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ROUTLEDGE

CAREER Counseling

Foundations, Perspectives, and Applications

Second Edition

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Contents

Historical Influences on the Evolution of Vocational Counseling

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Contents

> Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing.
>
> **—Teddy Roosevelt**

All career and vocational theories develop within a historical context. Examining the historical roots and development of different vocational theories provides a basis for understanding their lineage, a context for how they develop over time, and a sense of their connection to U.S. history and prevailing culture. In this chapter, we examine major influences on U.S. vocational counseling theory and practice in an effort to present a contextual portrait of the field and its growth. This portrait includes key figures, legislation, institutions and professional organizations, licensure and accreditation, and world events.

As an example of contextual influences that have shaped the history of vocational counseling, Gysbers, Heppner, Johnston, and Neville (2003) identified five tenets that influenced the development of career counseling research, theory, and practice in the United States: (1) individualism and autonomy, (2) affluence, (3) an open structure of opportunity based on assumptions of merit, (4) work as the central role in people's lives, and (5) the logical, linear, and progressive development of work and career (pp. 53–57). These tenets reflect the U.S. mainstream culture's assumptions that (a) the individual is the primary unit of focus, (b) individuals make career choices (vs. family or collectivist decision making), (c) individuation represents psychological progress and development, (d) volition and unconstrained choices guide occupational decisions, (e) the world of work operates as a meritocracy free from biases (e.g., racism, sexism), and (f) work is the most important aspect of people's lives. These assumptions rely on a static work culture and environment that no longer exists, even for those who once enjoyed its benefits, and completely ignore the realities of many others (Gysbers, Heppner, Johnston, & Neville, 2003).

The analysis by Gysbers, Heppner, Johnston, and Neville (2003) provided an excellent example of the extent to which the aims and beliefs of career counseling have been influenced by larger social forces. It also illustrates why career counseling has failed to benefit many who have sought its services and why many have not viewed career counseling as useful or relevant. Throughout the history of vocational counseling, there have been those who have argued that a critical dimension of career counseling practice involves identifying and transforming the structures and practices that perpetuate occupational stratification, inequality, and workplace injustices (e.g., Blustein, Juntunen, & Worthington, 2000; Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; O'Ryan, 2003).

In this chapter, we trace the emergence and development of vocational and career guidance over nine historical stages. We determined these stages through consideration of the works of Pope (2000) and Aubrey (1977). Within each stage, we present a sampling of historical events, legislation, and educational and vocational trends that contributed to the development of career guidance and counseling. These events should be viewed as a launching point for further inquiry rather than as a definitive catalogue of the influences on the field.

We begin with a few key definitions. On the basis of Richardson (1993) and Blustein et al. (2005), we define *work* as a central human activity, paid or unpaid, that is designed to fulfill the tasks of daily living and ensure survival. We define *career* as a subset of work that is characterized by volition, pay, and hierarchical and thematic relationships among various jobs that may or may not constitute a career, and, finally, we define *vocation* as a more general term that subsumes both work and career. These contemporary definitions are sometimes at odds with the language used over the course of time in vocational counseling. In recognition of changing terms over time, we also offer the broader definition of *career* offered by the National Vocational

Guidance Association in 1973: "a time-extended working out of a purposeful life pattern through work undertaken by the individual" (as cited in Casell & Samples, 1976, p. 3) that exists over the course of the life span and highlights the relation between work and identity.

Stage 1: The Beginning (1890–1914)

> The mid- and late 1800s … [were] marked by a devastating civil war, periods of economic depression, the closing of the American frontier, unbridled growth of large metropolitan areas, large waves of uneducated and unskilled immigrants, a war with the fading Spanish empire, unchecked expansion of family fortunes through business and industry, abrupt and unforeseen modes of communication and transportation, legal freeing of millions of former slaves without concomitant economic and social autonomy, the challenge to established religions by social and biological Darwinism, the rapid spread of compulsory school attendance laws, concentration of job opportunities in large cities, growth of state and federal government to cope with the earlier enlargement of corporate and industrial complexes, the struggle of women for basic human rights, and, the increased exploitation of many segments of the United States population by unscrupulous hucksters and entrepreneurs. (Aubrey, 1977, pp. 288–289)

As captured in this summary by Aubrey (1977), the years in which vocational guidance emerged in the United States were marked by large-scale economic and demographic changes that followed the Industrial Revolution. The second major immigration wave in the United States was marked by mass movement into the cities from rural areas in the United States and abroad and included people from many nations, members of ethnic minority groups, farmers, Southerners, and youth (DeBell, 2001; McLemore, Romo, & Baker, 2001; Pope, 2000). This immigration was accompanied by xenophobic social movements as well as restrictive immigration legislation after World War I, and continued through the Depression and World War II (McLemore et al., 2001). There was little sympathy for the plight of new arrivals, many of whom found work only in the most abysmal conditions (e.g., Sinclair, 1905). Labor unions emerged in the middle of the 1800s and grew in strength to become important political forces by the turn of the century (Brecher, 1997; DeBell, 2001).

The turn-of-the-century job market was characterized by changes in required job skills (DeBell, 2001). Although most opportunities for employment consisted of unskilled labor in the major industries of mining, railroads, factories, and mills (Baker, 2002; Pope, 2000), rising industrialization offered a number of new occupations and opportunities (Watkins, 1992). Implementation of Frederick Taylor's (1911) theory of scientific management radically increased worker productivity but was criticized as dehumanizing (Harris, 2000). The emergence of large organizations and subsequent prohibition against individuality and self-expression effected a shift in the relationship between identity and work. Romantic-era sentiments about

expressing one's core identity through "vocational passion" were replaced by more pragmatic definitions of identity based on one's place within an organization (Savickas, 1993, p. 206), which shifted the locus of work identity from "a calling from God" (internal) to "what your neighbors call you" (external), which Savickas (1993, p. 206) linked with the emergence of the "career ladder."

SIDEBAR 1.1   A Job versus A Calling

Jobs are not big enough for people. It's not just the assembly line worker whose job is too small for his spirit, you know? A job like mine, if you really put your spirit into it, you would sabotage immediately. You don't dare. So you absent your spirit from it. My mind has been so divorced from my job, except as a source of income, it's really absurd.

As I work in the business world, I am more and more shocked. You throw yourself into things because you feel that important questions—self-discipline, goals, a meaning of your life—are carried out in your work. You invest a job with a lot of values that the society doesn't allow you to put into a job. You find yourself like a pacemaker that's gone crazy or something. You want it to be a million things that it's not and you want to give it a million parts of yourself that nobody else wants there. So you end up wrecking the curve or else settling down and conforming. (Terkel, 1974, p. 521)

Events such as the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of 1911 and the publication of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1905) brought the extreme conditions of the workplace to the attention of the general public. Although middle- and upper-class White women did not enter the labor force in large numbers until World War II, many women worked to stave off extreme poverty and compensate for widespread male unemployment and underemployment (Peterson & Gonzales, 2000). Children were also present in the labor force in great numbers and were subjected to terrible working conditions, in part because of the absence of child labor laws (Aubrey, 1977; Baker, 2002). The first national child labor law was not passed until 1908 (DeBell, 2001). Today, although labor laws protect the majority of U.S. children, others continue to be exposed to abysmal working conditions, such as migrant farm-worker children (Tucker, 2000) and those forced into the child sex industry (Estes & Weiner, 2002).

The Protestant work ethic and social Darwinism were dominant socio-cultural influences of the time. These philosophies conveyed that hard work inevitably leads to success and that the strongest and hardest work-ing achieve the most success. The Protestant work ethic has been critiqued for its limited multicultural relevance and "disrespect for immigrant work habits" (Peterson & Gonzales, 2000, p. 51) and for ignoring social and political restrictions on individual occupational success as well as the reality that opportunities are not made available on an equal basis to all (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003; Peterson & Gonzales, 2000).

These social, political, and economic changes in which the nation was embroiled gave rise to two movements that were essential to the history of vocational guidance: the progressive movement and the educational reform movement. The progressive movement arose from the idea that science and technology should be used to benefit the common good and move toward human perfection (Baker, 2002). Made up of reformists who worked to alleviate negative social conditions, the progressive movement was based on

beliefs that the government should help individuals and communities (Pope, 2000) and targeted women's suffrage, regulation of industry and educational reform, and enactment of child labor laws as major goals (Baker, 2002).

The educational reform movement emerged in response to vast increases in school enrollment. Mass immigration into the cities, changes in child labor laws, and the need for more highly educated workers all increased the size of school classrooms, and student diversity expanded considerably with respect to language, background, education, and aptitude (Aubrey, 1977; Baker, 2002). These changes in student composition meant that old methods of teaching were no longer as effective, leading to a call for widespread educational reform in academic content and teaching practices (Baker, 2002). Factory and corporate schools emerged to meet the increasing need to train workers (Harris, 2000). Although focused on skill-specific training, many corporate schools "taught everything from basic English to specific, production-related technical skills" (Harris, 2000, p. 5) and may also have served a larger acculturative function.

Vocational Guidance: Beginnings

The ideals of the progressive and educational reform movements were perhaps best reflected in the work of Frank Parsons, a Boston-based attorney. Noting Parsons' own journey from engineer to lawyer to professor to mayoral candidate to godfather of vocational guidance, Watkins (1992) joked that Parsons himself was a man desperately in need of career guidance. Through his work at the Vocation Bureau of the Civic Service House in Boston, Massachusetts, Parsons responded to changing needs in industry and the workforce by focusing on the school-to-work transition of children (Blustein et al., 2000; Super, 1955).

The Civic Service House had been a place for self-governing clubs of immigrants and socialites interested in civic action and justice to meet as they worked to help individuals who formerly had little or no hope of rising above their social and economic status (Brewer, 1942; Hartung & Blustein, 2002; Pope, 2000; Zytowski, 2001). Part of the Civic Service House included the Breadwinner's College (later, Institute), which provided primary and continuing education for interested members (Brewer, 1942; Zytowski, 2001). One of the first instructors at the Breadwinner's College was the civic-minded Parsons, who was a professor and dean of liberal arts (Brewer, 1942). In 1906, Parsons delivered "The Ideal City," a lecture detailing the need to counsel young people about vocational decisions as a means of empowering them and working toward social justice (Brewer, 1942; O'Brien, 2001). The lecture generated tremendous interest and led to the formation of the Vocation Bureau (Brewer, 1942; Zytowski, 2001).

The Vocation Bureau is generally considered the formative site of the U.S. vocational guidance movement (Hartung & Blustein, 2002). The bureau provided assistance to students, trained the first vocational counselors, facilitated the school-to-work transition, and focused on the development of vocational choice (Baker, 2002; Zytowski, 2001). Parsons' (1909) *Choosing a Vocation*

served as a foundation for vocational guidance throughout the remainder of the century (Hartung & Blustein, 2002; Watkins, 1992). In it, he recommended a three-step model: (1) evaluating individuals' interests, abilities, values, and skills; (2) identifying requirements of various occupations; and (3) matching individuals to suitable occupations via true reasoning. Each step was designed to achieve harmonious results and establish labor efficiency. Over time, this approach has become known as *trait and factor theory*.

Although Parsons intended to address the social problems of his day scientifically (Hartung & Blustein, 2002; Savickas, 1993), by contemporary standards his techniques for career guidance would be considered commonsense pragmatics rather than empirically driven (Aubrey, 1977). Nonetheless, his emphasis on assessment had a major influence on the subsequent development of vocational assessment tools (Watkins, 1992).

A year after Parsons died in 1908, he was honored at the first vocational conference in Boston. This conference initiated steps toward the creation of a guidance counselors' organization (Aubrey, 1977), resulting in the 1913 formation of the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) in Grand Rapids, Michigan (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999; Pope, 2000). In the same year, the U.S. Department of Labor was formed, and it began to gather workforce statistics (Pope, 2000). For the founders of the NVGA, it was a time "of growth and high hopes for vocational guidance" (Pope, 2000, p. 197).

Simultaneous Efforts

As Parsons was promoting vocational guidance in Boston, a school administrator named Jesse Davis was making the first citywide efforts to incorporate guidance into schools in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Davis began teaching vocational guidance in the schools during one class period per week (Aubrey, 1977; Brewer, 1942). He advocated a study of the self and occupations that was similar to Parsons' approach. Believing that properly minded youth would choose civic-minded careers, Davis focused on the development of moral consciousness, character, and ethical behavior as a means to affect career choices (Aubrey, 1977). He conceptualized vocational guidance in terms of finding one's calling (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). A progressive who was instrumental in the formation of the NVGA, Davis served as its second president (Pope, 2000).

There were two distinct tracks toward high school graduation: college preparatory and vocational education. John Dewey's (1916) farsighted advocacy for integrating the two tracks was an effort to discourage replication of class distinctions (Blustein et al., 2000) and discrimination based on an individual's job (the discriminatory "occupationism" described by Krumboltz, 1991, p. 310). Today, the two-track system still exists, as does the debate over its logic and consequences (Blustein et al., 2000; Hartung & Blustein, 2002). Failure to interrupt the reproduction of poverty through vocational and educational guidance practices has led Baker (2002) and others (Blustein, 2006; Hawks & Muha, 1991; O'Brien, 2001) to suggest that vocational guidance has drawn away from its social justice goals over time.

Other vocational theorists of the time included Anna Reed, Eli Weaver, and David Hill. Only Hill articulated a need for diversity in education and vocational guidance (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Anna Y. Reed, head of a voluntary bureau in Seattle, Washington, engaged in work similar to Parsons', but her emphasis was on the employers and positions rather than the individual, working to match youth to existing jobs (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Across the United States, cities and schools were forming departments and courses on vocational guidance, ranging from Reed's Seattle bureau to the efforts of Eli Weaver, who incorporated vocational guidance into the public schools in New York City (Brewer, 1942). By 1910, some form of vocational guidance was being offered in schools in more than 35 cities, and the first university course in the subject was taught in 1911 at Harvard University (Aubrey, 1977). Yet vocational guidance was about to gain even more momentum: World War I, the increased presence of vocational guidance in schools, and drives for empirical testing would increase the awareness and perceived legitimacy of the field.

Stage 2: Calls for Measurement and Vocational Guidance in the Schools (1914–1929)

World War I involved the mobilization of 4,355,000 U.S. soldiers. Of this group, a vast number died or were wounded, presenting significant economic and vocational challenges for returning veterans and their family members (Strachan, 2003). The war and its aftermath were the dominant contextual influences in this time period. Also during this era, women gained the right to vote, Henry Ford was selling cars for $290, Frank Lloyd Wright was designing homes in California and Japan, the first skyscrapers were under construction, and James Langston Hughes published his first book of poetry.

The postwar period saw a surge in testing in public and private education (Super, 1955). Increases in student diversity and the importance of literacy skills in the workplace translated into more attention to vocational guidance (Pope, 2000). The United States' involvement in World War I, coupled with ongoing, large-scale immigration, fueled legislative action such as the Immigration Act of 1917, the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, and the Immigration Act of 1924 (McLemore et al., 2001). On the basis of the "national origins principle" that promoted the immigration of certain "superior and preferable" groups, legislation was enacted from 1917 to 1924 that established and enforced quota-based restrictions that continued through the Depression and World War II (DeBell, 2001; McLemore et al., 2001).

Vocational Instruments

The early years of the vocational guidance movement were characterized by debate between advocates for experiential self-assessment (e.g., "What kinds of things are you skilled at doing?") and advocates for empirical testing to increase the reliability and validity of existing assessments (American Psychological Association [APA], 1956; Aubrey, 1977; Super, 1955). Calls for

the scientific evaluation of assessment tools began as early as 1911 and were echoed in government (Baker, 2002), paralleling a shift from knowledge via individual experience (i.e., subjectivity) to an emphasis on science and objectivity (Savickas, 1993). Psychometrics (the field concerned with design and analysis of the measurement of human characteristics) took on great significance at this time in developing vocational and intellectual assessments and establishing the credibility of vocational guidance as a profession (Aubrey, 1977; Watkins, 1992). The move toward credibility was also supported at this time by publication of the NVGA's "Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance" (Pope, 2000). Information about the history of credentialing career counselors can be found in Engels, Minor, Sampson, and Splete (1995).

The debate over experiential self-assessment versus increased empirical testing was ultimately (and perhaps prematurely) resolved by the onset of World War I. The U.S. Army needed to quickly place thousands of men into positions for which they had the skills or aptitude (Super, 1983). Standardized objective tests suitable for group administration, such as the Army Alpha and Army Beta tests, were developed on the basis of pioneering work in intelligence testing by Binet and Terman, among others (Super, 1983). The predecessors of today's Army General Classification Test (the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery) were administered to more than 2 million men during World War I (Baker, 2002; Seligman, 1994; Walsh & Betz, 1995). In 1927, E. K. Strong published the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Men (Strong, 1927; Walsh & Betz, 1995), a measure that remains one of the most widely used career instruments today (Seligman, 1994). The use of standardized tests for admissions and placement decisions spread into higher education as army psychologists obtained postwar employment in colleges and universities and has similarly continued through the present (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999; Williamson, 1965). Despite controversy over the accuracy and validity of intelligence measurement, including criticism of the use of testing results to justify the inequitable treatment of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the education system (McLemore et al., 2001; Williamson, 1965), widespread use of such testing continued, and the debate regarding its validity continue today (Suzuki, Prevost, & Short, 2008).

Vocational Legislation

As veterans began returning home wounded in body, mind, or both, the United States faced the challenge of how to provide them with a means of self-support or, if employment was not an option, some other form of assistance. This situation inspired the vocational rehabilitation movement (P. P. Heppner, Casas, Carter, & Stone, 2000). The Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1918 provided job training for returning veterans. The Veterans' Bureau was created as part of the Veteran's Administration in 1921 and provided vocational rehabilitation and education programming for disabled veterans of World War I (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). In the civic sector, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided funding for vocational education and guidance programs in elementary and secondary schools (Pope, 2000), and in 1921 the Workers

Education Bureau and the first Labor Extension Program at the University of California, Berkeley, were initiated. Also by 1921, workmen's compensation (begun in 1910 in New York) had spread to 45 states (Danek et al., 1996).

Vocational Education and Organization

From 1910 to 1920, vocational guidance became entrenched in the school systems in Boston and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1915); Chicago, Illinois (1916); South Bend, Indiana, and Berkeley (1919); and Detroit, Michigan (1920; Brewer, 1942). During this time, the organization of vocational guidance programs remained inconsistent because of the general lack of understanding that the comprehensive experience of vocational guidance included integrating research, practice trials, choices, readjustment, and guidance (Brewer, 1942). As a result, some individuals wanted to focus on placement, and others favored gathering information and safeguarding children's rights (Brewer, 1942).

In industry, corporate schools such as the Carnegie Corporation's American Association for Adult Education continued to operate (Harris, 2000). Organized labor continued trying to meet the needs of workers and employers, walking the fine line between advocating for training versus education and determining how aggressive to make its demands and actions (Brecher, 1997; Harris, 2000). Corporate schools had a similar struggle regarding what level of education to provide for their workers. The American Association for Adult Education's idea that adult education should create informed citizens and "maintain social stability" (Harris, 2000, p. 32) parallels Dewey's (1916) notions as well as contemporary debates about whether education should be used to challenge class distinctions (Blustein et al., 2000).

This period included more organization in the vocational guidance profession; for example, the NVGA produced its first journal, *Vocational Guidance*, in 1915. In 1924, the National Civilian Rehabilitation Association (renamed the National Rehabilitation Association in 1927) convened for the first time (P. P. Heppner et al., 2000). As the use of and reliance on standardized testing increased, attention to contextual factors important in selecting an occupation decreased, as did the counseling dimension of vocational guidance (Aubrey, 1977). Aubrey (1977) noted that this shift paralleled the general reliance on authority and rigidity that was the spirit of the postwar period in the United States. The emphasis on testing increased over the course of the next decade, as Americans looked to vocational guidance to ease the crises created by the mass unemployment of the Great Depression (Super, 1955).

Stage 3: The Great Depression and the Expectations of a Nation (1929–1939)

During this era, Europe and the United States experienced widespread economic depression. Abysmal working and living conditions as well as civil and social unrest across the world did nothing to abate mass levels of immigration into the United States, although this wave of immigrants did not find

the conditions of which they had dreamed. To address the vast unemployment and underemployment that accompanied the Great Depression, the Roosevelt administration's New Deal created public programs for employment through the Civilian Conservation Corps, established in 1933, and the Works Progress Administration, established in 1935 (Pope, 2000).

During this period, unions became much more organized. One of the first to appear was the Knights of Labor. Aspiring to social justice, this union emphasized rallying people around their identities as workers first: "The Order tried to teach the American wage-earner that he was a wage-earner first and a bricklayer, carpenter, miner, shoemaker … a Catholic, Protestant, Jew, white, black, Democrat, Republican after" (Ware, 1964, as quoted in Brecher, 1997, p. 43). Women, too, were subjected to terrible working conditions and participated in organized action (Brecher, 1997). Although the Knights of Labor aspired to goals that were congruent with those of the common worker, not all unions were so fair minded. For example, emerging unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor "generally included only highly skilled craft workers, excluding—in practice and often by deliberate intent—African Americans, women, many immigrants, and non-craft workers" (Brecher, 1997, p. 69). Thirty years later, craft unions and the construction industry in Philadelphia would catch President Nixon's eye as strongholds against affirmative action and would be targeted in his Philadelphia Order (Brunner, n.d.).

SIDEBAR 1.2   The Decline of Manual Labor

I'm a dying breed. A laborer. Strictly muscle work … pick it up, put it down, pick it up, put it down. We handle between forty and fifty thousand pounds of steel a day. (Laughs) I think this is hard to believe—from four hundred pounds to three- and four-pound pieces. It's dying.

You can't take pride any more. You remember when a guy could point to a house he built, how many logs he stacked. He built it and he was proud of it. I don't really think I could be proud if a contractor built a home for me. I would be tempted to get in there and kick the carpenter in the ass (laughs), and take the saw away from him. 'Cause I would have to be part of it, you know.

It's hard to take pride in a bridge you're never gonna cross, in a door you're never gonna open. You're mass-producing things and you never see the end result of it. (Terkel, 1974, p. xxxi)

Organized labor was by no means a cure-all for worker problems. Disaffection with the slow and careful progress of the unions and fears of collaboration between union leaders and owners were part of the dynamic of the time (Brecher, 1997). Citizen self-help organizations began to form, such as the Unemployed Council in Chicago and the Unemployed Citizens League in Seattle (Brecher, 1997). Seen in the light of these citizen activities, the New Deal may have been motivated as much by fear of mass uprisings as by humanitarian concerns over job losses (Brecher, 1997; Pope, 2000). Also at this time, the child study movement of the 1930s continued to raise expectations of teacher accountability and responsibility (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999).

Vocational Legislation

Vocational guidance had established its utility through testing and placement success during World War I. Now the nation looked to vocational guidance

to help with the employment crisis of the Depression (Herr & Shahnasarian, 2001; Super, 1955). Vocational education legislation continued with the George-Reed (1929), George-Ellzey (1934), and George-Deen (1936) Acts, each of which continued financial support for vocational guidance works that had begun with the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and provided funding for education in agriculture and home economics (Herr & Shahnasarian, 2001; Pope, 2000). The George-Deen Act led to the creation of the Occupational and Informational Guidance Branch of the U.S. Office of Education and provided states with funding for education supervisors and guidance in the schools (Hoyt, 2001). Greater numbers of supervisors and guidance counselors in the schools meant greater entrenchment in the schools. The efforts of the progressives finally came to fruition with the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which explicitly outlawed exploitative child labor (Pope, 2000). Under the New Deal, the U.S. Department of Labor also developed offices for job placement and guidance for unemployed Americans in 1933 (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999) and developed the U.S. Employment Service, the National Employment Counseling Association, and employee assistance programs. The Social Security Act became law in 1935, providing a guaranteed source of retirement income to all Americans who qualified (Pope, 2000; Seligman, 1994).

Vocational Instruments and Organization

The psychometrics movement continued during this period through the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute (Super, 1955; Watkins, 1992). Led by a number of vocational psychology trailblazers including E. G. Williamson, John Darley, and Donald Paterson, the institute responded to the educational and vocational needs of unemployed Americans as it developed psychometric tests (Watkins, 1992). The institute's work sparked interest in public and private vocational guidance centers, and the U.S. Employment Service soon took over to expand the institute's research and practical applications into the larger society (Super, 1955). This expansion strengthened connections among education, psychometrics, social work, and vocational guidance, as well as the organizational power of the NVGA (Super, 1955).

This era was also marked by the publication of E. G. Williamson's (1939) trait and factor manual *How to Counsel Students*, which focused on the importance of testing and measurement in the tradition of Parsons (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). In 1939, the U.S. Department of Labor produced the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1940), an encyclopedic and highly organized classification system of occupations that provided extensive information about the nature of occupational activities, worker traits, work settings, and educational and training requirements (Sharf, 2002). The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* provided for the first time a common organizational framework for occupations, which arrived just in time for the United States' involvement in World War II, with the associated masses of people entering (and leaving) the

military and the workforce. The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was updated continuously until 1991, when it was replaced by the online data base O*NET (http://online.onetcenter.org/).

Stage 4: World War II, More Testing, and Major Theoretical Influences (1940–1957)

The United States' entry into World War II coincided with the end of the Great Depression. Preparation for and engagement in the war and responding to its aftermath resulted in labor and population booms, increased access to free public education, and entry of middle-class White women into the labor force in greater numbers than ever before (Aubrey, 1977; Seligman, 1994). During the war, most women found jobs in heavy industry, and the government provided some day care and household assistance as incentives (Faludi, 1991). After the war, most of those same women were rushed out of heavy industry. Those who continued working were often forced to accept lower paying, lower status clerical and administrative positions as a result of the political and social realities of the time. Despite this, women's participation in the labor market continued to grow (Faludi, 1991).

Personal freedom and autonomy were dominant national themes (Aubrey, 1977). Counseling psychology emerged as a new specialty in this time period, a combination of vocational guidance, psychometrics, and guidance that emphasized a holistic perception of the individual (Gelso & Fretz, 2001; Super, 1955). The vocational needs of women of color and working-class women continued to be ignored in research and practice literature, even as they continued to be a significant part of the workforce (Seligman, 1994). The power of organized labor continued to grow, and approximately one third of the labor force was unionized in 1955 (DeBell, 2001).

Vocational Theory

Vocational guidance theory was also changing. The growing dominant culture themes of increased personal autonomy and self-determination were incongruent with the assumptions of unchangeable personal qualities that were the basis for trait and factor guidance (Aubrey, 1977). Theoretical writings on vocational guidance were losing ground to counseling in the professional and practice literature, and during the 1950s vocational guidance began to include a more developmental focus (Aubrey, 1977). Even labels were changing, as *vocational guidance* began to be replaced by terms such as *career counseling* and *career development* (Pope, 2000).

Developmental stage theories from related disciplines sparked changes in vocational guidance theory (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). For example, Erikson's (1950) *Childhood and Society* articulated eight stages of psychosocial development and focused on the domains of ideology, family, and vocation. His influence can be seen in theories such as those of Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951); Super (1953, 1990); and Gottfredson (1981, 1996). Ginzberg et al. (1951) combined trait and factor theory with Erikson's

work to describe decision making as a developmental process involving personal–environmental factors (Sharf, 2002).

Erikson's (1950) work also influenced Donald Super (Sharf, 2002). Super, a vocational psychologist whose work spanned six decades, created an integrative model of vocational development across the life span focused on ideas of self-concept and career maturity (Sharf, 2002; Super, 1990). In later revisions of his model, Super emphasized how identity and vocational self-concept development influenced the adoption of occupational and other life roles (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). These adaptations paralleled later revisions of Ginzberg et al.'s (1951) model and eventually led to Person × Environment theory (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999).

Around the same time, Maslow (1954) proposed with his landmark hierarchy of needs that human needs were satisfied in a hierarchical progression. This theory influenced Anne Roe (1956, 1957), whose developmental theory of occupational classification and selection included a strong emphasis on parent–child interaction (Sharf, 2002). Roe's system for categorizing occupations was followed by Holland's (1959) theory of personality types and occupational classification. Holland continued working on his model for more than four decades; his theory had a strong trait and factor influence, focusing on matching internal qualities and workplace environment. Later revisions of the model included concepts of consistency, congruence, and differentiation (Holland, 1997).

In addition to developmental approaches, the growth of interpersonal counseling and psychotherapy had an enormous impact on vocational guidance (Aubrey, 1977). Carl Rogers's (1939, 1951) groundbreaking work on genuineness, empathic responses, and unconditional positive regard for clients reflected the national spirit of self-determination, personal autonomy, and empowerment (Aubrey, 1977). His techniques were incorporated into vocational guidance and have in fact been credited with changing its primary focus (Super, 1955). Specifically, the importance of psychometrics and testing were displaced by emphasis on clients' personal experience (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999; Super, 1955). Whereas in the past, career counselors focused on finding solutions to their clients' vocational problems, Rogers's work (alongside that of Erikson, Maslow, and others) led to greater focus on counseling the person and understanding the individual problem as just one aspect of living. In other words, vocational guidance began to be grounded in the context of clients' lives (Super, 1955).

Vocational Instruments

As with World War I, involvement in World War II prompted the need for assessments to assist in placing large numbers of personnel into appropriate jobs in the armed forces (Super, 1983). After the war, the mental health and vocational needs of returning veterans—and the workers they inadvertently displaced—became evident. The Armed Services Vocational Aptitudes Battery was developed at this time by the U.S. Department of Defense (Sharf, 2002). Major tools also developed during this time included the Army

General Classification Test (replacing the Alpha Test), the General Aptitude Test Battery (Dvorak, 1947), and the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (Super, 1983; U.S. Department of Labor, 1949). The early stages of development of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, a popular personality indicator based on Jung's theory, commenced during this time period. Refinement and revision of the Strong Interest Inventory continued, with separate scales for women added in 1933 (Sharf, 2002; Strong, 1943, 1955; Walsh & Betz, 1995).

Vocational Legislation and Organization

After World War II, major legislation addressed the needs of veterans. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (known as the GI Bill) allocated funding for college, job training, and home ownership (Faludi, 1999), and the George-Barden Act of the same year provided funding to train school counselors in higher education settings and create Veterans Administration counseling centers (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999; Hoyt, 2001). This funding increased certification and the professionalization of career guidance (Herr & Shahnasarian, 2001) and promoted occupational training and education for veterans. In 1947, the Feingold Report recommended that guidance be applicable to other areas of life beyond education for all students, not just those whose educational careers seemed promising. (Feingold, 1947).

Changes in theory and instruments resulted in political and organizational realignments within vocational guidance as well as changes in the primacy of vocational guidance (Super, 1955). The APA's Division of Counseling and Guidance (Division 17) was established in 1946 by E. G. Williamson and John Darley, but its name changed to the Division of Counseling Psychology in 1952 (APA, 1956; Super, 1955). Many academic departments restructured to increase focus on counseling psychology doctoral programs. More intensive training of counseling psychologists led to supplantation of vocational counselors in some circles (Super, 1955). For example, in 1952 the Veterans Administration replaced the title of *vocational counselor* with *counseling psychologist* (APA, 1956).

In part because of a desire to project a stronger identity, the NVGA merged with the Guidance Supervisors and Counselor Trainers and the American College Personnel Association to form the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) in 1952 (Super, 1955). Unfortunately, consolidation into APGA resulted in a more than 50% decline in membership in the NVGA (Pope, 2000), perhaps because of the heterogeneous membership of NVGA, with many members "whose primary affiliation is elsewhere" (Super, 1955, p. 6). At the international level, 1951 saw the formation of the International Association for Vocational Education and Guidance, a nongovernmental organization committed to the development of the profession and provision of high-quality and appropriate guidance services worldwide.

Even as vocational guidance struggled to maintain its identity within psychology, the field continued to grow, with greater emphasis on training, educational requirements, and interdisciplinary influences. And the looming threat of war with the Soviet Union began to shape developments in important ways.

Stage 5: 1958–1970—The Space Race, Civil Rights, and the Great Society

The launching of Sputnik I by the Soviet Union demonstrated technological advances that caught the immediate attention of the United States. Concerned that the country was lagging behind in science and technology, the United States initiated a series of legislative actions intended to increase the quality and quantity of U.S. scientists (Borow, 1974). The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 provided mass funding for vocational guidance in the schools, in the hope that new school personnel would greatly increase the number of talented young men and women pursuing higher education in math and science (Pope, 2000). After President Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon Johnson carried forward his vision by initiating the War on Poverty and the creation of the Great Society.

This period also increased the emphasis on finding meaning in work, because "many young people wanted jobs that … would allow them to change the world for the better" (Pope, 2000, p. 200). Striving for meaning in work developed alongside resurging commitment to social justice. The 1960s saw a rising national awareness of the major social, educational, and economic inequalities that existed across ethnic, racial, and gendered domains; this awareness was accompanied by growing mistrust of and unease with major U.S. institutions, including the government and the military (Dixon, 1987; Borow, 1974). Throughout the decade, various civil rights movements emerged, growing from an original focus on African Americans to a focus on a broader sector of people challenged by inequity and injustice, including gays and lesbians, people with disabilities, other racial and ethnic minorities, and women (P. P. Heppner et al., 2000). Mass action for these causes ranged from sit-ins to mass riots (Borow, 1974). In addition, the conflict in Southeast Asia and very high levels of unemployment in the United States contributed to mass action and civil unrest (Pope, 2000). It did not take long for the government to connect civil unrest with increasing number of out-of-school youth and a lack of employment opportunities (Herr, 1974).

SIDEBAR 1.3   Think About This: Affirmative Action

President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society initiative sought to end poverty and racial injustices and to address other social justice problems of that time. In the late 1960s, he issued Executive Order 11246 (affirmative action), which required employers to hire without regard to race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or nationality. Given a pool of candidates with comparable qualifications for a position, affirmative action requires that employers hire a candidate from a group (i.e., women, racial or ethnic minorities) that has been underrepresented in the workplace. The policy was created to help eliminate past and present discrimination. Do you agree with the affirmative action policy? Why or why not? Do you believe it has changed the landscape of work opportunity in the United States? In what ways? Which view do you believe most Americans have on this policy?

Vocational Theory

During the 1960s, contributors to APGA literature voiced sentiments reminiscent of the 1947 Feingold report by advocating guidance for every student rather than limiting focus to college-bound students (Aubrey, 1977). The developmental focus continued in the counseling and guidance literature as

well, including Wrenn's (1962) *The Counselor in a Changing World;* Tiedeman and O'Hara's (1963) model of self-development, cognitive development, and career decision making; and Lofquist and Dawis's (1969) trait- and factor-based work adjustment theory (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). This decade was the first in which attention was paid to the career development of people with disabilities who were not veterans (Szymanski, Hershenson, Enright, & Ettinger, 1996). Simultaneously, researchers began to examine populations other than men for the first time; Terman and Oden (1959) published a landmark study of a sample of gifted students, finding that although gifted male students largely grew up to become physicists, physicians, and lawyers, the majority of gifted female students became housewives and secretaries.

Vocational Instruments

Instruments that drew heavily on personality and development continued to develop. The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers, 1962) test was published in 1962, and the Kuder Occupational Interest Scale followed in 1966 (Sharf, 2002; Walsh & Betz, 1995). In the late 1960s, career counselors began using computer technology, beginning with the System of Interactive Guidance and Information and the Computerized Vocation Information System (Harris-Bowlsbey, 2003).

Vocational Legislation and Organization

As with the social climate during the Roosevelt administration, civil disorder and crises likely prompted the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to use vocational legislation to respond to great forces for social change (Herr, 1974; Pope, 2000). Legislation during this stage was significant in three important ways: (1) Minority groups and women began to be directly involved in vocational legislation (e.g., the emergence of affirmative action); (2) contextual factors such as educational, social, and cultural barriers to vocational success began to be overtly considered; and (3) vocational guidance became even more integral to legislation aimed at reducing economic or occupational woes. The years from 1960 to 1979 have been described as a "boom for counseling" (Pope, 2000, p. 208). Others agreed:

> To a degree unparalleled in … American history, vocational guidance and counseling became identified consistently in federal or in state legislation as a vital part of the manpower policies designed to respond to human needs in the occupational and economic arenas. (Herr, 1974, p. 33)

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 focused on attracting jobs to impoverished areas, followed by provisions for worker assistance and job skills (Herr, 1974). Beginning with the Manpower Development and Training Act, legislative efforts acknowledged the existence of social and political barriers to occupational success and involved active recruitment strategies (Herr, 1974). The Vocational Education Act of 1963 had as its goal the improvement of the

kinds and quality of vocational education and training available to all students and directed funds toward retraining adult workers displaced by technological change (Pope, 2000). In 1963, the Community Mental Health Centers Act initiated rehabilitative services for people with mental illness (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999).

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. It applied to direct treatment in the workplace and to indirect discrimination such as hiring or workplace practices or procedures (Peterson & Gonzales, 2000). In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law Executive Order 11246, which enforced equality in hiring and employment of people of color, or affirmative action. Just before enacting the order, President Johnson noted in a commencement address at Howard University in Washington, DC, that

> you do not wipe away the scars of centuries by … taking a man who for years has been hobbled by chains, liberate him, bring him to the starting line of a race, saying, "you are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe you have been completely fair … This is the next and more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. (Brunner, n.d.)

This order was amended 2 years later to include discrimination on the basis of gender (Brunner, n.d.), and discrimination on the basis of age was similarly protected against in the 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act.

In 1965, legislation increased funding for the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, acknowledging the influence of social and environmental factors on vocational development and opportunity (Herr, 1974). Similarly, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created a wealth of programs, including Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, Youth Opportunity Centers, the U.S. Employment Service Human Resource Development Program, Head Start, and New Careers Program (Herr, 1974; Pope, 2000). The Social Security Act amendments of 1967 contained a Work Incentive Program for education and training of and support for welfare recipients to find work, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1969 provided aid for children in impoverished areas (Herr, 1974; Pope, 2000).

National Defense Education Act of 1958

The single greatest influence on the profession and practice of career guidance in this era was the NDEA (Hoyt, 2001). The NDEA funded and trained educators and counselors to identify and encourage young people to enroll in science and math classes (Pope, 2000). In addition, money from the act affected accreditation and licensure consolidations for school counselors (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Combined with other legislation, the NDEA sparked a 400% increase in the number of school counselors from 1958 to 1967 (Aubrey, 1977), normalized the presence of guidance counselors and testing in the schools (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999), and funded an entire generation of counselors, counselor educators, and counseling psychologists.

The increased visibility and prominence of vocational counseling in everyday life, including school, community, and public and private organizations, led the U.S. Employment Service to develop the subprofession of career counseling (Hoyt, 2001). At the same time, school counselors formed a Guidance Division of the American Vocational Association, the NVGA celebrated its 50th anniversary as an organization, and its membership began to recover from the losses sustained in the merger with APGA (Hoyt, 2001; Pope, 2000). In 1964, the American School Counselor Association clarified the roles and functions of school counselors in its Policy for Secondary School Counselors (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999).

Aubrey (1977) suggested that the consolidation and expansion of vocational guidance during this period led to more opportunities and possibilities than ever before. This growth in turn led to a critical need for self-examination and clarity regarding future directions, such as the nature of clientele served and methodologies used. Such activities continued into the next stage.

SIDEBAR 1.4 Think About This: NDEA Then and Now

The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was signed into law on September 2, 1958, and provided funding to private and public institutions at all levels of education. The NDEA was also the impetus for an increase in the number of students attending college, particularly in math, science, and counseling and guidance-related careers. What do you think was the impact of the NDEA on U.S. society? How did the passage of the NDEA fit with the other social realities (e.g., hiring discrimination, limited job opportunities for women) of the time? What are some historical antecedents of this law?

Stage 6: The Boom Years Continue

The 1970s witnessed the decline of President Johnson's Great Society. The disaffection toward and mistrust of the government of the 1960s continued during Watergate and the end of the Vietnam War. Rising unemployment and an unstable economy contributed to a growing sense of apathy toward the government and its institutions (Aubrey, 1977). Vocational services remained essential elements of social change legislation (and funding) in career development and education for people at multiple levels of the educational system (Blustein et al., 2000). Vocational counselors and theorists began making efforts to focus on the needs of women, ethnic minorities, and people with disabilities, although research on these and other dimensions of diversity would not receive significant attention until the 1980s and 1990s.

Vocational Theory

Bandura's (1969) introduction of social learning theory in his *Principles of Behavior Modification* contained promising new directions for vocational counseling (Sharf, 2002). His subsequent work on constructs such as self-efficacy expectations (e.g., Bandura, 1977, 1986) prompted research and theoretical developments that eventually became the foundation for social cognitive career theory (Hackett & Betz, 1981; R. W. Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). Krumboltz (e.g., 1979, 1996; Krumboltz, Mitchell, & Gelatt, 1975) applied social learning theory to career counseling and career decision

making. Krumboltz conceptualized learning as an interaction between genetic and environmental factors, integrating aspects of Bandura's work with other theories that attended to the role of the environment.

Stage theories of career development of the 1940s through 1970s progressed to broader conceptualizations of careers across the life span (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999), such as Gysbers and Moore's (1973) life career development theory that focused on interactions of all aspects of an individual's life (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003). This theory fused environmental and developmental concepts, suggesting that counselors conceptualize career and work as the intersection of the roles, life stages, personal factors, individual differences (e.g., race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation), settings, and events that occur over a person's lifetime (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003). Life career development theory became even more inclusive with its 1992 revision, incorporating larger societal-level factors (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003). At the end of the decade, Herr (1979) published *Guidance and Counseling in the Schools*.

Vocational Instruments

Development of computer-based assessments continued with SIGI Plus, DISCOVER, the Career Information System, and the Guidance Information System (Harris-Bowlsbey, 2003). The profession began to critique and test its assessments for cross-cultural relevance, addressing issues such as comfort with test items, generalizability concerns, data interpretation and language problems, and cultural differences in disclosing information (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1995; Fouad, 1993). Theories of vocational behavior and development were critiqued for failing to address differences across domains of identity such as gender, sexual orientation, race or ethnicity, or level of physical ability (Fouad, 1993), and researchers began to pay attention to the vocational development and concerns of racial and ethnic minorities and of women (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1983; Smith, 1983).

Vocational Legislation and Organization

In 1971, the U.S. Office of Education dedicated $9 million to developing models of career education (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Career education incorporated career development (i.e., decision making and planning) and occupational skill-based training into the regular school curriculum, making it a necessary part of everyday life for all students—both college and work bound (Blustein et al., 2000). This funding ushered in a new age of popularity for vocational counseling ranging from 1974 to 1982: "In less than a decade, more than ten major national associations endorsed career education, hundreds of publications on career education were published and distributed, and an astounding array of proponents and interpreters of the career education concept emerged" (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999, p. 312). During this period, interest in career counseling grew significantly among school counselors.

Emerging vocational legislation was more inclusive of women and people with disabilities. In 1974, the Women's Educational Equity Act provided

grant funding for girls and women, and in 1972 the 1965 Higher Education Act was amended and updated to ensure that equality in community services and educational opportunities would continue (Hansen, 2003; Herr, 1974). These amendments also created the U.S. Office of Education Bureau of Occupation and Adult Education and extended funding for the Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (Herr, 1974). The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, which had been criticized for its lack of enforcement authority, was granted expanded legislative authority and joined together with the Departments of Justice and Labor, the Civil Service Commission, and the Civil Rights Commission to form the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, 2004). During this period, legislation also addressed rights for individuals with disabilities, including the 1973 Rehabilitation Act for people with disabilities and the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1977 (Danek et al., 1996).

During this decade, vocational legislation continued to focus on job placement (vs. career counseling), emphasizing return to work with minimum loss of wages (Danek et al., 1996). The military influence on vocational counseling continued with the Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974, which extended services to veterans with minor injuries; the major focus of this act and its ensuing amendments has been to provide veterans with skills to gain stable employment (Danek et al., 1996). In 1976, amendments to the Vocational Education Acts of 1963 and 1968 created the National and State Occupational Information Coordinating Committees. These committees consolidated service delivery across federal and state agencies, increasing the availability of information about the world of work (Pope, 2000).

In the 1970s, guidance counselors also began to explore public perceptions of their functions and responsibilities, such as the direction, success, and occupational choices of their students and their credibility as a profession (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). This examination continued during the 1970s and 1980s and led to more accountability, data-based programs, and objective assessments (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). It also led to proposed competencies for the profession. Pope and Russell (2001) noted that a number of position papers from 1973–1980 preceded these competencies, including the AVA-NVGA Position Paper on Career Development; the APGA Position Paper on Career Guidance; the ACES Position Paper on Counselor Preparation for Career Development, the AIR Report on Competencies Needed for Planning, Supporting, Implementing, Operating, and Evaluating Career Guidance Programs; and the APGA Career Education Project. This list in turn led to the first specialty recognized by the National Board of Certified Counselors (Engels et al., 1995; Pope, 2000) and in 1983 to the first National Career Counselor Exam (Pope, 2000). Yet even as the field continued to respond to demands for accountability and credibility, an infrastructure that had traditionally excluded groups of people was struggling to come to terms with diverse clients and members.

Stage 7: Inclusion of a Wider Culture (1980–1989)

Growing recognition of the diverse composition of U.S. society continued into the 1980s amid the second largest wave of immigration in U.S. history (DeBell, 2001). Legislation, grants, research, new theories, and critiques and adaptations of existing theories increasingly included attention to the needs of diverse populations (P. P. Heppner et al., 2000). At the same time, the field was still overwhelmingly made up of and governed by White counselors and psychologists.

Decreasing power of organized labor occurred alongside increased need for technological skills and contract labor, both of which were beginning to emerge as transforming factors (Brecher, 1997; DeBell, 2001). High unemployment rates, calls for educational reform in standards and teaching, and increased focus on schools as the arena for improvement (Blustein et al., 2000) revived Parsons-era expectations placed on teachers and schools. Socially, this stage was marked by a backlash against changes in social norms that accompanied women's entry into the workplace in greater numbers than ever before (Faludi, 1991).

Vocational Theory

Vocational theorists increased attention to family influences and the growing diversity of the workforce, moving in the direction of more holistic models. Hackett and Betz (1981) applied Bandura's self-efficacy construct (Bandura, 1977) to understanding women's and men's math-related confidence and performance, and Mitchell and Krumboltz (1984) applied self-efficacy to career decision making (Shoffner, 2006). Isaacson (1985) described learning theory as the basis for vocational identity, focusing on genetic and environmental factors (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Miller-Tiedeman and Tiedeman (1990) developed life career theory, a holistic integration of life and career decision-making development (Peterson & Gonzales, 2000).

Critiques that existing theories did not address the vocational development of individuals with disabilities began to emerge (Szymanski et al., 1996). Publications addressing the needs of women and minorities appeared in greater number, such as Betz and Fitzgerald's (1987) *Career Psychology of Women*. Gottfredson's (1981) theory of circumscription and compromise combined developmental progression with self-concept and the influence of gender role and social class issues. Later scholars (e.g., Bowman, 1995) applied this theory to ethnic minority women. Astin (1984) presented a model of career choices and behavior that included interaction among psychological, cultural, and environmental factors. In her model, Astin incorporated constructs of motivation, expectations, and sex role socialization with notions of the real and perceived structure of opportunity. Farmer (1985) examined the career choices and aspirations of girls and ethnic minority adolescents. Brown-Collins and Sussewell (1986) created the developmental multiple self-referent model for African American women, later adapted by Gainor and Forrest (1991) to conceptualize the different types of self-identity that

may influence or arise from the workplace experiences of African American women.

Vocational Legislation and Organization

The legislative focus on providing youth with vocational training continued. The Job Training Partnership Act (JPTA) of 1982 established local, state, and federal agencies to foster collaboration among schools, employers, and communities to facilitate youth's entry into the workforce (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Like its predecessor, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, the Job Training Partnership Act focused on job training as a means to overcome economic and social barriers to employment (Danek et al., 1996). The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 was continued by the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982; both acts provided federal assistance to state and local governments to develop job training for lower income youth and adults (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). In 1984, the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act supported the development of programs that would facilitate self-assessment, career planning and decision making, and job skills for underserved populations (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Efforts to connect homeless youth with schools were supported via the Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999), and support for education and training in high-tech occupations followed in 1988 with the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act (Pope, 2000). During this stage, the Department of Labor and the National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee awarded money to develop career and guidance information systems, which led to computer-based career services and guidance systems (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999).

This new golden age of career counseling was accompanied by a number of important conferences (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999), including the 20/20 Conference: Building Strong School Counseling Programs in 1987, the National Career Development Association (NCDA) Diamond Jubilee Conference, and the first conference of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision in 1988. This last conference established task forces to study national world of work concerns (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). Finally, in 1984 the NVGA officially changed its name to the NCDA (Pope, 2000).

Stage 8: 1990–2005

Steady declines in wages for skilled and semiskilled labor that began in the 1970s continued into the 1990s, precipitating increased attention to the school-to-work transition. Presidential candidate Bill Clinton included these issues in his 1992 campaign agenda (Blustein et al., 2000). As workplace environments changed and changes in the very nature of work began to accelerate, different skills were needed (Savickas, 1993). Discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace also received national media attention, as both the appointment of Justice Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court and

the U.S. Navy's Tailhook Convention in 1991 were marked by allegations of sexual harassment. These controversies highlighted the seriousness, prevalence, and need for prevention and protective measures for sexual harassment in the workplace. The NCDA and the National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee funded Gallup Organization studies about attitudes toward work and schools. This period saw a continued focus on women and minorities, the rise of career services available in different forms (e.g., Internet), and international expansion of theory and service delivery (Pope, 2000).

SIDEBAR 1.5   Think About This: Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Workplace environments changed drastically in the early 1990s. Discrimination and sexual harassment issues received national attention. In 1998, the U.S. Supreme Court increased employer liability for sexual harassment of their employees. In a study released in 2010, the Society for Human Resource Management reported that 62% of companies offered sexual harassment prevention training programs, and 97% had a written sexual harassment policy (Sexual Harassment Support, 2010). Despite these changes, researchers have estimated that only between 5% and 15% of harassed women formally report harassment to their employers or employment agencies (Sexual Harassment Support, 2010). What are some reasons for these persistently low rates? Also, according to a recent sociological study, women in supervisory positions are the most likely targets of sexual harassment (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2009). Why do you think this is the case? What other forms of workplace harassment do you think might be occurring that are similarly underreported?

Vocational Theory

Research on women and career development continued during this period as vocational counseling continued to attend to the effects of discrimination on work behavior, performance, and satisfaction (P. P. Heppner et al., 2000). During the 1990s, the first vocational texts for members of ethnic minority groups were published (e.g., Fouad & Bingham, 1995; Leong, 1995). Continued lack of inclusivity in U.S. career counseling (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1995) inspired the modification and development of theories, including Blustein and Spengler's (1995) domain-sensitive approach and Gysbers and Moore's (1973) life career development theory (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003). R. W. Lent et al. (1994) applied Bandura's social cognitive theory (Bandera, 1986) to the development of career-related interests, goals, and attainments in a model that incorporates contextual factors such as supports and barriers.

The validity of contemporary career development theories for ethnic minorities; gay, lesbian, and bisexual people; and people from many other groups was continuously challenged (Chung, 1995). Advocates suggested a need for theory that integrated aspects of racial and ethnic identity development, self-identity development, and career development (e.g., Bowman, 1995; Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). Osipow and Littlejohn (1995) stated that changes in the workplace were dramatic enough to require modification of vocational theories even for the White male population on which they had been based. These authors suggested that creating an inclusive environment and valuing multicultural contributions would be more productive than promoting assimilation. Efforts toward contextual understanding of

career choice and development continued with a special issue of the *Career Development Quarterly* in which authors addressed socioeconomic status (E. B. Lent, 2001), sexual orientation (Chung, 2001), and sociopolitical context and issues of power (Santos, Ferreira, & Chaves, 2001). The *Journal of Career Assessment* had special issues on career assessment issues of women of color and White women (1997). A special issue in 2000 focused on Internet counseling in the next millennium (2000). Betz's (2008) review of the career development and vocational behavior literature noted advances in research on Holland's theory, the theory of work adjustment, and social cognitive career theory. The work of Tracey and colleagues (e.g., Darcy & Tracey, 2007) suggested that Holland's six themes (realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional [RIASEC]) may be better described as a circular (rather than hexagonal) pattern across genders, ethnicities, and nationalities. Moreover, researchers found the RIASEC structure to be more fitting for participants in Western than non-Western cultures (Yang, Stokes, & Hui, 2005). With respect to the theory of work adjustment, correspondence between people and their work environment was related to satisfaction with work among samples of African American workers (Lyons & O'Brien, 2006) and gay and lesbian workers (Lyons, Brenner, & Fassinger, 2005), suggesting cross-cultural applicability to the theory of work adjustment's major hypothesis (Lyons et al., 2005). Finally, social cognitive career theory continues to generate a considerable amount of research, including examination of the model in different contexts and with more diverse samples. For instance, R. W. Lent et al. (2005) found that students at historically Black universities reported higher self-efficacy and outcome expectations than did those at predominately White universities (Betz, 2008).

Over time, vocational research has focused more on understanding career development and decision making than on specific intervention techniques, resulting in gaps between theory and practice that have affected legislative efforts (Niles, 2003; Whiston, 2003). In this stage, researchers began to devote increased attention to career counseling outcome research (Brown & Krane, 2000; Brown & McPartland, 2005; Whiston, Brecheisen, & Stephens, 2003). In their meta-analysis of career counseling interventions, Brown and Krane (2000) found that career interventions likely to produce the greatest effects include (a) written exercises, (b) individualized assessment interpretation and feedback, (c) current information on the world of work, (d) models of effective strategies, and (e) opportunities to build support. Despite this important contribution to the field, Whiston et al. (2003) contended, "Career counselors do not know what works with which clients under what conditions" (p. 37). Women and minorities continued to be underrepresented in career counseling research (Savickas, 2003; Tang, 2003; Whiston et al., 2003), making it difficult to apply research findings to the work world.

Vocational Legislation and Organization

The Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 represented comprehensive civil rights legislation for individuals with disabilities (Danek et al., 1996).

This bill reworked the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and made federal funding available for private, public, and nonprofit agencies to teach employment skills and end discrimination (Danek et al., 1996). The Higher Education Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and the Carl D. Perkins Act were all reauthorized in 1990 (Pope, 2000), and the 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act was restructured into the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act of 1990, to include attention to the school-to-work transition (Danek et al., 1996).

At this time, the U.S. Task Force on Education issued a call for reform targeting transferable skills and lifetime learning habits, which led to the creation of the Secretary's Commission for Achieving Necessary Skills to identify competencies and foundations of learning for preparing youth for competition in a global market (Blustein et al., 2000). The School-to-Work Opportunity Act of 1994 and the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 also provided opportunities to facilitate students' movement from school to work (Herr & Niles, 1998; Pope, 2000). The latter act funded partnerships for students, parents, schools, government agencies and local businesses (Blustein et al., 2000), whereas the School-to-Work Opportunity Act focused on career counseling and exploration in schools to provide students with accurate and realistic knowledge and skills (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999). The School-to-Work Opportunity Act represented an alliance between the U.S. Departments of Labor and Education (Gibson & Mitchell, 1999) and prefaced the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. This act affected government assistance by restructuring work, establishing time limits for receiving government aid, and mandating that welfare recipients find jobs.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act replaced the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program and the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training program (Peterson & Gonzales, 2000). It included the Workforce Initiative and the Welfare to Work programs, the latter of which set a 5-year limit on the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (Pope, 2000). The Workforce Initiative program focused on finding work for and training individuals on the job, regardless of the match. This approach had dramatic implications for career counselors because it was a complete departure from the foundations on which the profession was based (Blustein et al., 2000; Pope, 2000). The negative impact of these acts on families on welfare, and those affected by domestic violence, have been documented (Anelauskas, 1999; Faludi, 1991; Kaplan, 1997).

In 1996, the APA Division of Counseling Psychology's Special Interest Group on Vocational Behavior and Career Intervention became the Society for Vocational Psychology (P. P. Heppner et al., 2000). In 1995, the NCDA adopted a comprehensive nondiscriminatory policy to include sexual orientation as a protected category, and in the same year the NCDA changed the composition of its board of directors to include more applied workers (Pope, 2000). The NCDA followed in 1997 with competency and performance indicators and ethical standards for career counseling on the Internet (Hansen,

2003; NCDA, 1997; Niles, 2003). In 1998, the NCDA and the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision formed a joint Commission on Preparing Counselors for Career Development in the 21st Century (Hansen, 2003; Savickas, 2003). Although many of the described trends in the world of work developed over time, these changes, along with increasingly vast amounts of available information, have strained career counseling services and models, leading to new challenges for workers and career counselors in the next millennium.

Stage 9: The Present

The changes wrought in the U.S. economy and the world of work by the Information Age have been as profound as those wrought by the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th through 19th centuries, calling to mind the cultural context that prompted the emergence of career counseling (Blustein, 2006; DeBell, 2001; Savickas, 2003). Hansen (2003) noted that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; increasing exposure of corporate corruption; random workplace violence; the passage of the PATRIOT Act; economic recession; and lack of universal health care have all resulted in demoralization and a decreased sense of security among U.S. workers, along with depression, anxiety, and existential crises. Globalization has rendered some jobs obsolete, decreased the security and longevity of others, and increased the importance of adaptability, creative activities, teamwork, technological aptitude, and ability to work quickly without traditional boundaries (Fouad & Kantamneni, 2008; Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003; Harris, 2000; Pulakos, Arad, Donovan, & Plamondon, 2000). International expansion of the world of work has been accompanied by issues related to cross-cultural interactions, including acculturation stress, culture shock, and differences in work norms and expectations (Herr, 2003; Niles, 2003; Parmer & Rush, 2003). Around the world, career counselors may need to support clients with international agendas as well as consult colleagues from other countries for service delivery, research, and related issues (Hansen, 2003; Yakushko, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008). The U.S. recession and forecasts for a slow recovery have increased the sense of urgency to respond to the career development needs of youth, adults, and older workers. Nearly 32,000 U.S. military personnel have been wounded in Iraq alone since 2003 (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2010), many of whom are and will be seeking employment. Individualist models are being supplanted by interdependent approaches that include attention to market forces, an international economy, and lower agency on the part of the individual (Savickas, 1993; 2000).

Downsizing, specialization and outsourcing, valuing skill and performance over loyalty and tenure, and increased use of temporary labor have led to fewer benefits for a majority of workers (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003; Harris, 2000). At the same time, increasing access to and use of technologies are changing the landscape of work and posing new challenges and opportunities for career counselors (Bloch, 2006; Harris-Bowlesby, 2003;

Whiston, 2003; and Chapter 7). Internet job search sites are significant aspects of the vocational world, providing assistance to those searching for employment. Sites such as Hotjobs.com (http://www.hotjobs.com) and Monster.com (http://www.monster.com) are meant to streamline job search efforts, offering information about job openings, résumé posting services, tips for writing résumés, and other career advice. Although individuals are not required to pay a fee for using these services, registration is required (Bloch, 2006). A special issue of the *Journal of Career Assessment* (2000) was dedicated to career assessment via the Internet.

SIDEBAR 1.6 Think About This: Predicting the Future of Career Counseling

The Information Age has brought great change to the world of work. Recent developments include the online placement of occupational information systems such as O*NET and the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1949), as well as Internet job search sites. Monster.com, for instance, has revolutionized the way in which some people search for jobs. What are the pros and cons of such advancements? How do you think technology will continue to change the field of career counseling over the next 10 years? How do you think that social networking sites are influencing job searches today?

Vocational Instruments

One contemporary focus in vocational assessment is the validation of measures across cultural groups, investigating whether the constructs assessed are equivalent between populations that differ with respect to ethnicity or national setting (e.g., Miller, Roy, Brown, Thomas, & McDaniel, 2009; Nota, Heppner, Soresi, & Heppner, 2009). In addition, attention has focused on measurement of social class (Fouad & Fitzpatrick, 2009; Thompson & Subich, 2006, 2007). Career counselors have also begun to explore the influence of poverty and social class on world-of-work concerns (Blustein, 2006), and tools need to be developed to explore the complex role of social class in shaping a person's life trajectory and both perceived and actual structures of opportunity.

Vocational Theory

Career theorists and practitioners are striving to meet these challenges. Vocational psychology and career counseling scholars have emphasized the importance of exploring the meaning of work in people's lives (Blustein, 2006, 2008; Fouad, 2007). Savickas (2000, 2005) proposed a constructivist approach to career development that is responsive to the increasingly multicultural and globalized world of work. On the basis of an adaptation and expansion of Super's developmental theory (1990), Savickas (2005) presented a constructivist career theory with 16 theoretical propositions. Griffin and Hesketh (2005) proposed updates to the theory of work adjustment to facilitate worker adaptation and adjustment to these contemporary workplace demands. Goodman, Schlossberg, and Anderson (2006) focused on theory and practice for career counseling with adults in transition. Recently, John Krumboltz (2009) proposed happenstance theory, advocating that career counselors refrain from emphasizing career decisions in a constantly changing world-of-work landscape and focus instead on encouraging clients to

engage in activities that reward interests and foster skill development, to seek opportunities for further exploration and learning, and to take advantage of happenstance events that can lead to work-related opportunities (Krumboltz, 2009).

Career theorists have also attended to the importance of culture and cultural diversity. Fouad and Kantamneni (2008) proposed an integrative career development model of vocational development that incorporates a rich variety of contextual and identity factors, and Blustein et al. (2005) proposed an emancipatory communitarian approach to vocational theory development that attends to social inequities, structural injustice, and the working lives of marginalized people. The literature has seen a resurgence in research on links among career counseling, advocacy, and social justice, such as integrating the competencies for advocacy and multicultural counseling with career counseling (Ali, Liu, Mahmood, & Arguello, 2008; Toporek, 2005), becoming involved with legislative action (Fassinger, 2001), or combining teaching, research, and service delivery to high-risk populations (Blustein, 2001; Chronister & McWhirter, 2003; O'Brien, 2001).

A cultural formulation approach to career counseling proposed by Leong, Hardin, and Gupta (2010), as described by Leong (2010), incorporates into career assessment and counseling these elements: discussion of cultural identity, cultural conception of career problems, cultural context and psychosocial environment, and cultural dynamics in the career counselor–client relationship. In a special issue of the *Journal of Career Development* (Leong, 2010), the cultural formulation approach was applied to working with Asian American, Latino, American Indian, and Black clients, as well as international students. Recent texts on career counseling have focused on women (Walsh & Heppner, 2006) and poor and working-class individuals (Blustein, 2006). Attention to the role of social class is increasing (Diemer & Ali, 2009; Fouad & Fitzpatrick, 2009). Changes in the workplace have contributed to changing social definitions and expectations associated with gender roles (M. J. Heppner & Fu, 2011; Park, Smith, & Correll, 2010). Increases in equality in the workplace have led to more role sharing in households as well as changes in family composition and work–family conflicts (Gilbert & Rader, 2008; Higgins, Duxbury, & Lyons, 2010; Perrone, 2009; Perrone, Wright, & Jackson, 2009; Schultheiss, 2009). Conceptions of mothering (Schultheiss, 2009) and fathering (M. J. Heppner & Heppner, 2009) as work that matters have received increasing attention. Career counselors are attempting to address the concerns of individuals who are working longer, those interrupting their careers for child rearing, and those dealing with unemployment, underemployment, and midlife career changes (Bobek & Robbins, 2005). Vocational and career professionals are challenged to continue efforts to make career education and counseling services beneficial to specific populations, such as people with HIV/AIDS (Parmer & Rush, 2003), immigrants (Yakushko et al., 2008), and transgender people (Budge, Tebbe, & Howard, 2010; O'Neil, McWhirter, & Cerezo, 2008).

At the same time, more is needed. Workers who are not engaged in careers remain on the margins of contemporary vocational theories, research, and practice (Blustein et al., 2005). Vocational and career professionals are challenged to continue efforts to make career education and counseling services beneficial to broader populations. Vocational research has focused more on understanding career development and decision making than on specific intervention techniques, resulting in a gap between theory and practice that affects legislative efforts (Niles, 2003; Whiston, 2003).

Vocational Legislation and Organization

Career counseling became institutionalized as a part of governmental initiatives for change in the 20th century, and legislative efforts consistently relied on vocational counseling to ease social, political, and economic transitions and remediate social injustices (Herr, 2003). Career counselors and vocational psychology scholars are becoming actively involved in contributing to legislative efforts and raising legislator awareness of research and practice issues salient to career counseling (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Blustein et al., 2005; Hansen, 2003; Herr, 2003; Pope, 2003). Despite major changes in theory and practice toward holistic career counseling, most government programs have continued to focus on matching people to jobs (Hansen, 2003), and "voids in legislation" (Herr, 2003, p. 14) have led to uninformed efforts, duplication of services, and incoherent services. The Society for Vocational Psychology's biennial conference in fall 2011 will focus on increasing communication between vocational psychology researchers and practitioners and state and national legislators and policymakers.

The critical role of vocational guidance in responding to societal problems of economic crises and social inequity is also recognized at the international level (e.g., International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 2009). U.S. participation in international career counseling conferences has increased significantly. The NCDA and the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) held their first joint symposium in 2004 in San Francisco; in 2007, a second joint symposium took place in Padua, Italy, with the Society for Vocational Psychology as a third partner (Trusty & Van Esbroek, 2009). A third joint symposium took place in San Francisco in 2010, and in 2013 a joint International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance–Society for Vocational Psychology–NCDA symposium will precede the NCDA's 100th anniversary conference in Boston. The 2010 San Francisco conference drew participants from 26 countries. In addition, in 2005 both the *Career Development Quarterly* and the *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance* published special issues with an international focus (Trusty & Van Esbroek, 2009).

Finally, guidelines for career guidance and counseling practice are helping to increase the visibility of the career counseling and guidance profession at national and international levels. The NCDA developed a statement on career counseling competencies in 1997 and in 2009 approved the *Minimum Competencies for Multicultural Career Counseling* (NCDA, 2009). In 2003,

the IAEVG General Assembly approved the *International Competencies for Educational and Vocational Guidance Practitioners* (IAVEG, 2003). In addition, as of this writing, a draft of *Guidelines for Integration of Vocational Psychology Into Professional Psychology Practice* (Fouad, Juntunen, & Whiston, 2010) has been approved by the Society for Vocational Psychology and the Society for Counseling Psychology and is under review by all of APA's divisions. These guidelines are intended to increase awareness of and resources for addressing the interface of work and personal lives in applied psychology practice.

Summary

Career counseling has changed significantly since its inception while preserving many of its fundamental elements. The field originated to assist youth in the process of identifying work for which they were suited. As the value of this endeavor became widely recognized, vocational guidance units were added to school curricula. Vocational guidance served both those who are work bound and those who are college bound, although in fact the two groups often received very different types of training, and distinctions between the two groups have yet to be addressed adequately within the field. Early calls for measurement in vocational guidance coincided with World War I, which generated the need to match large numbers of soldiers with suitable positions.

Legislative efforts over time have demonstrated recognition of the positive effects of vocational guidance, and guidance has increasingly been seen as a means to alleviate social problems. This phenomenon was particularly apparent during the Great Depression, President Johnson's Great Society, and after the Soviet Union's 1957 launch of Sputnik. During World War II, vocational guidance again played an important role in the placement of soldiers into appropriate positions. The writings and theories of Carl Rogers, Erik Erikson, and Abraham Maslow influenced vocational theory as counselors began to understand vocational problems contextually and work with clients holistically.

Since the 1960s, critics have identified the lack of attention to the vocational needs and development of major groups such as women; ethnic and racial minorities; gay, lesbian, and bisexual people; and people with disabilities. Although attention to cultural, linguistic, and other types of diversity has certainly increased, more attention needs to be paid to theory development, assessment, research, and practice to increase the relevance and utility of vocational psychology to the U.S. population.

Toward the end of the 20th century, career theories continued to develop contextually and holistically. The beginning of the 21st century has witnessed changes in the job marketplace, including the rapid expansion of required skills, changing work environments, and the transformation of work from one format to another. These changes parallel some that were set in motion more than 100 years ago, when vocational guidance began. The Web sites listed in the next section provide additional information relating to the chapter topics.

Useful Web Sites

- American Psychological Association: *Making "Welfare to Work" Really Work,* a report from the APA Task Force on Women, Poverty, and Public Assistance: http://www.apa.org/pi/women/programs/poverty/welfare-to-work.aspx
- American Psychological Association: Workplace issues: http://www.apa.org/topics/workplace/index.aspx
- Center for the Study of Career Development and Public Policy at Penn State: *Career Policy Related Legislation,* the Center for the Study of Career Development and Public Policy: http://www.ed.psu.edu/educ/cscdpp/career-policy-related-legislation
- The GoodWork Project http://www.goodworkproject.org
- International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance: http://www.iaevg.org/iaevg/index.cfm?lang=2
- National Career Development Association: http://www.ncda.org
- National Employment Counseling Association: http://www.employ mentcounseling.org/
- Society for Vocational Psychology: http://www.div17.org/vocpsych/

Concluding Remarks

We have presented an overview of the evolution of vocational guidance and career counseling. In the process, we discovered that writing a book might have been an easier task because of the complexity and density of the historical and contextual information available. We acknowledge the extent to which our worldviews, backgrounds, oversights, and values shaped the development of this chapter. We hope readers will reflect on the influences and factors identified here, as well as the many other influences that could have been included—as we will. Finally, we hope that the material included has provided the reader with a useful background for critical thinking about the theory and practice of career counseling.

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