

Chapter 5

HELPING PEOPLE CHOOSE JOBS: A HISTORY OF THE GUIDANCE PROFESSION

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Role transitions prompt individuals to reflect on where they have been in order to consider where they wish to go. Educational and vocational guidance experts aid these individuals to clarify what is at stake and which decisions must be made. In a parallel process, cultural transitions prompt vocational guidance experts to reflect on where they have been in order to consider where they will take their profession. With the rapid economic changes brought by information technology and the globalisation of the economy, the profession of vocational guidance must reconsider the current relevance of its model, methods, and materials. This challenge requires that the profession again address a major cultural transition in a way that best assists individuals adapt to the personal transitions that they face. Thus, the profession of guidance must examine how well its 20th century theories and techniques meet the needs of 21st century clients. The present chapter contributes to this reflection by considering the history of the guidance profession, especially the origins and development of its four main methods for helping people choose jobs.

My thesis is that each time the social organisation of work changes, so does society's methods for helping individuals make vocational choices. Thus, the chapter explains how, during four economic eras, four distinct helping methods evolved in the following sequence: mentoring, guiding, counselling, and constructing. The dominant helping method of a prior era never completely disappears; instead, it fades in popularity as the new model gains adherents. So for example, when guiding replaced mentoring as the dominant model, mentoring still remained a viable strategy for helping. Today, all four helping methods are currently in use, with preference for a model being determined by the developmental status of the economy in which it is applied.

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Mentoring in Agricultural Communities (1850–1899)

Vocational assistance emerged as an activity during the second half of the 19th century when economies were based on agriculture. Most people lived on farms, where there were no specialised jobs. Everybody performed various chores all day long. During the Victorian era in England and the Biedermeier period in Germany, individuals and communities encountered the beginning of modernity as scientific and political changes threatened the traditional social order. Agricultural communities were unified by personal relationships and collectivist values. The community emphasised a social ecology in which the moral order around people was engraved upon their minds. Individuals defined self by social function and the way in which they contributed to the shared social order. This social arrangement sought a uniform goodness expressed in hard work and ethical behaviour. The view of self emphasised during this era was called *character*. People were to strive to develop a good character. It was the family's and the community's job to inculcate or stamp this character onto each member of the group. To do this, the community enforced social norms and rules for moral conduct according to which all men and women were to act.

Choosing a life's work was not a problem for very many people because traditional societies offered few occupational choices. Essentially, individuals were assigned their work role. A predominant social norm for work assignment was called the *law of primogeniture*, meaning the right of the eldest child to inherit the entire estate. When applied to craftspeople, it became the notion of occupational inheritance, in which children inherit their parents' craft. This social system was a way of insuring for the community that the services provided by the parent would be continued by the children. Thus, the problem of choosing a vocation was not experienced by many young people. Starting at age six, most children performed chores on the farm or worked in the town as an apprentice. In a sense, the young person's work met the needs of the community. They contributed their work to the good of all. The impersonal economic forces of modern culture after the rise of science and machines challenged communal values and, in due course, brought an isolated individualism, but we are getting ahead of the story.

The transformation from agricultural collectivism to industrial individualism accelerated with the movement of workers from the farm or village to the city. When people moved to the city, they had to choose one major work activity, not do the variety of chores as they had done at home. Choosing this one activity was a new problem generated by reorganisation of the social order. Thomas Carlyle was among the first to write about this problem. He was a Scottish scholar who forged a new tradition of Victorian era criticism that addressed the problems of the new social order. Carlyle (1833/1884) wrote an influential book, *Sartor Resartus*, on the problem of young people "getting under way" during a period when a culture was reconstructing itself. In his *The Tailor Re-tailored*, Carlyle formulated what, in the next century, would be called the person-environment fit paradigm.

To each is given a certain inward Talent, a certain outward Environment of Fortune; to each, by wisest combination of these two, a certain maximum Capability. But the hardest problem were ever this first: To find by study of yourself, and the ground you stand on, what your combined inward and outward Capability specially is. (p. 92)

With the increase in occupational alternatives for some youth, society devised a mechanism to help youth choose among the alternatives. To assist individuals make vocational choices, society offered mentoring provided by *friendly visitors* (USA) and *voluntary visitors* (England). These supportive volunteers eventually became organised within community and social welfare organisations as the profession of social work emerged to address the ills of the city.

The change in population distribution caused by the movement to commercial cities led to problems such as unemployment, vice, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime. In 1844, twelve salesmen in a London dry goods store founded the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to improve the spiritual condition and mental culture of young men engaged in drapery and other trades (Hopkins, 1951). To assist young men, working youth, and apprentices, YMCAs opened libraries and offered courses in reading, spelling, grammar, history, geography, the Bible, writing, and arithmetic.

The first YMCA in the USA opened in Boston in 1851. Additional YMCAs followed the well-established routes of transportation as they spread quickly to other urban centres. The first world conference of YMCAs was held in Paris in 1855. As part of its relief work in the USA, YMCAs opened employment bureaus in response to Civil War veterans' need to find jobs. The need intensified with the recurrent depressions that followed the Civil War. For example, in 1866 the Chicago YMCA hired a man to start an employment bureau and he did placement work there for the next 16 years. Records of the Chicago bureau indicate that in 1875 alone he assisted 4,000 people obtain jobs. The Boston association hired an employment officer in 1872, and he placed 700 people during his first year (Hopkins, 1951). The individuals who staffed the YMCA employment bureaus engaged in mentoring as part of their employment programs.

During this period, the YMCA movement added a new mission to its goal of helping young workers. It began to concentrate on helping boys, accelerating a trend that had started in the 1870s when the YMCAs tried to improve conditions for poor urban children (P. Super, 1929). The concentration on boy's work soon spread to helping immigrants and rural youth who had moved to the city, and even college students. "When a feller needs a friend" became the catch phrase that captured the purpose of the friendly visits between boys and YMCA volunteers.

Around 1901, the YMCA formally committed to boy's work on a large scale, profoundly influenced by the newly emerging field of child development (Davidson & Benjamin, 1987), as well as by sociological treatises on street boys, newsboys, delinquents, and boys working in coal mines (Levine & Levine, 1992). Based on its program of character education using principles of the new educational psychology, YMCAs pioneered offering vocational advice to youth. The YMCAs of this period considered advising an important adjunct to their educational programs because they realised that they were in a strategic position to provide mentoring services. Of course the bulk of this mentoring involved placement work performed in conjunction

with vocational training programs and other educational programs. The natural mentoring that occurred during friendly visits became institutionalised in the cities in 1910 when the Big Brothers organisation was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio. The work of Big Brothers and Sisters to this day resembles the friendly visits of the agricultural era when a responsible adult offered character education and vocational advice to youth in need of a friend.

The early informal guidance programs of the YMCAs later became systematised with the emergence of C.C. Robinson's (1912, 1922) *Find Yourself* program. Robinson called his approach to vocational mentoring a friendly method because advice was provided as a friend, not as an expert, would do it. This sympathetic approach was to be offered to every boy who entered a YMCA program. Placement services along with character education in the YMCAs reached their zenith in the 1920s and 1930s. When YMCA educators and social workers promoted character education, they meant building self-discipline and habits of responsibility and morality (P. Super, 1929). The pseudo-science of characterology – the use of phrenology, physiognomy, and palmistry to assess character – was applied to vocational choice and selection by leading exponents including Richards (1881) who proposed a new profession that would help youth make vocational choices. While the practitioners of characterology recognised the principle of matching people to positions, their bases for matching were character readings done by judging bodily appearance – a procedure analogous to “judging a book by its cover.” The helping hand offered by friendly volunteers, even with the assistance of characterology, soon proved ineffective in meeting the needs of city youth.

Vocational Guidance in Industrial Cities (1900–1949)

The second phase of the industrial revolution, spanning the years 1871–1914, was propelled by the electrical motor and the internal combustion engine. The technology enabled by electricity and engines replaced the labour of marginal workers. This technology also prompted the crystallisation in the early 20th century of the social invention called *jobs*. When on the farm, individuals did not actually have a job, they simply performed a variety of chores. However, individuals who lived in commercial cities were assigned just one task in an industry. They repeatedly performed this one task, which became known as their job. They were instructed to do that job “the one best way” following the prescriptions of Taylor's (1911) scientific management and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth's (1911) work design method.

Industrial society's modern arrangement of work differed fundamentally from that of the feudal system. The feudal system allowed people to pursue activity whereas the modern system forced them to pursue consumption and accumulation. The feudal system and later the agricultural economy severely limited social mobility yet they offered freedom of activity and the joys of craftsmanship. Social critics such as Carlyle noted that urban living allowed more mobility yet it forced people into unnatural activities. Carlyle asserted that the feudal system was better at

assigning individuals an activity and then granting them the freedom to pursue that activity in a manner they found pleasing rather than forcing men and women to serve the standardised job by doing it the one best way.

The social arrangement of modern work into jobs and then jobs into occupations led to the growth of cities and urban living. For example, by 1910 half of the population of the USA lived in cities. Today only 2.5% of the USA population lives on farms. Vocational guidance in the USA originated in Massachusetts where 75% of state's population lived in cities or towns and 75% depended on wages owning neither factory, farm, nor shop. This movement or immigration from provinces to cities was also evident in cities such as Paris, London, Brussels, Petersburg, and Vienna. For example, the population of London in 1800 was one million. By 1850, the population had grown to 2.3 million and by 1900 to 6.48 million. This population growth rate was just slightly faster than that of Paris.

Those individuals who moved from a homogeneous community to a heterogeneous city encountered clashing cultures and foreign languages that dissolved feelings of community and instilled feelings of isolation. Of course, these urban populations were living in compact surroundings. Cramped quarters led to the qualitative reorganisation of life with new architecture and transportation systems. The literature of that era referred to cities as a harem of opportunity, brilliant emporium, brawling marketplace, exotic wonderland, battlefield, and inferno. Fragmentation of experience became an essential element of city living during these turbulent times. Many people were simply lost in the city as they experienced disorientation, disjunction, discontinuity, dissonance, and disorganisation. The incessant shower of unrelated experiences, along with the lack of a stable community to absorb these shocks led to the growth of urban ills, especially among youth. It is no wonder that on September 1, 1910, the Vatican in Rome introduced a compulsory oath against modernism to be taken by all Catholic priests upon ordination.

As Virginia Woolf (1924) observed, "On or about December 1910, human character changed". That date marks the time when the industrial economy began to overwhelm the agricultural economy and city living began to overshadow country living. Woolf rightly observed that a new sense of self was needed for the industrial era, one to replace the Victorian sense of self known as character. The modern sense of self came to be known as personality, another social invention and one that eventually became linked to the other social invention we discussed, namely jobs. *Persona* means the roles that one assumes and implies that these roles change according to situation and context. Instead of having a fixed character stamped on them, individuals living in the city were to implement life-style preferences and adapt their image or social facade to fit the roles that they chose to play. Self-expression would best be fostered by having the *persona* play fitting roles, thus the goal of matching personality to suitable occupations and fitting jobs.

The problems of the city, including youth choosing and finding a job, overwhelmed amateurs and required the attention of experts. Individuals with a special interest in helping youth to resolve the problems arising from poverty, vice, and alcoholism quickly professionalized the practice of benevolence by constructing scientific models and methods (Todd, 1919). These specialists viewed science as

the panacea for society's ills, an objective method with which to advance social and political reform. The science of helping soon came to celebrate the idea of individual differences in abilities and personalities, in contrast to the Romantic quest for uniformity of character. Rather than encouraging all people to develop good character and high morals, the new order promoted expressive individualism.

The growth of cities, along with the belief that education of all children is a public duty, had forced the recognition of individual differences. Traditional school-room teaching methods were designed for a select group of children who were uniformly taught the classics. These uniform methods failed when applied to a more varied population. The heterogeneous school populations in city schools included a wide distribution of economic groups and classes with great variation in pupils. School personnel soon concluded that variety was one of the chief characteristics of human nature. This recognition prompted the child study movement (Davidson & Benjamin, Jr., 1987) and led to the conceptualisation of a new life stage called adolescence (Hall, 1904). One consequence was that school personnel and social workers in many countries around the world needed to design an innovative model for helping adolescents make vocational choices. Thus, in most countries vocational guidance's early development, especially from 1880 to 1920, typically arose from within either the educational system or social welfare organisations. For example in Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom, vocational guidance was developed outside the school system. In countries such as the United States, vocational guidance was quickly assimilated into the schools. Yet in other countries, vocational guidance services remained entirely outside the educational system. For example, vocational guidance in Belgium remained independent of the schools until 1947 (Sacré, 1993). Regardless of whether the initiative arose in the educational or social welfare system, pioneers in each country used science to devise vocational guidance as a new mechanism for assisting youth to choose among their occupational alternatives.

The earliest antecedents to the eventual formation of modern vocational guidance that I could locate occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1871, Cestari working in Venice published a classification of occupations, occupational information, and a procedure for evaluating individual aptitudes. Lysander Richards of Massachusetts, in his 1881 book entitled *Vocophy, The New Profession: A System Enabling A Person to Name the Calling or Vocation One is Best Suited to Follow*, described a new profession to help youth choose jobs. In 1893, Marcotti working in Florence published a *Practical Guide for Choosing a Profession* that described the aptitudes and knowledge useful in different occupations and identified the best schools for preparing for a specific occupation. From 1898 to 1907, Jesse B. Davis (1956) provided education and vocational guidance to students in the 11th grade at Central High School in Detroit, Michigan. In 1907, he became principal for a high school in Grand Rapids, Michigan where he required English teachers to have students in the seventh grade write weekly reports on their occupational interests in hopes that these compositions would also develop character.

At the dawn of the new century, organised vocational guidance began to take shape. An auspicious beginning to organised vocational guidance occurred in

Switzerland when employers, union officers, welfare workers, and school personnel formed an association to coordinate their efforts in orienting youth to the work world. Formed in 1902, the Association of Employers of Apprentices changed its name in 1915 to the Swiss Association for Vocational Guidance and Apprentice Welfare (Keller & Viteles, 1937). In Paris, Lahy (1905) published a study of the vocational aptitudes required for success in stenographic work. In Japan, the first example of vocational guidance as a public activity occurred in 1906 when a labour exchange office was established at the headquarters of the Salvation Army.

The actual conception of *modern* vocational guidance around the globe may be considered 1908 because of events that year in Scotland, Germany, and the USA. Dr. Ogilvie Gordon of Aberdeen, Scotland – a palaeontologist and a civic leader – initiated modern vocational guidance services in Scotland and in England (Bloomfield, 1914). Gordon pioneered what she called “educational information and employment bureaus.” During a Glasgow lecture in March, 1904 Gordon suggested that school boards establish bureaus to guide boys and girls into suitable employment after they leave school as well as supervise their careers as far as possible with “after-care.” With the collaboration of social workers from Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, Gordon in 1908 published *A Handbook of Employment for Boys and Girls* which became a model for other countries. Also in 1908, Scotland passed an Education Act that prepared the way for vocational advisory services and organised employment and information bureaus in close coordination with schools. That same year, the Edinburgh School Board funded a bureau to guide and advise young people regarding their future careers (Gordon, 1911). In 1909, Winston Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade, addressed the House of Commons on Labour Exchanges (Peck, 2004), which he conceived as cooperating with the vocational bureaus opening in Scotland and England to guide youth into suitable, promising, and permanent employment.

In Germany, Dr. Wolff opened a department for vocational counselling, with the aide of one assistant. On his own initiative, Wolff in 1908 notified the schools that he was willing to consult with information seekers, doing so at night in his office at the Halle Bureau of Statistics which he directed. He may have been the first to conduct follow-ups because he had his secretary record the advice given and check the progress of the youth he had guided. Wolff consulted with 27 individuals in 1908, 54 in 1909, 79 in 1910, and 104 in 1911 (Keller & Viteles, 1937). He is credited with initiating Germany’s movement for organised vocational guidance, which spread quickly to Munich, Pforzheim, and Düsseldorf. In 1913, the bureaus in Frankfurt and Berlin presented public motion picture shows about various occupations to prompt boys and girls to think about their future occupations, maybe the first use of audiovisual materials in vocational guidance.

One of the best documented stories of the origins of modern vocational guidance also began in 1908 (Brewer, 1918). A Boston social reformer named Frank Parsons believed that the “City of Future” required specially trained personnel to help youth make vocational choices. He was supported in bringing this idea to fruition by a social worker named Meyer Bloomfield, a department store owner named Lincoln Filene, and a wealthy benefactor named Pauline Agassiz Shaw. Rather than using the

mentoring techniques of a friendly visit, Parsons urged that science be applied to the problem of self-assessment. Parsons coined the term “vocational guidance,” using it in a report that he presented on May 1, 1908 about the systematic guidance procedures he had used to counsel 80 men and women in Boston. However, the profession of vocational guidance marks its origin not to that report but to 1909 with the posthumous publication of Parsons’ influential book entitled *Choosing a Vocation*.

While practitioners in other countries had started earlier, Parsons is widely recognised around the world as the progenitor of the vocational guidance movement because his book stated the modern paradigm for vocational guidance, a paradigm that would eventually become the foundation of person-environment psychology. To this day, the paradigm for vocational guidance consists of the same three essential steps. First, individuals increase their self-knowledge using scientific tests; second, they gather occupational information; and third, they apply “true reasoning” in comparing self and occupations to make a realistic vocational choice. While not that different from Carlyle’s formula, Parsons secured credit for initiating the modern movement for organised guidance by using the phrase “true reasoning” and emphasising the importance of scientific methods in self-analysis. For Parsons and his devotees, guidance occurs when science touches the individual. Of course, the paradigm for guidance was quickly applied to selection of sales clerks for department stores and later to classify soldiers into positions during World War I. These three services – vocational guidance, personnel selection, and military classification – were provided by the same personnel so that advances in one domain improved practice in the other two domains.

To make the first two steps of his paradigm more scientific, Parsons consulted with leading psychologists of his day, including Munsterberg, (1910) about using psychometric measures and rating scales to study self and occupations. The key type of psychological test that sustained early vocational guidance as a science were measures of individual differences in ability, prompted by Binet’s success in constructing an intelligence test for French school children. At first vocational guidance relied on these measures to profile the aptitudes or ability level required in particular occupations and trades. Early practitioners of guidance and selection in the USA, particularly those working at Carnegie Tech in Pittsburgh, contributed their expertise to development of paper and pencil ability tests for military classification of armed forces personnel in World War I. When these applied scientists returned to civilian life, their successful experiences in the war effort blossomed into an industry of making and selling ability and aptitude tests. Interest inventories began to be included in their assessment batteries when research on job satisfaction blossomed. The central idea was, and continues to be, that a fitting match of individual ability to job requirements leads to occupational success; while a fitting match of interests to job rewards leads to work satisfaction; and finally, that success and satisfaction combine to promote job stability or tenure. Success, satisfaction, and stability became the hallmarks of occupational adjustment and the criteria for evaluating the outcomes of guidance, selection, and classification. Today vocational guidance remains closely associated with tests, its main technique being test interpretation.

The epitome of this guidance technology is Holland's (1997) theory of vocational personality types and work environments.

While tests and their interpretation characterise the dominant model of vocational guidance, there have always been critics and alternative practices. For example, Harry Dexter Kitson at Columbia University and John Brewer at Harvard University put more store in Parsons' second step of gathering occupational information. They criticised over-reliance on test interpretation because of their concern about the weak predictive validity of ability tests and interest inventories. They encouraged the profession to produce high quality occupational information resources and urged clients to engage in exploratory behaviour. Ultimately, they believed that vocational guidance personnel could help clients create interests through learning how various occupations enable them to express themselves and meet their needs. Kitson and Brewer asserted that guidance personnel should assist youth create vocational interests through social interaction and environmental exploration, not discover their interests by way of interest inventories. Theirs was an educative rather than a psychological perspective on guidance practice.

In the 21st century, vocational guidance remains a highly effective helping model for modern industrial societies that call for matching an individual's ability to job tasks. However, as should by now be clear, vocational guidance is unnecessary in an agricultural economy and, as will be made clear, insufficient in a high modern economy.

Career Counselling in Corporate Societies (1950–1999)

After World War II, many modern societies again broke with prior forms, as they had done in moving from agricultural to industrial economies. Although in comparison the tear in the social fabric was not quite so complete. Thus, the period from 1950 to 1999 is referred to as high modernity. While modern industries and their employees remained in the city centres, large numbers of workers moved to the suburbs from where daily they commuted to work. In addition to the emergence of suburbs, high modernity was characterised by growth of national and even multinational corporations. These hierarchical corporations distributed their labour force in the shape of a pyramid: picture a large number of labourers at the base, a substantial number of managers and white collar workers in the middle, and a small number of executives at the apex. With this hierarchical structure came the image of the corporate ladder, each step up a rung involving more responsibility and pay. Rather than having one job for life, there arose the possibility of advancement and progressive improvement along an established job path. Climbing the ladder became the metaphor for career and career itself became the value that accompanied the bureaucratic form of hierarchical corporations. Following the conceptualisation of career as a value within a hierarchical society, Super's construct of work values and Maslow's hierarchy of needs emerged as signal constructs in vocational decision making.

The shift from company to corporation foreshadowed the shift in vocational intervention models from guidance to counselling. Guidance concentrates on matching person to position based on individual differences. Rather than differences between individuals, counselling concentrates on differences within an individual across time. Rogers (1942) led the charge in shifting from directive guidance to non-directive counselling, later called client-centred counselling, and now called person-centred counselling. Centring on the person illuminated changes in people as they develop over the lifespan; while of course the tasks of a job remain pretty much the same. As a person changes, she or he may move to a better fitting job, and later yet move to still another job. Sociologists denoted such a sequence of positions as career, meaning all the positions that an individual occupies from school leaving to retirement. After WWII, industrial sociologists such as Miller and Form (1951) studied these sequences in the lives of a large number of people. They identified seven fairly common combinations, which they called career patterns. These patterns became important in formulating a response to a vocal critic of vocational guidance at mid-century.

An economist named Ginzberg (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951) criticised vocational guidance personnel for not having a theory and merely using a statistical technique for matching abilities and interests to occupational requirements and routines. Ginzberg's critique ushered in a theory building era in vocational intervention, one that replaced the empirical era of the first half of the 20th century. Two major theories were prompted by Ginzberg's apt criticism, that of Holland and of Super. Holland's (1959) theory transformed the psychology of individual differences focused on traits to one focused on types. Holland's six types (Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Convention or RIASEC for short) are each composed of a syndrome of related interests, values, and abilities. Both individuals and environment can be assessed as to how closely they resemble each type. Matching vocational personality to work environment is eased by having both coded in the identical RIASEC language. So today, assessment for vocational guidance relies heavily on assessment of RIASEC type.

The second major theory prompted by Ginzberg's (Ginzberg et al., 1951) critique was proposed by Super who in 1953 published his theory of vocational development and career patterns. Super continued his theory building with a major treatise called *The Psychology of Careers*, published in 1957. Super often contrasted his book with Roe's *The Psychology of Occupations* published in 1956. He used the contrast to compare her focus on occupations to his focus on careers. The differences included a concentration on the individual rather than the tasks. More fundamentally, it concentrated on the process of developing a career rather than on the content involved in matching oneself to a fitting occupation. Combining Super's career model with Roger's client-centred counselling techniques, vocational guidance experts who provided orientation to the lost were soon to become career counsellors who served as process consultants and empathic mirrors to the anxious.

Super shifted attention away from occupations and which people fit them to a focus on careers and how people develop them. This shift moved from concentrating on stability (of interests, abilities, and job tenure) to mobility. In other words, while

jobs may be stable, people change and develop. Vocational guidance is rooted in psychology, particularly the stability of personality traits and abilities. The goal of guidance is to match people to tasks that enable them to adjust. In comparison, career counselling is rooted in a psychosocial view of people. The goal of career counselling is to help people progress through a series of positions in a patterned way that enables them to implement their self-concepts and manifest their life themes.

Guidance and counselling offer two different models for different contexts. The models concentrate respectively on fidelity and flexibility. Together they account for how people remain the same and how they change. The models may be used separately, sequentially, or integratively (D. E. Super, 1983). They provide two perspectives on the person. For example, guiding views interests as stable traits within the person. In comparison, counselling views interests as a relation between the person and environment, going to the root meaning of *inter esse* which in Latin means *to be between*. For guidance personnel, interests reside within the person and these interests can be measured. For counselling personnel, interests are created by psychosocial interactions; they do not exist within the person as much as they emerge in interactions between the person and the situation. Another example is the difference between vocational education and career education in the schools. Vocational education focuses on learning the content of a trade, for example, automobile mechanics. Career education focuses on learning the process of developing one's career, for example, the attitude of planfulness and the competency of decision making. Thus vocational guidance focuses on content of occupations whereas career education focuses on the process of development.

Later in the period of high modernity, theoretical developments focused on the self in career theory and practice. In 1963, Super formulated a self-concept theory in which he conceptualised occupational choice as implementing a self-concept, work as a manifestation of selfhood, and vocational development as a continuing process of improving the match between the self and situation. In 1981, Hackett and Betz formulated a self-efficacy theory of career development, subsequently elaborated in 1993 by Lent, Brown, and Hackett into a social-cognitive theory of interests, choice, and performance. The three major theories at the close of high modernity each are rooted in distinct psychological domains, with Holland's springing from individual differences psychology, Super's from developmental psychology, and Lent's from learning theory.

Career development slowly emerged during the second half of the 20th century to become the dominant helping model in vocational intervention. The availability of electronic, high-speed computers enabled specialists to automate many guidance functions, especially provision of occupational information and administration and interpretation of interest inventories. Holland (1971) even produced a freestanding and highly effective *Self-Directed Search* that mimics the interventions of a live counsellor in allowing individuals to benefit from do-it-yourself vocational guidance. The focus on developing careers also led to research programs on counselling process (Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998). Whereas for vocational guidance, the person-environment fit model of test interpretation and occupational information provision could even be performed by paraprofessionals and computers, counselling

requires more expertise. This expertise was examined and identified in extensive research on career intervention (Ryan, 1999). As a symbol of the transformation from guidance to counselling, a leading US journal called the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* changed its name to the *Career Development Quarterly*, yet not without objections from guidance specialists (Baer, 1987; Weinrach & Holland, 1987).

Careers in the second half of the 20th century remained possible because while individuals changed and developed, the medium in which they developed, namely occupations and corporations, remained stable. However, in the 21st century, the bureaucratic medium for career development has become unstable as large corporations downsize and restructure in reaction to the movement from the high modern corporate age to the post-modern information age. Post-modern organisations have made it difficult for people to enact a 30-year career of progressive improvement within one corporation. For people who work in the globally integrated economy, the career metaphor of climbing the corporate ladder has been replaced by the metaphor of career as riding the waves.

Self-Construction in a Global Economy (2000–2050)

As a society moves from high modernity to post-modern times, existing theories of vocational help do not adequately account for the uncertain and rapidly changing occupational structure. Guiding and counselling both remain useful in many circumstances, yet they are incomplete models for use in information societies. Post-industrial societies are now in the midst of the most rapid transformative moment in economic history. Of course, change has been a constant throughout history. It is not change that is new, it is the rapidity of change that is new. The rate of economic change during the corporate era of career development was quite slow compared to the rapid change during the new millennium.

There is again today a social fracture, one that in many ways resembles the fault line of 1910 when industry overwhelmed agriculture. The forces that propelled modernity were from agriculture to industry, from communities to cities, and from stability to immigration. Today the parallel processes are from industrialisation to digitalisation, from urbanisation to globalisation, and from immigration to migration. The digital commerce enabled by the internet has made information the new steel. The distribution of work around the globe has prompted migration of world workers to where they can find employment. They are less likely to immigrate and stay in one country for the remainder of their lives.

Also, the melting pot metaphor of taking heterogeneous immigrants and melding them into a homogenous cultural group has given way to the metaphor of the salad bowl in which diverse ingredients each make their own contribution while retaining their individual identities. Thus, the advantages of multiculturalism, cultural competence, and domestic diversity are widely accepted.

To cope with the rapidly changing world, companies maintain their flexibility by downsizing, outsourcing, flattening, and restructuring. In the new millennium

organising replaces organisations, networks replace bureaucracies, connections replace rank, leading replaces managing, and developmental relationships replace mentoring. Wealth creation no longer springs from manufacturing; it now arises from distribution and financing.

Jobs are no longer viewed as the best way to get work done because they are uniform, content-based clusters of similar tasks. Today's projects and assignments are process-based clusters of diverse tasks, making "multitasking" the new watchword. Bridges (1995) concluded that jobs are disappearing because jobs impede responsiveness and flexibility, encourage hiring, discourage accountability, obscure the big picture, and promote rigid and fragile identities. In contrast, assignments require that employees do the work that needs to be done and concentrate on outcomes. In fact, job descriptions are being replaced by agreed upon outcomes. So, workers must fulfil the needs of customers, not of their own jobs. Whereas jobs are centralised in corporate headquarters in major cities, assignments are distributed and coordinated by information technology.

This is not to say that agricultural chores and industrial jobs have completely disappeared. Actually, in the USA today, 13% of positions are in the agricultural sector, 35% in the industrial sector, and 50% in the information and service sectors. During the high modern era, the pyramid stood as the symbol of labour distribution. In the 21st century the middle of the pyramid has collapsed as computers replaced middle management and white collar jobs. Some observers fear that post-industrial societies will disperse the middle class, resolving to a situation in which there are only two classes, one with high skills and one with low skills.

In the first decade of the 21st century the bull's-eye serves as the symbol for labour distribution. The centre ring is populated by internal workers, proportionately about 40%, who do the organisation's core work and have tenure. The outer ring of the bull's-eye contains about 20% of external workers who perform outsourced tasks. Between internal workers at the core and outsourced tasks at the boundary reside the remaining 40% of workers who are contracted to do temporary assignments for the organisation. These temporary employees are viewed as contingent, casual, and part-time workers who sell their services on short-term contracts or freelance agreements. They experience permanent job insecurity as well as lack the opportunities for training, development, and advancement formerly offered by organisations. Consider just one statistic that reflects the extent of insecure workers engaged in atypical employment. Individuals born in the USA between 1957 and 1964 have already held an average of ten jobs from age 18 to age 38 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Of jobs started by workers between the ages of 33 and 38, 39% ended in less that year, with 70% ending in fewer than 5 years. So, for many workers assignments have replaced jobs. They now must self-manage a portfolio or composite career composed of multiple part-time assignments.

Success for job occupants depends on mastering a uniform body of knowledge. In contrast, success for contract workers rests on their ability to learn how to learn to do the tasks that need doing. Contract workers develop their portfolio careers through life-long learning that maintains and enhances their employability. The contract worker must be emotionally intelligent, attuned to the dynamics of a temporary

work group, sensitive to cultural differences, and flexible in satisfying diverse and sometimes competing demands within cross-functional and self-directed teams that navigate broad organisational networks. As a result of the move from a modern isolated individualist doing the job to the post-modern contingent worker temporarily performing an assignment, there has been a shift in Parsons' (1909) venerable paradigm of person-job fit in which worker abilities fit job requirements. The revised paradigm is called person-organisation fit and the central criterion is correspondence of a potential employee's values to the organisational culture in general and the project team in particular.

The emerging social arrangement of work for the post-modern era has been reflected in career theories by the conceptual move from career development to career management. Without the stable organisation and bureaucratic form to sustain predictable career paths, it is difficult to believe in career stages. Thus, the construct of stages as developmental periods has been replaced by learning cycles. Rather than developing in a stable medium, workers must now actively plan and implement self-management behaviours in a lifelong quest to construct their best possible future. These self-management behaviours essentially consist of learning and becoming rather than deciding. Workers now must assume greater personal responsibility for understanding their own needs, determining their goals, and managing their careers.

The career theories formulated for high modernity do not adequately account for managing careers in the uncertain and changing occupational structure of post-modernity. New career models of self-construction and identity formation must address emotions of uncertainty and anxiety because workers are no longer enfolded in a corporation, one that serves as a holding environment that grounds and develops their work lives. Mammoth corporations and meta-narratives are gone. With their demise, established paths and identifiable scripts are disappearing. Industrial psychologists describe the new employment contract as leading to boundaryless, protean, and intelligent careers characterised by constant adaptation and personal responsibility. It is hard to make plans yet individuals are expected to construct their own lives, manage their own careers, and make their own success. They are now in business for themselves as CEOs of their own careers in a free agent nation.

In essence, information societies are evolving a new model of the self for the post-modern age. Recall that self for the 19th century was one of character. This model of self as character was replaced in the 20th century by self as persona. This transition involved movement from a subjective self of character to an objective self of personality that could be measured in terms of its traits and types. Self for the 21st century is neither character nor personality, it is identity. As a relational term, identity includes how we identify ourselves to others and how others recognise us. Identity is a view of self conceptualised as an emergent quality that is narrated by language, historically situated, socially constituted, and culturally shaped. It does not unfold from within; instead, identity is constructed. The identity view of career sees an individual's work life as a story, one that carries meaning. Through work, an individual constructs a self, and then holds that self in place with a life story that provides a sense of inner passion and outer direction. The self in this story is the source

of biographical reasoning that enables the individual to impose unity of purpose on transitions so as to turn jarring juxtapositions into coherent syntheses.

Career problems in the information age are vague and uncontrollable, leaving adolescent students and adult workers feeling uncertain and confused. Thus, career service providers are formulating models of self-construction and work identity that directly address the mobility and uncertainty of protean and boundaryless careers. A new metaphor of career as story, rather than career as path, proposes that personal narratives structured around life themes may provide a stabilising core for internal guidance and self-direction. Thus, career specialists in the post-modern era seem to be moving toward constructivist epistemologies and narrative theories, with meaning being made in relationships through language (Young & Collin, 2004).

As usual, these major innovations in theory have responded to innovations in practices. Practice drives theory because practice is a direct response to the concrete needs of society. Many career counsellors are innovating their practices by shifting concentration from fostering career development to fostering human development through work and relationships. This shift has been prompted by changes in the social organisation of work and occupations. To respond to these changes wrought by the globally integrated economy, some counsellors have turned to narrative counselling models and methods (Maree, 2007). These approaches emphasise life planning rather than occupational choice, relationships over reason, constructs rather than concepts, perspectives rather than facts, particulars rather than principles, and invention of meaning rather than discovery of truth. Narrative theories of vocational intervention view lives as novels being written and attend to the themes that activate and characterise individuals at work and in relationships. The narrative approach to self-construction enables clients to fit work into their lives, rather than fit themselves into jobs. In moving from match-making to meaning-making, the goal of self-construction becomes mattering, not congruence. Counselling and coaching for self-construction aims to help clients articulate a personal mission statement that gives them a beacon with which to define who they are, set priorities, and stay on course (Savickas, 2005).

Conclusion

Contending effectively with the ambitions of diverse workers in a globally integrated economy requires that the career services profession understand its own ambitions. The future of educational and vocational guidance as a profession rests on its ability to help students and clients adapt to the challenges inherent in the new organisation of work that is evolving in information-age societies. The profession has successfully met this challenge before in devising youth mentoring for agricultural communities, vocational guidance for industrial cities, and career counselling for corporate societies. To remain relevant and useful in the 21st century, the profession is again reinventing its theories and techniques, this time to concentrate on self-construction within an information society.

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