & Nauta, 2016) found self-efficacy mediated the number of role models and was moderated by the amount of involvement of an entrepreneurial role model. Additionally, having a same sex role model was not a significant moderator on intensity of the role model interaction or number of role models, as was hypothesized.

Intersectionality Research for College Women. In general, LGBTQ and BIPOC women face further discouragement when they reach college (Scheuermann et al., 2014; Storlie et al., 2016), including increased career barriers that may affect their level of committment to a career choice compared to their White, heterosexual counterparts. This was largely experienced as balancing familial expectations while studying in academic environments normed on largely White, heterosexual expectations (Caldera et al., 2003; Fisher et al., 2011; Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006; Rivera et al., 2007; Stebleton et al., 2020). These experiences of systemic racism are deeply demoralizing, particularly to Black and Latinx college women (Bonifacio et al., 2018; Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006; Rivera et al., 2007; Scheuermann et al., 2014). To cope, some BIPOC and LBGTQ women cited social support from friends and family as a key factor in remaining committed to a career decision (Fisher et al., 2011; Stebleton et al., 2020).

Quantitative research making comparisons between White and Latinx, and White, Black, and Latinx women revealed overall group differences on a number of career choice variables, including career choice commitment (Caldera et al., 2003), career barriers, educational coping, and career decision-making self-efficacy (Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006) on career indecision variables. Career barriers were salient predictors of career decision variables for Latinx women in college (Rivera et al., 2007). For these women, microaggressions and ethnic identity were also strongly related to perceptions of barriers and ethnic identity was positively related to self-efficacy (Bonifacio et al., 2018). Finally, acculturation to institutions normed on White culture as well as pressure to carry out traditional family gender roles were identified as salient themes in qualitative interviews with Latinx first-generation college students (Storlie et al, 2016).

Women in the Workforce

As women enter the workforce, they are continually engaged in the negotiation between their personal lives and their lives at work (Hite & McDonald, 2003; Raskin et al., 1998; Whitmarsh et al., 2007). Women also endorsed career barriers within their specific careers, including difficulty in securing adequate mentoring experiences, sexual harassment, inadequate pay, difficulties with advancement, and pressure to compromise career for family (Brooks & Daniluk 1998; Darvin, 2020; Hite & McDonald, 2003; Moffitt, & Szymanski, 2011; O'Shaughnessy & Burnes, 2016; Reybold & Alamia, 2008; Richie et al., 1997; Scalise et al., 2019), which may have implications for realistic perceptions of one's own ability (Betsworth, 1999). These career barriers were often more strongly felt for women in nontraditional careers (Whiston et al., 2015; Whitmarsh et al., 2007) and women of Color (C. Brown et al., 2005; Moffit & Szymanski, 2011; Richard & Lee, 2019; Richie et al., 1997). In examining why women may stay in a given career in the face of these barriers, research has pointed to an assessment of workplace climate as an important predictor of workplace satisfaction, access to decent work, and overall career persistence (England et al., 2020; Singh et al., 2013). Tempering this conclusion, somewhat, is that workplace climate may predict persistence, but not necessarily well-being, for women in STEM careers (Fouad et al., 2016; Lee & Flores, 2019).

Motherhood. As noted above, some women during adolescence and college may prepare for managing a family when making career decisions (e.g., McCracken & Weitzman, 1997). If women do become mothers, evidence suggests their partners' work preferences may play an important role in making post-childbirth career decisions (Werbel, 1998). Additionally, attachment style may play an important role in managing work–family conflicts

for those who make the decision to return to work (Raskin et al., 1998). Barriers for returning to work as well as maintaining work postpartum are numerous. They included inflexible scheduling practices, low pay, and low social support (Richard & Lee, 2019) rather than mere laziness (Kossek et al., 2003). Parenting a child with special needs can also be a stressor, although some evidence suggests that work might provide a refuge (O'Brien et al., 2017). Working women who do receive partner support in childcare reported enjoying significant career success and finding a great deal of personal meaning in their careers, but also reported feeling lonely when relating to women with more traditional households (Dunn et al., 2013).

Intimate Partner Violence. Another important trend in the literature for women's career development overall is the study of the aftereffects of intimate partner violence (IPV) on a woman's career. Recent figures continue to suggest this issue is more common among women than it is men, carrying extensive physical, social, and psychological consequences, including consequences for career decision making (Centers for Disease Control, 2020). Negative vocational outcomes that IPV have on women's careers include feelings of shame while at work for being a survivor of IPV; lowered career decision-making self-efficacy; absenteeism; and missed promotional opportunities (Albaugh & Nauta, 2005; C. Brown et al., 2000; Walsh et al., 2020; Wettersten et al., 2004). Whether or not race compounds the problem for IPV survivors of Color remains an open area of inquiry (Chronister & McWhirter, 2004). However, in research using consensual qualitative research (CQR) protocols (Hill, 2012), racially diverse participants reported an overall distrust of local law enforcement and viewed housing and employment as a means to independent living (C. Brown et al. 2005). Additionally, IPV survivors expressed a desire to establish an independent career with a strong overall interest in health care (C. Brown et al. 2005, 2009). Further, work was seen by some participants as a safe place, although it paradoxically functioned as a source of conflict in abusive relationships (Wettersten et al., 2004).

Intervention Research With Disadvantaged Women. Intervention research with all-women samples has been fairly sparse and has primarily focused on working with disadvantaged women. To this end, Chronister and McWhirter (2006) conducted a 5-week intervention with three groups of women living in domestic violence shelters. Significant treatment effects were observed for career search self-efficacy and critical consciousness of domestic violence. Other studies examined the efficacy of worker reentry programs for incarcerated women. Shivy et al. (2019) evaluated the effectiveness of a SCCT-based worker reentry program compared to a quasi-control group over nine years, showing significant and practical differences in the intervention group on two subscales of the Career Decision Making Self-Efficacy Scale—self-appraisal and goal selection. Additionally, Snodgrass et al. (2017) used a

qualitative design to describe the experiences of eight formerly incarcerated Black women participating in a worker reentry program. Spiritual faith was a prominent theme that facilitated hope for future employment prospects despite identifiable barriers. Participants also reported the intervention was useful in terms of gaining employment skills.

Intersectionality

Race. Women of Color perceive barriers and may experience them to a greater extent than their White privileged counterparts (Blake-Beard, 1999; Proudfoot, 1999; Richie et al., 1997; Whiston et al., 2015), sharing a common experience of barriers in the workforce such as low pay, pressure to weigh career advancements with familial expectations, equitable access to credible career information, and experience of workplace racial discrimination (Clark & Bower, 2016; Noonan et al., 2004; San Miguel & Kim, 2015; Velez et al., 2018; Vermeulen & Minor, 1998; Yang, 2014). Additionally, we note here that theoretical propositions may not hold for BIPOC women as they do for White women. For instance, one study failed to find support in a mediating role of critical consciousness between family influence and calling in a large sample of working women of Color (Marks et al., 2018).

Research occurring within specific racial groupings of women was focused on identifying social predictors and barriers to achieving specified career goals. For instance, Latinx women reported experiences of feeling demoralized as a result of encountering systemic racism and sexism including pressure associated with being a mentor to others and the pressure to establish themselves among non-Latina counterparts (Hernández & Morales, 1999; San Miguel & Kim, 2015). Additionally, participants reported they were influenced by culture, family, immediate context, and sociopolitical conditions, identifying multiple, mutually agreed-upon mentoring relationships obtained through networking to be an essential component of career success (Gomez et al., 2001). Some noted the importance of goal-orientation as a factor that facilitated their career development. For instance, Pearson and Bieschke (2001) interviewed Black American women who had maintained successful careers and found that positive relationships with family members, the importance of education as impressed upon the participants, and family resources were strong factors in their success. Crucially, participants in the sample felt their family of origin was flexible in gender role socialization and social resources available to the family provided ample opportunity to practice soft skills. Finally, Yang (2014) found themes of conceptualizing a career and the potential to realize that career, negotiating familial and cultural expectations, overcoming barriers, identifying supports, and psychological resilience when examining the career development of Hmong American women.

LGBTQ. Other researchers observed qualitative evidence for the delay of critical key milestones in one's career in response to forming a lesbian identity and difficulty finding a safe working environment where a person is less likely to experience discrimination and engage in identity management (Boatwright et al., 1996; House, 2004). Additionally, transwomen expressed shifting career interests, particularly towards the helping or other female-dominated professions, as many did not feel comfortable working in male-dominated professions (C. Brown et al., 2012).

Social Class. Social class appears to have the effect of either restricting or enhancing one's perceptions of their career opportunities. Women from working class backgrounds viewed the idea of a career as a privilege unafforded to those attempting to meet their own basic survival needs, though some felt that connectedness to other professionals was a key factor in achieving the best career outcome (Clark & Bower, 2016; Robinson et al., 2003; Vermuelen & Minor, 1998). They also may hold meritocratic beliefs (Kozen et al., 2020). By contrast, women from wealthy backgrounds viewed their career opportunities as essentially limitless so long as the career choice conformed to gender and class expectations (Lapour & Heppner, 2009).

Health and Ability Status. High achieving women with varying degrees of physical or sensory ability status reported that the importance of diverse colleagues and role models, as well as having the opportunity to give back, was instrumental to their career development (Noonan et al., 2004). Additionally, some evidence suggested that a serious physical illness, such as breast cancer, may interfere with a career trajectory and possibly be followed by a phase of career reappraisal coinciding with remission (Raque-Bogdan et al., 2015).

Age. Finally, there is sparse research examining the effects of women's age on their career trajectory. Some preliminary evidence suggests that as women mature in their careers, they may trade sexual harassment for age discrimination (Cron, 2001; Whiston et al., 2015). Women in retirement is an understudied group, though some research suggests that meaning making and family support may predict the quality of the transition (August, 2011; Motulsky, 2010).

Career Barriers and Career Resilience

To conclude this section of our contribution, we reflect on the major conclusion of this review. What emerged from our findings is that adolescent girls and young women begin to factor in relational concerns early in the career decision-making process (McCracken & Weitzman, 1997; Meinster & Rose,

2001; Lopez et al., 2014; Novakovic & Fouad, 2012) along with an assessment of career traditionality (Flores & O'Brien, 2002; Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Lapour & Heppner, 2009; Rainey & Borders, 1997). Young women also begin to perceive barriers in the career decision-making process as well as forecasting decisions about advancement in a career (Ganginis Del Pino et al., 2013; Gregor & O'Brien, 2016; O'Brien et al., 2000). Factors that partially explain a young woman's decision to enter a STEM field have to do with family support, as well as math and science self-efficacy (Cadaret et al., 2017; Falco & Summers, 2019; Lindstrom et al., 2013; Nauta et al., 1998; Scott & Mallinckrodt, 2005). Yet, when women do enter a nontraditional career, they face a number of barriers that may influence their career decision-making process throughout their career (Deemer, 2015; Fouad et al., 2016; Lee & Flores, 2019; Singh et al., 2013).

These perceptions of career barriers were observed in all women with intersectional identities and were usually experienced to a greater degree by women of Color (Blake-Beard, 1999; Bonifacio et al., 2018; Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006; Proudfoot, 1999; Richie et al., 1997; Rivera et al., 2007). Another noteworthy factor is that women experienced barriers in a variety of careers, with barriers especially felt in careers that were traditionally masculine or viewed as prestigious (Gibson, 2004; Noonan et al., 2004; Pruitt et al., 2010; Whitmarsh et al., 2007; Williams et al., 1998). Women are also vulnerable to internalizing the sexism they experience in the workplace, which in turn, may have an adverse effect on their mental health and career decision making (Boatwright et al., 1996; House, 2004; Robinson et al., 2003). Yet, women reported overcoming some of these career barriers predominately through social supports, which included peers at work and friends outside of the working context (e.g., Motulsky, 2010; Yang, 2014), in addition to familial support (e.g., Dunn et al., 2013; Gomez et al., 2001; Pearson & Bieschke, 2001), plain luck (e.g., Williams et al., 1998), drive to make a difference (e.g., Noonan et al., 2004), access to adequate career information (Robinson et al., 2003), and access to adequate mentorship (e.g., Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). Mentorship in particular was readily endorsed by women from multiple minoritized backgrounds (e.g., Gibson, 2004; Noonan et al., 2004; Pruitt et al., 2010; Williams et al., 1998), even though there was less quantitative support for mentorship in this review (Burke & McKeen, 1997).

Critiques of the Research Findings

In this section, we provide three major critiques of the research on women's career development published during our review period, beginning with a critique of the recruitment and sampling methods, which leads into our second critique focused on research methodology. We then complete this section with a third critique on the theoretical framing of studies reviewed in the results

section with a focus towards developing a theoretical framework to study women's careers.

Critique 1: Limited Populations

What we viewed to be a critical flaw in studies published during our review period was the over-recruitment of White, middle class, cisgender, heterosexual participants at every developmental stage when intersectionality was not the specified research question (see Table 1 for a racial breakdown of samples). Although there were notable exceptions to this tendency (e.g., Lopez et al., 2014; Marks et al., 2018), a failure to recruit diverse samples may lead to conclusions reached about women's careers vulnerable to a self-selection sampling bias in which women who have been socialized to value empirical research participate in research and studies with White majority samples are more likely to be published than samples with people of Color (Nielsen et al., 2017; Roberts et al., 2020). We believe our observations here lie with problems recruiting diverse female participants for research. Thus, to ameliorate this issue within counseling and vocational psychology, we provide some suggestions to expand recruitment efforts below.

Overcoming Recruitment Challenges. Although inclusive vocational research is necessary, some communities may be difficult to reach. For instance, Stone (2003) reported that economically marginalized communities were more difficult to access compared to affluent communities, and geographic location may also make it difficult to reach select groups of women (Robinson et al., 2003). Efforts to reach participants via electronic recruitment platforms (e.g., Amazon Mechanical Turk) may fail to access communities with limited technology resources or skills, and tend to recruit participants who are White, highly educated, and relatively young (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014; Shedlin et al., 2011). Additionally, the language used in recruitment scripts may be unintentionally exclusive given the language that individuals use to self-identify can vary greatly (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015). An example of this is women who self-identify as Latinx, but may use different forms of self-identification such as Hispanic, Chicana, and/or Mexican, or find the term Latinx offensive. Similarly, Meyer and Wilson (2009) explained that members of LGBTQ communities have distinct forms of self-identification that may differ based on cultural background, race and ethnicity, and location, among other factors. Thus, if electronic recruitment methods continue to be utilized, language used in recruitment scripts needs to be evaluated and researchers need to be aware of multicultural distinctions within groups. Researchers must also make efforts to make online surveys available to people outside of traditional recruitment platforms, making use of building partnerships with community centers and leaders in order to diversify samples in quantitative and mixed methods research.

A lack of trust in the research process is another barrier that may deter marginalized women from participating in studies. Mistrust in health research is understandable given a history of unethical experimentation on persons of Color, including psychologists' own participation in inhumane interrogation tactics (Martin, 2008). For instance, Latinx migrants and other minoritized communities may be prone to distrust investigators who do not speak their native languages (Shedlin et al., 2011). Other migrants may also mistrust researchers due to the exclusion they experienced upon arriving in a foreign country (Hynes, 2003). This problem may be further amplified when recruiting women at various intersections of identity. These individuals may avoid participating in research or decide not to disclose their hidden identities due to fear of repercussion or mistrust in the research process. Vulnerable populations may also avoid participating in research because of the risks involved in the research process (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). Communities experiencing discrimination and/or facing stigma may be hard to reach due to fear of having their identities exposed to the general public (Liamputtong, 2007; Stone, 2003). Members of the LGBTQ community are particularly at risk of having a hidden identity exposed if they were to participate in a research study, an exposure that can put participants in danger of experiencing prejudice (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). Undocumented women may further fear being deported if they partake in research, which is a key issue for many women who are primarily charged with caretaking responsibilities (Richardson, 2012; Shedlin et al., 2011; Stebleton et al., 2020).

Although there are challenges that can make it difficult to reach marginalized communities, some investigators have found ways to address these obstacles. Mistrust in the research process can be abated by giving women opportunities to be involved in the overall research process. For instance, Shalowitz and Miller (2008) explained that developing trust may be done by giving participants the opportunity to review the study results prior to being submitted for publication. Not only would such a strategy help gain trust, it may decrease the likelihood of misinterpreting participant responses. Formally acknowledging women for their contributions in a study may additionally increase their trust in the research process so long as the investigators had participant permission to do so. Participant co-authorship is also occasionally appropriate in studies that require significant participant involvement, as empowering women with an acknowledgement of their efforts may lead to improved recruitment and retention (Shalowitz & Miller, 2008).

Investigators can also build rapport by engaging with the community they plan to investigate and asking what research questions are important. Engagement can be done in several ways including volunteer work and/or through action research practices. Researchers can then increase recruitment and retention of marginalized women by building relationships with community leaders who can normalize the study and help decrease skepticism in

the research process as well as help facilitate recruitment efforts (Shedlin et al., 2011). Similarly, consulting with a culturally knowledgeable advisory committee can help decrease risks and increase recruitment and retention among minoritized participants. Sutherland and Fantasia (2012) suggest investigators conduct thorough assessment of research designs to evaluate for areas where confidentiality may be breached. For example, investigators and committee members should consider the level of privacy required when conducting in-person surveys with vulnerable women. It may be important to avoid inquiring about hidden identities (e.g., sexuality or undocumented status) in public spaces. A multiculturally-competent advisory committee may help minimize such risks. Utilizing appropriate recruitment methods may be the most effective means of recruiting minoritized women. Bonevski et al. (2014) suggest that a combination of recruitment approaches may lead to greater participation rates among minoritized women. Using this framework, researchers may benefit from employing mixed sampling methods for testing an array of methods to determine which leads to the best results for each unique population.

Although vocational psychologists have done well in recruiting study participants at various intersections of identity (e.g., Cron, 2001; Flores & O'Brien, 2002; Velez et al., 2018), there is room for continued improvement. For example, young women who did not enter college after high school are essentially an understudied group in vocational research, and evidence suggests that these young women are largely women of Color (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021). Other unstudied groups include women engaged in unpaid care work, women with diverse ability status, retirees, women from low-income rural communities, as well as girls in early and middle childhood. Thus, reaching girls and women in these areas may involve working with their families or partnering with other local community and health centers that might be involved in servicing these populations. Although we acknowledge the greater logistical challenges to recruitment and consequential research this may have, we suggest that continuing status quo recruitment methods will continue to yield status quo results. Since we draw our theories from our data, ensuring that all voices are represented in our vocational theories is essential to avoiding unbiased theoretical prepositions.

Critique 2: Limitations to Research Design and Methodology

Research design is endemic to the explanatory power of the phenomena in question, with more rigorous designs leading to greater confidence in our conclusions (Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Creswell et al., 2007). In our focused review of the within-group differences in women's career development, however, we find many of the designs utilized by investigators provided tentative conclusions that leave more questions raised than answered. For

instance, a key finding from our review is that women repeatedly, at every stage of career development, report experiencing career barriers largely operationalized as a disadvantage resulting from sexist beliefs or practices about what a woman should or should not do with her career (Brooks & Daniluk 1998; Darvin, 2020; Hite & McDonald, 2003; O'Shaughnessy & Burnes, 2016; Reybold & Alamia, 2008; Richie et al., 1997; Scalise et al., 2019; Whitmarsh et al., 2007). However, what we do not know is how these barriers systematically disadvantage women over the course of their careers or if the presence of barriers affects the outcomes of career decisions rather than the confidence in or likelihood of making those decisions. Further, we imagine that such effects are cumulative, yet research has not demonstrated this empirically. These questions are longitudinal in nature, and although exemplary work has been done (e.g., Flores & O'Brien, 2002), much more work in this area is needed. Further, we noted a substantive dearth in intervention research on major variables in women's career development with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Chronister & McWhirter, 2006). Thus, implications for career counseling made in light of cross-sectional quantitative or qualitative research have not been empirically tested, giving us little confidence in current guidance for what may work in career counseling with women outside of general recommendations (S. D. Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Whiston et al., 2015). Indeed, as the majority of studies were either cross-sectional model tests or cross-sectional qualitative interviews with a specialty group of participants, we focus the remainder of this critique on two key issues in these designs and offer some suggestions for improving these two primary approaches.

Psychometric Issues. An issue in quantitative cross-sectional research was that constructs included in model tests demonstrated poor psychometric properties when psychometric information was readily available. For instance, internal consistency as measured by Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach, 1951), was the most typical form of reliability found in our review. This is likely because it is easily calculated in most statistical software programs. As a derivation of split-half reliability, Cronbach's alpha conceptually treats each individual item as its own "form" and is scaled from 0 to 1.00, with values closer to 1.00 reflective of greater internal consistency. Conceptually, greater values are typically interpreted to mean participants responded similarly to items measuring the same underlying construct where $0.70 \leq \alpha \leq 0.90$ is acceptable for research purposes and $\alpha > 0.90$ is generally recommended for instruments used in high stakes decision making (Furr, 2021).

In our review, a few studies included measures where $\alpha < .70$, typically an unacceptably low standard given that much of the variance may be attributed to measurement error (Taber, 2018). Continuing with structural modeling despite these findings can, for instance, lead to serious bias in path

coefficients, among other estimation problems (e.g., Cole & Preacher, 2014). Further, Cronbach's alpha has become the subject of intense criticism in recent years given a set of potentially unrealistic assumptions that are difficult to model with real world data (e.g., McNeish, 2018; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2019), such as equivalent factor loadings on a unidimensional scale with uncorrelated errors (Watkins, 2017). These critiques have led some to suggest McDonald's omega (McDonald, 1999) as a potential alternative with more flexible assumptions, which has become increasingly incorporated into many available statistical software packages (see Hayes & Coutts, 2020). Therefore, our suggestion for investigators interested in women's careers is to continue to remain abreast of advancements in psychometrics and choose a reliability estimate that best reflects the underlying factor assumptions of the instrument.

A related issue was the appropriateness of measures applied to women, especially in the absence of validity information when men are not included in the sample. We observed that nearly every quantitative study in our review outside of explicit psychometric designs reported little validity information for women prior to testing hypotheses. In addition to the issues above with internal consistency, it is widely known that measures used in research and clinical practice must be valid for the population of study (e.g., Furr, 2021). Although laudable efforts have been made to produce measures that are both valid and reliable for studying women's career development (Ganginis Del Pino et al., 2013; Gray & O'Brien, 2007; Gregor & O'Brien, 2016; Kim & O'Brien, 2018), we suggest that more of this type of work is needed to ensure that the measures used to study women's career development are accurately measuring the attitudes and perspectives women have on their careers. If researchers are to use measures that have not been normed with all-women samples, we suggest fitting an item level measurement model, if power permits, in addition to reporting corollary evidence from previous research when available.

Researchers are also increasingly demonstrating measurement invariance across demographic factors including gender and race to provide statistical justification for combined use (Pendergast et al., 2017). Thus, research on women's career development might be improved by providing model fit and factor loading information as well as measurement invariance, when possible, for psychometric scales utilized in quantitative designs. This may be especially important for scales developed ad hoc, when the generalizability of the factor structure is unknown. In situations where sample size precludes formally testing invariance through multiple group confirmatory factor analysis, we note researchers may test for invariance at the item level via observed score methods such as the generalized Mantel–Haenszel chi-square difference test (Fidalgo & Madeira, 2008) or ordinal logistic regression (Crane et al., 2006), which are available in many statistical software packages. Additionally, it was suggested that including covariance matrices in supplemental materials would

allow future researchers interested in psychometrics to investigate measurement invariance across samples.

Reporting Issues in Qualitative Research. Of the qualitative studies in our review, the clear majority addressed the methodological process in substantive detail. We were especially impressed by the rigor of some studies utilizing the CQR protocol (e.g., C. Brown et al., 2005). Nevertheless, our review also found some investigators deviated from the outlined coding process and failed to provide any rationale for the deviation.

Additionally, qualitative research requires investigators to address their own personal background and beliefs around the topic being examined (American Psychological Association, 2019), making a discussion around potential researcher bias and how researcher bias was managed throughout the research process necessary to avoid contamination of the data. Trustworthiness is often the term used to evaluate qualitative research based on how convincing the authors present the conclusions and address potential research biases, congruence with the researcher's own expectations and beliefs, or other potential factors that could impact credibility of the data, such as the author's reputation (Levitt et al., 2018). In our review of women's career development literature, a minority of papers did not address potential biases in the data interpretation process that could impact the validity of the conclusions drawn from the data.

Additionally, other studies did not describe the phenomenology or qualitative paradigm informing the coding and analysis process. This decreased fidelity to qualitative methodologies can lead to issues such as overclaiming findings and purporting implications that are not fully supported (Hoyt & Bhati, 2007). This has subsequent and potentially detrimental effects on the literature in that participants' lived experiences may not be accurately or adequately captured. Because qualitative research has the potential to expand multicultural and social justice research in line with counseling psychology's values (Morrow, 2007; Society of Counseling Psychology, 2022), improving the robustness of qualitative research is imperative in furthering the field's understanding of women's career experiences.

Critique 3: Lack of Theoretical Coherence

Theoretical paradigms inform research questions and contextualize results, thus making them important to progress in any given field of study. In the case of women's career development, we found theoretical approaches to be disjointed and often underutilized. Here, we consider theoretical modeling at its best when it includes all of the purported constructs, lest the explanatory power of the model become diminished. We also suggest that researchers have theoretical reasons for testing models with blended theoretical approaches.

With these criteria in mind, our survey of the literature found over a third of studies in the corpus did not utilize theory adequately in that theoretical lines were crossed without a coherent explanation and/or key constructs were missing from model tests. Although modeling such as this provides some explanation of the phenomena, it is hardly sufficient to fully explain the career experiences of women from which the study's paradigm is couched. Further, these types of studies slow down progress, since inadequate modeling may lead to spurious conclusions from unaccounted relationships.

For instance, SCCT (Lent et al., 1994) was the most common theoretical framework applied to women's career development, likely due to the strengths of this theory that lie in its generalizability and applicability as well as its inclusion of barriers. SCCT has enjoyed the most empirical support in women's career development research with many of its key assertions supported (Austin & Nauta, 2016; Baker et al., 2016; Fouad et al., 2016; Nauta & Epperson, 2003; Nauta et al., 1998; Singh et al., 2013; Yeagley et al., 2010). SCCT has also been informative for intervention research, particularly with respect to intervention effects on self-efficacy (Chronister & McWhirter, 2006; Falco & Summers, 2019; Lindstrom et al., 2013; Shivy et al., 2019). Some of the research was longitudinal and included large samples, thus providing a template for understanding vocational factors across populations and changes in vocational goals across the lifespan (e.g., Lent & Brown, 2013). However, although support for some of the tenets of the model were strong in studying the career experiences of women, researchers utilizing this paradigm often omitted key constructs from their models, such as outcome expectations (Fouad & Guillen, 2006). Hence, the generalizability of the theory as well as applicability to women's career is undercut by methodological weaknesses leading to inconsistent or conflictual results as documented in the review section of this contribution. We suggest that in order for a theory to be truly tested, it is important to be comprehensive in testing predicted hypotheses with validated measures developed to study the theory. Doing so would allow results to be standardized across studies, thus building up a clear science of vocational behavior from this perspective as it applies to women (Fouad, 2007; Lent & Brown, 2006). This would also point to gaps in the theory that lead to further theoretical refinement or the conclusion that a new theory is needed.

Implications for Women's Career Development

Implications for Practice

Because women are likely to anticipate and experience career barriers, consciousness raising is likely an important career counseling intervention, especially for career decision making (Kozan et al., 2020; Marks et al., 2018).

Research in our review demonstrated that young women tend to make career choices in gendered ways without explicit awareness of the societal and interpersonal pressures that contribute to them (e.g., Meinster & Rose, 2001; Novakovic & Fouad, 2012). Thus, we contend that career counselors should address career barriers and/or the anticipation of career barriers rather than run the risk of neglecting key career experiences of women.

We suggest providing psychoeducation on the internal and external barriers that women face in their careers will be beneficial in ensuring that women develop the necessary self-understanding to be successful. Acknowledging barriers in therapy is traditionally a facet of feminist therapy and is used to combat the internalization of societal barriers that women tend to face while developing their vocational selves (e.g., imposter syndrome), especially when working in male-dominated fields (L. S. Brown, 2018). This could be done by assisting women with combating internalized oppression and the subsequent distorted cognitions (Ribeiro, 2021). Thus, acknowledging and validating the very real barriers women experience may allow them to optimize their overall well-being and subsequently their performance (Lent, 2004).

Encouragement by mentors and peers might also be a significant factor in women's careers (Austin & Nauta, 2016; Quimby & De Santis, 2006; Quimby & O'Brien, 2004). Seeking out healthy and helpful mentors may be a crucial focus of career counseling for women, as mentors can provide practical and emotional support in navigating the barriers and pitfalls of a career as suggested by qualitative research (Gibson, 2004; Pruitt et al., 2010; Williams et al., 1998). Cultivating peer and familial support has also been a significant factor in supporting women's career decisions and working lives (Dunn et al., 2013; O'Brien et al., 2000; Rainey & Borders, 1997). As such, focusing on enhancing positive and encouraging social support, whether with peers in the field or supportive family members, may be a useful focus of vocational counseling for women.

Exploration of internal and external conflicts between the demands of work and family continue to be a significant factor in women's career development (Richard & Lee, 2019; Savela & O'Brien, 2016; Werbel, 1998). Here, career counseling with women may focus on the exploration and vocalization of internalized beliefs, exploring ways these beliefs could be managed and prioritized. External conflicts related to work and family may also be addressed by empowering women to know their legal rights related to maternity leave and childcare. Often, clients' internal and external conflicts interact in self-shaming thoughts and excessive guilt related to balancing these roles (L. S. Brown, 2018). Therefore, helping clients to first verbalize and then honestly examine their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and values related to these conflicting roles might allow women to make choices that are most congruent with their own beliefs and needs.

Finally, very few studies examined the efficacy of interventions for vocational counseling of women thereby limiting the confidence and specificity of our practice implications, which may be affected by the intersecting identities that the women receiving counseling hold. However, explicitly addressing career barriers for women, developing agency and empowerment within career contexts, cultivating engagement with mentorship and positive social support, and exploring internal and external barriers related to career and family appear to be important elements to address in career counseling for women across a multitude of identities and contexts (Fouad et al., 2016; Hite & McDonald, 2003; Pruitt et al., 2010; Richie et al., 1997; Scalise et al., 2019).

Implications for Training

We recommend a focus on three major areas: helping students understand the unique challenges for women, emphasizing the importance of intersectionality, and strengthening training in research design.

Unique Challenges for Women. Our present review suggests women experience unique stressors in the workforce. This includes themes such as workplace discrimination, difficulty finding a safe workplace, financial barriers, finding decent work, and accessing support services (Brooks & Daniluk 1998; Darvin, 2020; Hite & McDonald, 2003; O'Shaughnessy & Burnes, 2016; Reybold & Alamia, 2008; Richie et al., 1997; Scalise et al., 2019). Considering the unique impact these factors have on the career decision making and development of women, we echo Blustein et al.'s (2019) suggestion that training programs expand to capture not only career decision-making issues, but also broader work-related issues. For example, expanding a training program to include contextual variables, such as interpersonal violence, the role of motherhood, or the transition from incarceration, in the conceptualization of clients in order to help women more effectively meet their career goals (Chronister & McWhirter, 2006; Raskin et al., 1998; Richard & Lee, 2019; Shivy et al., 2019; Snodgrass et al., 2017).

We also agree with Blustein et al. (2019) that training programs should shift from career choice and decision-making models to a training model that includes a broader focus on health service psychology. This includes making the connection between work-related issues and mental health concerns among women in general. As noted, for women, the literature has demonstrated a relationship between mental health concerns and career decision-making self-efficacy (Albaugh & Nauta, 2005; Cadaret et al., 2017; Gushue & Whitson, 2006). However, to date, this area of research still has considerable room for growth.

Importance of Intersectionality. Building on unique contextual influencers for women, one of the growing themes of women's career development is understanding the importance of intersectionality in career development and work-related challenges (Clark & Bower, 2016; Vermeulen & Minor, 1998; Yang, 2014). It is important for training programs to train students to consider how the intersection of multiple identities come together to influence how women navigate the workforce (Noonan et al., 2004; San Miguel & Kim, 2015; Velez et al., 2018). Specifically, this would address the unique stressors women face because of their identities, such as cultural expectations, systemic racism, discrimination, or marginalization in the workforce (Gomez et al., 2001; House, 2004). For example, female-dominated professions were viewed by some with marginalized identities as "safer" than traditionally male-dominated occupations, where others viewed these occupations as a way to give back (C. Brown et al., 2009; 2012). As such, trainees in career counseling might think about assessing the role of a particular career interest and its cohesion with environmental reinforcers when working with women from minoritized backgrounds (see also Lyons et al., 2014).

Additionally, training programs should encourage students to consider identities outside those commonly considered, such as race and gender, as this review suggests that the intersection of other identities, such as sexual orientation, age, ability status, and socioeconomic status should also be considered in the context of women's career development (e.g., August, 2011; Boatwright et al., 1996; Noonan et al., 2004; Robinson et al., 2003). Although the literature on the impact of these identities remains too nascent to make direct implications to training, the need for consideration of these contexts remains critical to holistic career intervention.

Strengthening Training in Research Design. Because research design plays a significant role in how impactful a piece of research is in the field, helping graduate students understand how to critique the current literature is particularly important (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This includes reviewing the research with a critical eye and paying particular attention to such details as research design, sample, methodology, measurement, conclusions, and limitations of a research study. Research design can limit the conclusions drawn from a particular study and the impact the study can have on the field. Therefore, training should focus on successfully determining whether or not a measurement tool demonstrates sufficient reliability and validity to support the credibility and integrity of the results (Hoyt & Mallinckrodt, 2012). Finally, students should be able to critically evaluate the sampling methods and sample demographics to more fully understand any limitations the study results may have on diverse populations.

Graduate students should be trained to provide research to the field that is needed to advance a particular area rather than be driven by individual

preferences in design selection. Such training is critical to the development of a well-rounded area. In women's career development, the vast majority of study designs in our review were cross-sectional or phenomenological, whereas longitudinal, psychometric, or ethnographic designs were heavily underutilized. Such designs would be important contributions to women's career development as they would serve to create tools that better serve the area and capture career trajectories over time. Thus, training programs should also train students in the study of research methods and encourage students to demonstrate their competence in designing research, which includes best practices for sampling from diverse populations, selecting reliable and validated measures appropriate for the population being studied, appropriately communicating study results (not over-writing nor conflate the conclusions drawn from the data), appropriately addressing the limitations of research, and even addressing the research biases.

Implications for Advocacy

Counseling psychologists are in a unique position of power where they can implement advocacy at local, state, and national levels to challenge systems that affect women's career development. At the local level, community awareness programs can be implemented to challenge patriarchal narratives that sustain inequity between women and men. Counseling psychologists in academic programs can actively recruit prospective students or develop current students interested in advocating for women and conducting research on women who have not previously been the focus of studies. This may be particularly important to ameliorate the limited representation of undocumented, transgender, and economically-disadvantaged women within vocational literature.

Counseling psychologists can also support women's career development by advocating for clinical training that integrates social justice advocacy into coursework and practicum experiences. In doing so, supervisors help develop clinicians who are self-aware and sensitive to the unique concerns that underserved women experience in the workplace. Psychologists can use instruments such as the Advocacy Competencies Self-Assessment (Ratts & Ford, 2010) to evaluate trainees' level of advocacy competence in serving women that have historically been excluded in vocational literature. Moreover, psychologists in academic programs should consider advocating for the integration of a scientist–practitioner–advocate model of training (Mallinckrodt et al., 2014). Such a training model improves on the traditional scientist–practitioner model by stressing the incorporation of advocacy into practice and research, and addressing the needs of clients whose distress is interconnected with social forces of oppression and unfair allocation of resources. Therefore, it would be an ideal training model to adequately support

women who identify with multiple marginalized identities. Within this training model, advocacy themes are integrated into all relevant courses (e.g., vocational psychology classes) and justice-based classes are embedded into the curriculum. If a scientist–practitioner–advocate training model is not embraced by training programs, intentionally integrating advocacy competencies into the training curriculum would be critical so aspiring counseling psychologists could develop the skills needed to challenge the systems that impede women's vocational growth.

Counseling psychologists can help influence public policy to address inequities within the vocational domain. Experienced researchers can evaluate the impact that current and newly-developed policies have on women's career development and well-being outcomes and propose ways to fill the gaps within current legislation. Counseling psychologists can also draft legislation that helps address the obstacles women face in the workplace. This may be particularly important to help eliminate the wage gap that persists between women and men. Women may further benefit from legislation that requires employers to be transparent about their hiring practices and employee wages, which would also help researchers and policy makers better understand the degree of inequality within the work domain. Psychologists can also help support economically marginalized women by advocating for paid maternity and parental leave policies. In all areas of advocacy, however, psychologists, policy makers, and legislatures must ensure that transgender women are not excluded from policies in support of women rights.

The American Psychological Association's (2017) *Code of Ethics* postulates that psychologists must respect and protect the rights of all people. Counseling psychologists have developed several justice-oriented competencies; among them is the development of advocacy and systemic intervention strategies that can challenge systems of oppression at all levels (Constantine et al., 2007). By engaging in sustained justice-oriented advocacy, psychologists help to reduce the barriers and human rights violations that negatively impact women's career development. Finally, as justice-oriented advocacy efforts increase within vocational psychology, investigators must consider evaluating the effectiveness of distinct forms of advocacy.

Future Directions for Research on Women's Career Development

Limitations of the Present Review

There has been a tremendous increase in scholarship pertaining to women's careers. As reviewers, we were pleased to see counseling, organizational, and vocational psychologists taking up critical issues on this topic. We hoped organizing a literature review focused exclusively on women's careers would

elucidate what the literature has said about women with intersecting identities, rather than treating women as one monolithic group compared to another (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997). We do, however, also acknowledge that excluding the gender difference literature omits the study of gender as a moderator, especially in the area of career choice where support for many theoretical propositions in vocational behavior is strong (e.g., Lent et al., 2018; Morris, 2016). Further, in seeking to conduct an in-depth review of women's career choice variables in vocational psychology, we limited our target journals to those known to be representative of the majority of vocational psychology scholarship, in which the editors and editorial board members are, themselves, vocational researchers, and are able to provide a strong theoretical and methodological critique of the study. However, omitting journals outside of known vocational outlets did not allow us to include studies that may have focused on women's careers or work related in other fields.

Future Directions

Importantly, our review demonstrated that career barriers are endorsed overwhelmingly in studies utilizing a variety of empirical approaches (qualitative, cross-sectional, longitudinal, and factor analytic) over a period of nearly 30 years. Therefore, we can say with confidence that women experience barriers when choosing, entering, and maintaining employment in the United States. This is especially true for women of Color and women with plans to enter or who are currently in high-status or nontraditional careers. As discussed previously, the level of certainty from which we can make claims is somewhat undercut by the methodology employed to answer these questions. Although the literature contains some well-designed qualitative and cross-sectional studies, they are not sufficient to make strong claims about the developing nature of women's careers.

Chiefly at issue is the discussion on whether women's career development deserves its own theoretical approach. As indicated by our review, we really do not have enough evidence from the extant research to conclude that a new theory is needed, but we do know that critical factors need to be included in any theory. However, a study that specifically compares and tests which theory better fits the experiences of women with different identities and at different ages would help formulate a better answer to whether a new theory is needed. If such a study finds that, for example, neither SCCT nor PWT fit the experiences of the majority of women in a large study, that would clarify the need for a new theory, and what constructs are most needed in a new study.

We propose that much more research is needed on within-group differences on barriers for women at different ages, of different identities, and who hold different worldviews. Our review has shown that women do experience

barriers in choosing and developing their careers. Thus, models that capture barriers that women experience in their careers are likely accounting for what we currently know about women's developing careers, such as the SCCT (Lent et al., 1994; 2000) or the PWT (Duffy et al., 2016). Models that assume that career decision making is merely a self-referential process of incorporating one's abilities and interests are ignoring a substantive body of literature in the case of women's careers, in which internal beliefs about external environmental reinforcers play a significant role among women from diverse backgrounds. Thus, we believe that theoretical models should identify constructs that specifically address barriers using empirically validated measures such as the Perceptions of Barriers Scale (Luzzo & McWhirter, 2001) rather than ad hoc scales, which may not accurately capture women's experiences. Older theoretical approaches, such as person-environment fit (P-E fit) and developmental models, should also be revised to incorporate the barriers that women experience into their models as environmental variables (e.g., workplace climate) explicitly. By doing so, the field will be able to accurately describe and, subsequently, intervene on the ways women continue to experience marginalization at work.

Conclusion

The title of this major contribution is "Why aren't we there yet?" Natural questions one might have in response are "What is there?" and "How will we know that we have arrived?" What this review has demonstrated is that women continue to experience barriers to any career path that deviates from the patriarchal status quo. We have known this with some degree of certainty for the past 30 years. The present review has added more voices to this chorus, but overall, we are essentially in the same place we were 25 years ago in terms of methodological and theoretical rigor as well as design approaches used to ask and answer questions on the career development of women. Although we have been pleased to see questions in this area continue to be asked, we ask that they be investigated with an increasing level of design sophistication that allow us to establish causality and evidenced based practice in our work with, and on behalf of women.

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