

Individual Career and Vocational Ability Development: Findings from a 35 Year-Long “Career Tracking Survey”

Summary

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Objective of the Research

This study was conducted as part of a research project named “Study on Improvement of Labor Market Infrastructure concerning Vocational Ability Development.”

This research project is designed to elucidate the realities of vocational ability development in the Japanese society, from the standpoints of both educational training service suppliers (i.e. service providers) and service users (i.e. workers). Our study serves as an approach focusing on the side of educational training service users to identify how individual workers acquire vocational abilities and develop their careers.

In recent years, less and less people are following the “standard path of career advancement” where workers start working right after graduation from school and build their careers in the company. Labor policies require a support system that helps individuals build their careers on their own. In order to establish an effective system to assist individual workers, it is necessary to examine what kind of policies will be useful in the future, in light of various ways and examples of career development of the past.

This study, therefore, takes an approach of thoroughly looking at individual workers’ processes of career building. Based on such surveys on actual conditions, we try to highlight issues with respect to workers’ career advancement and vocational ability development in the Japanese society. We believe that the analysis in our study will be further enhanced by associating it with a quantitative research focusing on individual workers for the purpose of obtaining the entire image.

Following the above understanding of the issue, we reinterviewed the subjects of “Career Tracking Survey” that the National Institute of Employment and Vocational Research carried out for ten years from about 1970. There are three reasons for our attempt. Firstly, it is highly possible to trace back workers’ career paths more accurately, as we can refer to the survey results that were gathered when the subjects were much younger than now. Secondly, this case study can be also examined as a panel research that tracks the occupational histories of the same respondents over 35 years. Our study, though it was just a preliminary survey, should be considered meaningful in Japan, where not many panel researches have been performed yet, even though its importance is widely recognized. Thirdly, since the subjects have already cooperated with the first survey for as long as ten years, we assumed that they could

also willingly participate in our study that digs deep into not only their vocational careers but also their personal lifestyles.

On the premise of the above views, we embarked on a hearing research project to identify how the subjects who are now aged around 50 have built their vocational abilities and careers, also reflecting the results of the original “Career Tracking Survey” performed by the National Institute of Employment and Vocational Research.

Overview of the Research Results

The primary characteristic that the overview of the research results analysis presents is that the careers of the study subjects were largely affected by the period when they first went into the labor market. What influenced their careers more significantly were the then-status and later transition of the Japanese employment management system and employment practices, as well as the social and economic conditions that actually caused such transition. The change in the population structure due to the declining birthrate and the aging of society, intertwined with the economic trends, is already having some impact on workers in the present day. The research results have clearly made us realize how greatly the status of the society where an individual lives, and the way of employment management of the company or organization which one belongs to, influence each worker’s occupational history.

The second characteristic we noticed is that the interviewees presented a different image from that of a general panel research. It can be easily assumed that those who are willing to continuously participate in such panel research should have lived a stable life. However, the common attitude seen among the subjects was that they all showed a high self-esteem, based not on the stability of their career or the general high recognition of their professional status, but on the overall positive self-assessment in terms of their personal lifestyle and daily life activities. We learned that each subject differently sees the importance and significance of work in their daily life activities as well as the value of one’s life as a whole, and that they all accepted themselves as they are according to how they evaluate the importance and significance of work. Although occupation is an important element that serves as the basis of each individual’s social participation and independence, it is just a single component of one’s daily activities and entire life. The research results imply that what is the most important for each worker in the process of the occupational career development is to accept one’s occupation by self-confirming that one deserves it. Needless to say, the reasons to admit that one deserves a certain occupation should reflect the results of each individual's life choices in the then society. It is apparent that the social and economic conditions and the

status of the company or organization to which one belongs have some influence on one's self-assessment in terms of vocational career.

The third characteristic found in the research results is that professional qualifications one obtains vary depending on the academic background one had when they first started working. Many of those who were employed right after graduation from junior or senior high school acquired qualifications to prove that they have enough skills to operate and/or manage machinery and equipment. On the other hand, we noticed a tendency that those who started working after graduating from university often considered occupational experience at workplace the most meaningful in terms of vocational ability development and gave weight on their actual job experience at workplace when it comes to work capacity assessment. Many of them, therefore, did not recognize so much, or even at all, the significance of professional qualifications except for those required for specific job titles such as teacher/professor, doctor, certified social insurance labor consultant, and architect.

This could be considered as sharply criticizing past vocational ability development programs and labor policies provided in the Japanese society, as well as indicating the future directions.

One of the reasons that such results were obtained is that not many white-collar workers are expected to prove their vocational skills by obtaining professional qualifications or passing examinations unless required under certain conditions. Japan's so-called "salary men" (salaried workers) with white-collar jobs highly recognize the effectiveness of on-the-job trainings and practical work experiences in vocational ability development and work capacity assessment. It can be also understood as a common argument among salaried workers that real work capacity of an individual worker can be accurately evaluated only under multiple conditions that reflect in which company or organization and in what sort of position one has worked, and what kind of jobs one has actually experienced. When a problem occurs during day-to-day operations at workplace, workers are often required to address it according to their own judgment, involving teamwork at the same time. It seems, therefore, that they have well realized that one's ability to deal with problems in a flexible and impromptu manner can not be precisely evaluated in a virtual role-playing game. Based on their own empirical knowledge, they tend to consider that the vocational ability of a "salary man" with a white-collar job can only be developed pragmatically and assessed properly through professional and practical experience at workplace.

This is also indicating the importance to have a perspective focusing on what kind of elements an individual worker's ability consists of, rather than its comparative level.

In this sense, the academic-study based qualifications required for specific job titles such as doctor, teacher/professor, certified social insurance labor consultant, and architect do not necessarily certify that the qualified persons have a certain level of vocational ability. Rather, such qualifications can be selectively obtained by those who have comprehensively learned and acquired knowledge and skills indispensable for their job. This is also relevant to the perspectives on expertise and professionalism.

At any rate, the panel research led us to recognize that white-collar workers who have a university degree do not value so much vocational ability development and work capacity assessment that can not go beyond proving minimum professional ability and school performance.

Fourthly, we found a tendency that experience of occupational change does not directly correspond to that of unemployment, regardless of one's academic background. It was apparent that most of the subjects who have changed their jobs did not have any unemployed period, though sufficient analysis has yet to be done to understand why this could be possible. We still do not know whether it was because the subjects included those who were employed at the time of the interview or whether the respondents were actually exceptional. Further analyses are required to determine that the percentage of those who have experienced long-term unemployment would be dominantly high if we limit the subjects only to the currently unemployed.

Fifthly, there was an evident gap by gender with respect to part-time jobs and *arubaito* (casual work) excluding those experienced while the subjects were students. Many women turned out to have worked, more than once, on a part-time or *arubaito* basis, no matter what kind of academic background they have.

Women tend to have different motivations and sense of satisfaction for part-time jobs and *arubaito* in comparison with those of men. Though we need to deepen our analysis and classification depending on individual conditions and circumstances, we would like to roughly explain this phenomenon with the following two reasons for the time being: one reason is that the social and employment practice in Japan have been placing a significant impact on the employment patterns of married female workers, and the other is that the majority of women choose to prioritize the responsibility of managing the household, then spending their spare time for work. It is impossible to fully analyze and evaluate this tendency without consideration not only from the perspective of gender and equal employment opportunity, but also from the standpoint based on the above-mentioned second characteristic of the research result referring to the idea that "the most important element for each worker in the process of the occupational career development is to accept one's occupation by self-confirming that one deserves it,"

reflecting the changing structure and forms of industry and employment in Japan. It is one of our future tasks to intensively examine this issue.

Finally, we also understood that, when it comes to reviewing one's professional career, it is essential to pay proper attention to personal backgrounds that affect one's occupation.

In the process of this study that has the nature of a panel research and other series of surveys performed as associated research, we were able to gather useful information regarding the subjects when they were in the third grade in junior high school, including their academic achievement level, basic scholastic ability, educational principles of their guardians, financial conditions and living environment, as well as general personality and habitual tendency, though imperfect as such pieces of information were mainly provided by the subjects themselves. Incorporating these data into our analysis, we found that their personal background had a considerable influence on their choice of work (both the first and following ones) and entire professional career development. It was particularly clear that the choice of their first job (including preference for higher education) was strongly affected by their personal background. For their second and consecutive jobs, individual basic scholastic ability and intellectual capacity seemed to have served as supportive elements, and general personality and habitual tendency gave broad direction.

The finding that the first job has certain impact on the following employment could be comprehended to explain the phenomenon that the first job triggers the continuous chain of career changes or starts building their professional career utilizing their long-term regular employment as their career development base, as one fully experiences occupational work for the first time in one's life during their first employment, or to put it differently, one naturally views other occupations through the window of their first job.

For instance, although Subject A had a high academic achievement level and scholastic ability in the third grade of junior high school, and was described as positively thinking and assertively acting by himself and other people who knew him, he had to choose, because of his economic conditions at home, for his first job a workplace which could hardly be recognized as desirable or suitable for his inherent talent. At that time, however, the job was considered the best among practical alternatives to meet his most important requirements. Starting from the first, rather far from perfect choice, and later exploring some other jobs, he gradually pursued higher career that he can be more satisfied with.

In this case, Subject A had to choose his first job under financial constraints, which was not satisfactory for his intellectual capacity that could be measured based on his academic achievement level and scholastic ability at that time. However, he learned how to act professionally as a business person from various experiences he came across in his first and following work environments and developed a more desirable career by repeating actions that he believed were the most appropriate in every occasion.

The fact that several cases similar to the above example naturally exists should be regarded as a warning against putting excessive importance on the first job as the starting point of individual worker's career path. The first job choice is obviously important to some extent. However, it is clearly indicated as inappropriate, in terms of both individual career understanding and basic attitude for career development support, to exclusively quote examples that unreasonably emphasizes on the significance of the first job choice, implying that the single decision could determine the entire professional life, based on the vague image drawn from various workers' career paths without paying much attention to their individual background. Many cases in our study showed that it is the individual's power to build one's professional career and that individual situations and conditions which control one's professional activities serve as the criteria of how one values and makes use of one's first job at the very starting point of the professional chain in one's life. On the other hand, in the case that one's personal background saw a drastic change, the first job choice did not seem to have affected the second and consecutive jobs.

Looking at the several cases of self-employed workers and irregular employees who participated in our study, this could be also relevant to those who did not choose or were not able to start working right after graduation from the last educational institution they attended. When we consider the professional career development as well as labor policies to support it, it is necessary to firmly bear this in mind.

At the same time, it reminds us of the importance of inspiring individual workers, irrespective of their personal requirements, to make a right decision in choosing their first job, carefully paying attention to the following points: (1) the environment of the person who needs career development support more or less constrains his or her job choice, and (2) it is important to consider it as one of the affecting factors that one's aptitude and ability are the principle impetus and driving force to build one's occupational career.

Summarizing the above-explained results of our study, we realized that the professional career is not destined and fixed by a single choice of job. Though

individual workers could be significantly affected by the society and organization that they belong to, their careers are shaped through series of occupational activity choices made on a daily basis based on their aptitude and ability, financial conditions of their family, and other personal backgrounds and requirements. It is true that the influence from the society and organization which one belongs to is extremely strong on one's career building. However, since the act of job choice is always supported by one's personal backgrounds and requirements, one's occupational career should reflect one's personality as well as his or her way of thinking about life and daily activities as a whole, by the mid stages of middle age (the study subjects are now between 49 and 51 years old).

We also found that if one can be satisfied with and fully value one's professional career that one has gradually developed, one can not only give an objective evaluation on one's own job, but also have stability in his or her entire life beyond profession.

Outline of the Analyses

This section overviews the research analyses of our study.

“The cohort characteristics seen in the research” depict in what kind of background the subjects developed their vocational ability and shaped their career. Those subjects in this cohort were generally able to have a smooth transition from school to work when graduating from their last educational institution. In the so-called “bubble economy” that they experienced in their late 30s, they also had an opportunity to improve their professional career. However, in their late 40s, quite many of them were forced to redirect their career path because their companies went bankrupt or had to lay off their employees. This suggests that it is important to take into account the situations of the times that the people in the cohort have experienced.

The section of “Job choice reflecting the entire life” shows us how the subjects survived two major recessions, namely the Oil Crisis and burst of the bubble economy. In this plight, some continued to work in the same company, some changed their job and found a workplace where they can be satisfied with their position and work stably, and some were forced by their company to leave their job and still remain unemployed. The success or failure of job change depends on how much they prepared for that in advance. While those who were successful had started collecting information before they quit their job, those who are still unemployed did not begin job-hunting until they actually left the office and tend to take up irregular jobs out of fear of staying jobless.

In addition, since they are aged around 50, quite many of them are also worried about their children's social and financial independence on top of their own career

improvement. By looking at the subjects' various experiences, we can see how much impact a job choice could have on one's entire life and lifestyle.

"Establishment of expertise in professional life" focuses on the subjects who opened up a new field and are working as specialists, and traces back educational experiences in their professional career paths. What was remarkable in them, in addition to the fact that they had opportunities for vocational trainings given by their workplace, is that they drew up training plans on their own, gained understanding from their family and colleagues, and acquired new skills and techniques exploring unfamiliar fields, foreign countries, and universities. Along with support from workplace, the major factor which enabled them to achieve this, we infer, was the fact that they did not always prioritize their job over everything, maintained the balance between business and family, and developed their career based on their empirical experiences.

"Suggestions regarding the importance of education for career development support for students" point out that, when considering career building, we should give weight not only on business career including professional fields or job titles, but on mental experiences through employment, which in a broad sense bring about satisfaction in both life and work.

Though the first job choice in one's career path is often largely affected by job information provided from his or her parents, information shared in the generation of parents is becoming less and less useful among their children in these days when the industrial structure is dramatically changing and the profession is diversifying. What is necessary to fill this gap is education for career development support for students well before children actually face the first job choice. In this sense, it is particularly vital to provide teachers in charge of career development support education with better trainings and seminars. In the case of male workers, the stability or harmony between job and personal life seem to be insufficient. It is indicated that this may lead in the future to inability to deal with externally-brought changes in their career building plan. Therefore, career development support should aim at both building business career and balancing one's personal life and work.

At the age of 26, the subjects mostly believed that their first job after graduation from school would play an important role in terms of their professional life and its future prospect. Is it still true for the subjects who are now in their 50s? "The importance of supporters in the early stage of career development" revealed that supporters who protect and educate young workers in an unstable position in the early stage of their career continuously played an important role to help them steadily carry on their career paths. In general, senior colleagues and bosses became such supporters and gave

advice when young workers were required to make decisions. In the early career development stage, young workers have to acquire different ways of thinking from what they learned in school. The framework of compliance that they obtained in the beginning of their career path will consistently serve as a criterion of decision-making throughout their career.

“Career and vocational ability development for those who chose their job at an early age” mainly discusses the subjects who worked or are working as specialists. In comparison with these days, people who belong to the research subjects' generation had plenty of opportunities to work as a regular employee, even though the financial level of their parents was low. However, the subjects who are now aged around 50 also had the same questions such as “what do I want to be?” or “what should I choose to do?” that young people have today.

What we found from some of the study cases was that directions or instructions regarding job choice from adults including parents and teachers significantly affected the child's or student's job selection. When adults surrounding a child provide him or her with concrete suggestions or practical information instead of saying “you can choose whatever you want to do,” their influence turned out to be immense.

It is also deemed essential to pay attention to the whole flow of career development, including stages such as picking out jobs that one is interested in, advancing to higher education, establishing a foundation necessary to build up vocational ability, getting support for job-hunting, developing business capacity necessary in his/her work, and training opportunities.

“Career building and leadership development” focuses on expansion of influence by widening and deepening one's human network during career advancement. The term “career” here has a broad sense not only in the workplace but also in the community.

In general, when we talk about career development, we often use indicators such as changes in work contents and promotions. However, these indicators can be useful only when we consider that in the workplace. In this section, therefore, we introduced the concept of “leadership,” that is, “ability to encourage other people within a group to achieve goals.” It is indicated that the career building from such respect can affect the level of maturity in terms of individual activities (including work) in the society, particularly the level of leadership that proves capacity of an individual to act in a group and to influence other people.

The section of “Difficulty of individual career advancement in an organization” shows the reality that even if one steadily develops one's career from the first job, one could still encounter unexpected problems in his or her long career path. It is not so easy to

examine one's career and to improve oneself within his or her life plan. This is why this section points out the significance not only to organize and provide educational and training programs for employees, but to establish a support system so that employees can make use of such programs.

"Transition from passive to active professional life" mainly analyzes the subjects who were forced by the company to leave their job. We learned that if one chooses one's first job without any clear reason, this will affect his or her entire professional life. The subjects who had a positive attitude toward choosing jobs when they were students showed the same positivism for employment at the age of 26, as well as at 50.

This section also argues that the more one makes mistakes while working and tries to handle them, the richer his or her career and vocational ability becomes, and that where a worker finds sense of fulfillment is related to his or her life stages and human growth.

The first job choice is dealt with in "Individual personality affected by the first job choice but still seen in the future career development." Some of the subjects chose their first job with a background of bankruptcy of their parent's company or their own illness. However, since nobody provided them with information or career guidance useful for job-hunting by deeply taking their personal circumstances into account, they had to develop their career in their own way. Nowadays when too much information is available, it is difficult for an individual to select really necessary information. It is therefore a challenge for schools to provide meaningful information suitable for each student.

"A model of woman who established her life career development principles on the lifestyle centering on 'the harmony with family'" presents an analysis focusing on female workers.

The female subjects, as household managers responsible for practical matters at home, have long built their life career after marriage. Although we often hear a phrase "balance between work and family," the female workers actually seem to have followed a basic principle of action, in various stages of their life career development, to first fulfill their obligations in household management and then to arrange other responsibilities around the household affairs, instead of balancing the two. This principle was commonly shared among working women, regardless of whether they were more home-oriented, had intention to help their family business, or continue working as a specialist. The only difference between those who are still working and those not is the approach to the concept of "harmony with family." They chose how to live their lives based on their own comprehensive decision after reflecting their personal environment and living conditions. If the subjects had had different environment and conditions,

they would have spontaneously sought for suitable actions depending on the environment and conditions. The examples given in this section were said to be models of woman who established their life career development principles on the lifestyle centering on the “harmony with family.”

Major Findings and Policy Implications

Based on the above analyses, the following policy implications were drawn:

1. More support for job choices in schools

According to the findings from our study, efforts for job choice support in schools largely affected students’ future career development, not only for its early stage, but even for that at the age of 50.

Based on this, it is apparently important to step up efforts for job choice support in schools. What exactly should we do? The career guidance currently provided in schools respects “self-choice” and basically encourages students to select jobs according to whatever they “want to do.” The Japanese society also shares the similar value. However, our study showed us that “concrete” suggestions and practical information given by surrounding adults including teachers turned out to be more useful. In addition, the subjects found it also helpful to receive advice from those who were actually having the job which they were interested in. Therefore, job choice support provided in schools requires “active” assistance from surrounding adults.

2. More support in the early stage of career development

The subjects who had good supporters or mentors in the early stage of their career paths were able to achieve a smooth transition from school to work and to have appropriate objectives for their future career development. It is however becoming more and more difficult to have an adult who can support young workers within workplace, as even getting a stable job is not an easy task for the youth in the present day. In order to help such young workers, it will be effective, in terms of future career development in the Japanese society, to educate supporters not only within workplace, beyond the framework of a company or an organization, as well as in the society.

3. More support focusing on the influence for career development given by the social economy and the status of the organization which one belongs to

It is vital for a career analysis to reflect the social and economic or employment environment that the subject generation has as its background.

Our study indicated that the timing when one enters the labor market affects his or her career development. On top of that, what had more significant effects on it were the social economy and the status of the organization which one belongs to, associated with each stage of career development. Among others, changes experienced by the entire society, such as those in the employment management system (e.g. decrease of long-term regular employment) or in the population structure due to the declining birthrate and the aging of society, have significant and direct impact on each worker. In this sense, though it is not clear if career development support is a common practice widely seen in the society, there are potential needs from individual workers to receive support for their career advancement throughout their professional life, mainly from mentors or other educational functions including OJTs. Also, we can not expect so much effectiveness if the support is not detailed enough to fully cover each worker's personal backgrounds and requirements such as the situations of the organization which he or she belongs to or concrete contents of his or her professional experiences.

Thus, although opportunities for professional assistance provided by outside specialists and further enhancement of currently available support systems is of course required, what will be more important is support that workers can gain in their daily work operations. That is, support given as part of the employment management program within a company or an organization will be the most useful assistance. What is required for that purpose as a national policy is to encourage companies and organizations to set up practically feasible and effective educational programs for their employees that are currently decreasing as part of management streamlining, and to develop and provide them with necessary know-hows.

4. Scope expansion of the research concerning “career and vocational ability development”

Professional career development is deeply related to individual worker's surrounding situations including those of his or her family, social life, and human networks. For female workers, this was clearly visible in their attempt to maintain the harmony with household management. Professional career of male workers, on the other hand, is also largely affected by their family and surrounding environment.

For example, those who well balanced their work and family successfully gained understanding and support from their family for extra trainings that they attended voluntarily. Another case showed us the reality of a male worker who had to prioritize earning immediate money to support his family and did not have the leeway to allow sufficient time and efforts to seek support for changing job or restarting his career.

Factors such as family, social life, and human networks can be supportive, but at the same time constraining, for one's career and vocational ability development.

This sort of negative aspect is often overlooked by analyses only focusing on professional career. When it comes to individual career and vocational ability development, analyses also involving each worker's surrounding environment apart from work could bring about more accurate results.

5. Needs to review vocational ability development and ability certificate

We found that professional qualifications one obtains vary depending on the academic background one had when they first started working. It was particularly evident among salaried workers who have university degrees that they consider occupational experience at workplace the most effective for professional career advancement and that their actual job experience at workplace would be the vital key in changing jobs. Based on this, practical solutions for professional qualifications and ability certificates specifically aimed at white-collar workers would be not to keep the present ones that can not go beyond proving minimum professional ability or school attendance, but to renew them or create new ones reflecting the following two points: (1) introducing qualifications that can be selectively granted to those who have comprehensively acquired knowledge and skills necessary for their job, incorporating them into practical work experience, and (2) setting up opportunities for trainings to improve one's ability of self-presentation and self-assertion so that one's capabilities can be precisely evaluated taking into consideration multiple factors including in what kind of company or organization and in what positions one has worked and exactly what kind of jobs one has experienced.

The data we dealt with in this study containing 25-year long professional and life histories of Japanese workers were so rich and vast that we have not been able to fully analyze them yet. In order to deeply examine individual workers' 25-year long histories from adolescence to middle age, even if limiting the analysis range only to their professional career, we need a more diversified analysis method, more prudence, and more time and efforts than we actually allowed in this study. Some cases remained unanalyzed at all. It will be very important, in the future, to analyze these precious data more carefully and with wider perspective.

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