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HISTORY OF GUIDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

DISSERTATION

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By

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Among the social sciences, guidance is relatively young, having evolved out of the American social experience with its concern for the welfare of the individual. As an independent discipline, guidance is about seventy years old. However, the foundations for guidance are imbedded in the nation's historical past. Beginning with seventeenth-century New Englanders, who stressed religious and economic reasoning, a systematic approach to occupational selection began. By the close of the colonial period, the precedent of freedom of choice of vocation and educational opportunity was well established.

The coming of industrialization brought the rise of a factory environment and a new class, the proletariat. The human misery resulting from urbanization and economic specialization produced the first organized social response in philanthropic bureaus, educational reforms, and success literature. As industrialization accelerated after the Civil War, the economic philosophy of laissez faire was reflected in guidance literature. However, by the turn of the century reformers sought to reestablish the primacy of the

individual. John Dewey advocated scientific educational reforms while George Arthur Merrill and Jesse Davis pioneered the first guidance classes.

In 1905, the primary architect of vocational guidance, Frank Parsons, established the Vocation Bureau, in Boston. He assisted youth and immigrants in selecting jobs, while criticizing the Boston public schools. Parsons set forth the first guidance techniques, and in 1909 the Boston schools began training guidance personnel. In 1913, the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) was organized and Harvard University offered the first vocational guidance courses in 1916. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided federal funds for vocational education. Although by the decade's close guidance was a recognized concept, the movement had lost its independent status, becoming an adjunct of the educational system.

Guidance came under the influence of several parallel movements in succeeding decades. The unprecedented use of tests in World War I created the conditions for viewing measurements as the means by which to create a precise technology for guidance. Clinical methods for treating emotional and developmental needs were borrowed from the mental hygiene movement. While guidance continued to define its function, the second generation of guidance leaders spared the NVGA a premature death by reorganizing, creating greater chapter autonomy.

The impact of the Depression brought a substantial infusion of federal support for guidance. The George-Dean Act of 1936 funded vocational guidance and, in 1938, the Occupational Information and Guidance Service was established in the Department of Education. Carl R. Rogers' nondirective approach to counseling in the early 1940's signaled a revolution in therapy.

By midcentury, guidance had matured; a new organization was created, the American Personnel and Guidance Association, while theoreticians created new guidance models to meet individual needs in an urban America. The reaction to the Russian Sputnik provided guidance with massive federal support in the omnibus National Defense and Education Act of 1958. This legislation transformed guidance and set into motion the conditions for expanding guidance into elementary education. The material affluence and spiritual vacuity felt by millions of Americans in the 1960's provided the conditions for the rise of humanistic-existential guidance. Group guidance and computer-assisted guidance were also implemented in guidance programs. The 1970's saw emphasis placed on the concept of career education and questions surrounding professionalism. Special important issues such as accountability, women's rights, the elderly, and confidentiality challenged the guidance movement to define itself once again in an age of change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Among the professions, organized guidance in the schools is relatively young, evolving out of the American social experience with its concern for the welfare of the individual. The focus of this study is an examination of the development of the guidance movement within American education. Although guidance represented a broader social movement, with time it became associated almost exclusively with the philosophical and humanitarian goals of American education. The status of guidance cannot be appreciated without a careful examination of the historical forces that have given guidance its identity. It is important for every guidance professional to be acquainted with the heritage of the movement's past since, as Santayana has said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" (13, p. 284).

The Historical Perspective

Humans are unique in their capacity to annihilate distance and bring past and present together. This transcendent possibility weaves itself in and out of daily experience, as individuals go about the business of living, unaware that their present identity results from innumerable historical

antecedents. No one can succeed in being ahistorical. It is a false assumption to believe that the present generation is unrelated to those who have gone before, that the problems of past generations were completely different from those of today. History, in dealing with the past, also assays the present, for the problems of the past are similar to those of the present.

The chronicling of a historical movement involves more complexity than that of a single life, yet the history of the guidance movement brings both events and personalities together. Throughout the development of American guidance, the primary rationale for the movement has remained the individual. To be an individual in America has meant to belong to a country where things were supposed to get better: America was the place where hard work and patience were ultimately rewarded. But as industrialization and urbanization took hold, the importance of the individual in a democratic society blurred. The forces of social and economic change required a response if America was to remain the land of opportunity. A knowledge of the guidance movement's history offers insight on ways that were found to meet human needs in a dynamic society. Historical data reveal how the emphasis shifted within the guidance community from vocational training and placement, to testing and recognition of traits, to self-concept theory and the search for meaning and values.

The relationship of guidance to other social service movements is made clear by the study of history. Guidance is not an isolated corpus of knowledge. Social reformers, mental hygienists, psychiatrists, and psychologists share parallel histories. There has been extensive borrowing from these related disciplines; nevertheless, fragmentation remains a characteristic of the behavioral sciences, challenging the delivery of service while often confusing the public. The guidance movement itself must be viewed as a part of the educational establishment. Shortly after its beginnings as a social welfare service it became an extension of the educational process. The history of this relationship has often been one-sided, with educators frequently articulating the role and function of guidance. Clearly a significant question to be considered in reviewing the history of guidance is whether this symbiotic relationship has retarded the movement's independent development or provided greater opportunities to serve.

A sense of history also keeps one alert to what C. Gilbert Wrenn (15) called the encapsulated counselor. By becoming too assimilated into an institutional setting or enamored with a single guidance methodology, it is possible to spin a cocoon of limited professional activities. Few careers demand greater commitment to life-long learning than does guidance, and yet the history of the profession is replete with periods in which single frames of reference

dominated. An understanding of the reasons supporting such narrowing of focus can allow the movement to remain open and responsive to the change and pluralism found in American culture.

Finally, understanding the psychological climates of the past can be of great value in understanding the present. In making the historical connections it is important to be perceptive of what the spirit of times past decreed, the Zeitgeist. Social, economic, and philosophical preparations paved the way for the emergence of guidance. It was the historical milieu that offered the structure out of which the movement evolved. Learning to recognize the Zeitgeist provides a rational approach to those in the profession seeking explanations as to why guidance has become the movement it is. Through identifications of similarities that link past and present guidance it is possible to apply what is learned to future guidance--the ultimate use of historical knowledge.

Histories of the Guidance Movement

Upon inspection, it is surprising to learn that the guidance movement has been the subject of few historical studies. This is the case in spite of the fact that the movement has produced a voluminous professional literature. Only limited histories of the guidance movement in the United States have been written, and many of these are unpublished

dissertations. There does not exist a single comprehensive history of the movement's evolution.

In 1942, Harper and Brothers published John M. Brewer's History of Vocational Guidance (5). Focusing exclusively on vocational guidance, this one-volume work has become the profession's standard historical reference. Written by Brewer and seven associates, this book expanded on Brewer's The Vocational Guidance Movement (6). Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf noted, however, that Brewer did not write a comprehensive history.

John M. Brewer considered vocational guidance as representative of all guidance and therefore tended to eulogize the development of vocational guidance and to ignore all materials not related to it (3, p. 6).

The comments of Barry and Wolf were especially significant due to the fact that both were trained in historical methodology and had jointly authored in 1955 a dissertation at Columbia University entitled "A History of the Guidance Personnel Movement in Education" (2). In 1957, Columbia published Modern Issues in Guidance Personnel Work by Barry and Wolf (3) and, although not a history text, the work did try to provide a survey of the guidance field.

Unpublished dissertations have remained a primary source of historical knowledge, but a review of these indicated none were written as comprehensive histories. Perry J. Rockwell's 1958 dissertation, "Social Concepts in the Published Writings of Some Pioneers in Guidance, 1900-1916" (12), is a

case in point. Rockwell selects five early pioneers in guidance and reviews their contributions set within the social and philosophical forces of their day. The work is comprehensive only for those individuals selected and ends before the guidance movement can be adequately evaluated. Another selected dissertation was Bryant Girard's 1963 "The Growth and Development of the Vocational Guidance Movement in the United States: 1900-1930" (8). This text was more inclusive than Brewer's but was limited in scope to a thirty-year span of vocational history. Other dissertations considered the rise of elementary school guidance (10), the American Personnel and Guidance Association (9), and trends in the professional literature (7). None sought a historical synthesis.

Published works also remained scarce. In 1961, Carroll H. Miller devoted a chapter to the history of the movement in Foundations of Guidance (11). It was customary for texts to reserve a small amount of space for historical review. This was the case when in 1964 Henry Borow's Man in a World of Work (4) was issued, devoting fourteen pages to a capsuled chronology. A volume devoted solely to the historical, philosophical, and theoretical perspectives of guidance was E. G. Williamson's Vocational Counseling (14), published in 1965. However, Williamson restricted his treatment of the movement to developments prior to World War II. Journal articles were also few in number,

indicating the paucity of research being done on historical antecedents, with Roger F. Aubrey's six-page historical review the most complete (1, pp. 273-278).

Such meager histories do not do justice to a movement as richly complex as guidance. The literature is replete with surveys, empirical studies, and descriptions of guidance techniques; but conspicuously absent are studies which explore the historical tradition of American guidance. Modern guidance grows from the discoveries, inventions, and mistakes of yesterday. History does not cheat us: indeed, if those in guidance do not think about its past, then surely guidance will have no future.

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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATION FOR GUIDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

Guidance is a peculiarly American concept. Arising out of the enduring faith Americans have had in the power of popular education, guidance services evolved. Modern guidance is best understood as a historical movement nurtured by philosophical and cultural determinants, and the belief that schools can serve as powerful instrumentalities for the achievement of individual understanding and the exercise of freedom of choice. This chapter is designed to trace the chronological development of guidance from its earliest origins in colonial times through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Colonial Experience

The philosophical and intellectual foundations for guidance are imbedded in the colonial period. English colonization in America contributed two traits that provided the interacting forces necessary to facilitate the development of guidance. First, the seventeenth century witnessed a political struggle in England to reduce arbitrary royal power and achieve representative government with guarantees for civil liberties. Englishmen exhibited a spirit of

individual enterprise and social mobility that was transferred to colonial America (38, p. 2). What made America the land of opportunity was the basic right to choose a vocation according to one's desire. But in order to pursue one's occupational choice, political freedom providing social mobility was a prerequisite and this was first established in England. John Locke's philosophy of natural rights was to become political gospel to Americans. Locke reasoned that man was "born free" and had possessed certain natural rights when he lived in the state of nature before governments were formed. Men contracted among themselves to form a society to protect those rights. All men, Locke believed, were free, equal, and independent, and no man could be "subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent" (25, p. 348). Jefferson absorbed Locke's writings, and some of the English philosopher's words and phrases emerge verbatim in the American Declaration of Independence.

From England also came an intellectual revolution. By the late seventeenth century the leading thinkers in England were predominantly rationalist, and they began a movement known as the "Enlightenment." They held that reason was the faculty that distinguished man from the beast, and the triumphs of seventeenth-century science proved that reason could be trusted. This revolution in thought sought to promote individual understanding and it appealed

. . . to human reason rather than divine law, to natural rights rather than supernatural rights, to scientific method rather than established truths, to social agreement and individual freedom rather than authoritarian control, and to humanitarian and democratic faith rather than autocratic privilege (10, pp. 44-45).

The heritage of the Enlightenment was the acceptance of a more individualistic ethic. The intellectual setting for educational theory in colonial America reflected this rationality.

This was the backdrop of colonial America with its emphasis on political and intellectual individualism. The belief in the primacy of the individual provided the guidance movement with its major reason for being--the development of the individual's full potential.

Of all the English colonists who migrated to the new world, the Puritans in the 1630's were the most committed to the establishment of a new social order built on individual enterprise. Deeply believing that a trained intelligence was required to discern God's will, the Puritans were zealous advocates of education. These first New Englanders succeeded best in creating schools in which children of both the prosperous and poor "could gain the minimum essentials of education" (48, p. 98). In 1647, the General Court ordered every town of fifty houses to maintain an elementary school, and some of the larger towns supported public secondary schools as well (38, p. 8).

A further amplification of the laws in 1648 required the selectmen to be vigilant lest any of their neighbors should "suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others their children and apprentices" to read the English tongue, to understand the laws, and to learn some honest trade or calling (23, pp. 7-8). Historian Louis B. Wright commented, "Motivated by religion and sound economic reasoning, Massachusetts Bay proposed to breed up a literate and industrious citizenry" (48, p. 103).

The training of males for vocational occupations was a matter of primary importance to colonial families. Middle-class thinking with its premium placed on success and having a specific laboring skill became increasingly commonplace throughout seventeenth-century New England. William Perkins, the Elizabethan preacher whose influence on both sides of the Atlantic lasted for a century after his death in 1603, in A Treatise of the Vocations had expounded a gospel of work and elaborated the doctrine that the surest way of serving God and attaining happiness in this and the next world was by laboring diligently in some honest trade or vocation (49, p. 174). This work ethic was accepted enthusiastically by both Puritans and Quakers, as well as by other Englishmen during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, as historian Wright notes, "It helped to explain an

emphasis upon vocational training in New England and Pennsylvania" (48, p. 104). Albee considers the development of this Protestant work ethic as a major factor in the evolution of the personality type of the emerging American middle class. This ethic "demanded personal efforts to achieve long-range goals, an increase in personal autonomy and independence, and new aspirations among many for improvement in their own and their children's social status" (1, p. 150).

By the early eighteenth century Boston newspapers carried advertisements of private training schools. These were exclusively boys' schools and offered instruction in practical courses such as shorthand, bookkeeping, and surveying. After 1720, at least eight teachers in Boston advertised evening classes in a variety of practical subjects (48, p. 105). However, no mention was made of any guidance service to help the young select a course of study. Wright admits that while these vocational options were increasingly popular they were never considered as substitutes for grammar schools (48, p. 105).

The colony of Pennsylvania reflected the influence of its Quaker founder, William Penn, an early advocate of adapting schools to the practical needs of students. The following is a precursor of the concept of career education popularized in the 1970's.

We are in pain to make them [the youth of his day] scholars but not men, to talk rather than to know, which is true canting. . . . We press their memory

too soon, and puzzle, strain, and load them with words and rules to know grammar and rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two that ten to one may never be useful to them, leaving their natural genius to mechanical, physical, or natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected. . . . To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected; but things are still to be preferred. . . . It were happy if we studied nature more in natural things, and acted according to nature, whose rules are few, plain, and most reasonable. . . . It is pity, therefore, that books have not been composed for youth by some curious and careful naturalist, and also mechanics, in the Latin tongue, to be used in schools, that they might learn with words; things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the tongue easier to be obtained by them (44, pp. 35-36).

This emphasis on practical education was also found in Penn's first Frame of Government which ordered the Governor and Council to erect public schools and to see that

. . . all children within this province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want (48, p. 108).

The practical Puritans and Quakers recognized early the necessity for a community-wide educational system. However, the family remained the basic source of the child's values and skills while schools offered classical and some practical studies. It was natural to expect parents to function as guidance personnel, for who would know better the personality traits of a boy than his father?

John Locke, writing on this very point admonishes,

He therefore that is about Children, should well study their Natures and Aptitudes, and see, by often Trials, what Turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native Stock is, how it may be improv'd, and what it is fit for; He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it

wrought into them by Industry, and incorporated there by Practice; and whether it be worthwhile to endeavour it. For in many Cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is, to make the best of what Nature has given; to prevent the Vices and Faults to which such a Constitution is most inclin'd and give it all the Advantages it is capable of. Every one's natural Genius should be carry'd as far as it could; but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labor in vain; and what is so plaister'd on, will at best sit but un-
towardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Constraint and Affection (33, p. 227).

Locke's expression "what they want" means not what the child desires but what parents judge him to need. This is an early example of diagnosis and advice-giving, not guidance, as self-discovery through assistance and counsel. Yet the child is still viewed by Locke as an individual.

The most widely read statement of parental responsibilities in colonial America was a tract published in 1699 by Cotton Mather, entitled A Family Well-Ordered (27). This discourse on proper roles for parents stressed the authoritarian family based upon orthodox Calvinist religious principles. Mather lists the duties of the parent with the preparation for a son's life work chief among them.

Although there was no formal system of guidance, there was begun in 1673 a practice--still very popular--the publishing of what the Handlins refer to as "the vast literatures of success evoked by the experience of the American economy" (21, p. 149). Brewer's History of Vocational Guidance takes note of Obediah Walker's Of Education, Especially

of Young Gentlemen, published in 1673 and reprinted in six editions. He introduces his deductions,

The most useful Knowledge is that of a Man's self; and this depends upon that more universal consideration of Quid homo potest; naturally, and artificially, i.e., what Abilities are in us originally, by the Gift of God; and what attainable by our own Industry. And both these in order to Knowledge or Action. To advance this Discovery, it is hoped that these Papers may contribute some Hints and Steps (8, p. 17).

In the sixth edition, dated 1699, Walker offers what must be considered some of the earliest instruction to guidance personnel.

Give not your Advice or Opinion before asked; for that is to upbraid the others Ignorance: nor attribute ill success to the neglect of your Counsel; nor be angry if your Advice be not followed. Neither accustom your self to find fault with others Actions, except Vitious; for you are not bound to weed other men's Gardens.

Be not too eager in counseling others; for the evil Success (which happens frequently to good Advice) will be laid to your charge, and seldom shall you be thanked for the good (8, p. 18).

Throughout the eighteenth century "success literature" enjoyed a wide audience. Outstanding colonists such as Benjamin Franklin produced tracts with numerous guidance witticisms emphasizing the virtues of courage, thrift, honesty, and perseverance.

As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught every thing that is useful, and every thing that is ornamental: But art is long. And their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental (18, p. 12).

Franklin must be credited with advancing utilitarian education. In 1749 he called for a new type of school known as

an academy, offering instruction in vocational training and practical preparation for a trade (10, 79-81).

Books were also becoming available by the mid-eighteenth century describing occupations according to duties, qualifications, remuneration, and promotions. These first vocational guidance writers provide a fascinating picture of the opportunities that existed for colonial youth in a preindustrial culture. Occupations were described in terms of the task performed by workers. Needless to say, this raised questions about biased occupational information and errors of direct observation.

A volume published anonymously in 1747, under the title A General Description of All Trades, lists some 217 "trades" and discusses separately "the three learned professions-- Divinity, Law, and Physic [sic]" (19, pp. 24-69). A second volume in 1761, Joseph Collyer's The Parents' and Guardians' Directory and the Youth's Guide in the Choice of a Profession or Trade lists 367 "trade and mechanic arts"--as well as the three learned professions. Collyer's work is the more specialized (12, p. 8). The earlier title describes occupations fitted for the age of handicraft while Collyer addresses the diversity of labor that becomes increasingly characteristic of the early phase of the industrial revolution. For example, Collyer found six occupations related

to ships, while the earlier writer in 1747 listed only "shipwrights." Although Collyer listed ten occupations related to making watches, the earlier writer mentioned only "clock-maker," which was also listed separately by Collyer (31, p. 330).

Both writers direct their works primarily to parents and guardians. The unauthored work makes recommendation for parental guidance based on the parents' knowledge of the "capacity, education, inclination, strength and fortune of the youth under their care" (19, p. 4). Collyer, writing fourteen years later in 1761, considers his handbook not only a directory for "parents and guardians" but also a "youth's guide in the choice of a profession or trade," and adds an entire section of advice to an apprentice on his behavior while subject to his master (31, p. 327).

Similar to current promotional literature in guidance, Collyer gave brief detailed sketches introducing an eighteenth-century occupation. For instance, the 1747 edition describes the occupation of wood-cutters.

Woodcutters

This is a very ingenious pretty Art, though there are but few Masters who make any figure; their principal business is to cut in wood or softish metal, Figures, Signs, Ornaments, and Letters, for use of Book printers.

It is somewhat a-kin to Engraving and not harder work, and early to be learnt and performed; therefore fit for acute lads, who have form notion of drawing.

They will take with an Apprentice 10 pounds who work from six to eight; in which Hours a common Hand will often make a Crown, and frequently more; and he

may be a master with a very few tools, and a little Pear-tree and Box-wood (19, pp. 223-224).

In contrast, the description of a professional career implied greater intellectual and social ability.

Attorney

Therefore a youth designed for a clerkship (for so it is termed, and are articed but for five years) in this profession, ought not to be too young, sixteen at least, should understand Latin and some French, especially the old; write a good bold Round Hand.

The pay of the common clerk, when out of his clerkship, is half a Guinea a week, . . . out of which he boards himself . . . and, if sober, ready men are often recommended to better Places (19, p. 8).

Little appears to be omitted from these realistic descriptions.

The individual freedom of choice and child-centered approach characteristic of mid-twentieth-century guidance are certainly not in evidence in the writings of these eighteenth-century authors. As noted, the works were addressed to parents and guardians, with Collyer admonishing parents to choose masters with extreme care (31, p. 332). Furthermore, Trevelyan, the historian, describes the rigid social organizational structure that had been transplanted in colonial America making apprenticeship a precondition of employment. He wrote,

This system at the beginning of the eighteenth century served a country sadly lacking in educational facilities with a vast machinery of personal training, discipline, and technical instruction, molding the character of boys and youths, whom it turned out as skilled workmen (42, p. 12).

Another characteristic of these early vocational writers is their definite moral instruction. Parents were reminded

that they should select employment for their charge in terms of moral as well as economic outcome. Collyer also instructs masters of their obligation and duty toward apprentices. The master's duty is as much parental as educational or technical (31, p. 332).

These two early vocational-guidance handbooks provide a glimpse of the manner in which that era sought to answer the basic question of matching occupations and individuals. The attempt at a rational systematic approach at vocational guidance is the most significant contribution of these authors.

With the close of the Colonial period the precedent of freedom of choice of vocation and educational opportunity was established. The Handlins wrote, "Efforts by the state to restrict access to the occupation of an individual's choice were never important in the United States" (21, p. 141).

Virginian George Mason commented in his "declaration of rights" in 1776,

All men are created equally free and independent, and have certain inherent natural rights, of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their prosperity: among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety (24, p. 12).

E. G. Williamson indicated how this colonial expression of individual freedom of choice came to be translated into law in several court decisions dealing with the right "to dispose of one's services" (45, p. 42).

In the nineteenth century the Supreme Court stated, The right to follow any of the common occupations of life is an inalienable right; it was formulated as such under the phrase "pursuit of happiness" (45, p. 42).

This was the heritage bequeathed by our colonial past.

The Early National Period

The coming of industrialization brought the domestic system and its handicrafts to a close. Mechanical inventions were few at the beginning of the eighteenth century but became many as one discovery created the need for others. Arkwright devised the water frame in 1779, which was large and expensive, and needed water power to operate. As a result, it was only a short time before the modern factory system was born (40, p. 573). Out of the surplus wealth produced by the factory system a new class of capitalist came into being. They in turn developed a school of economic theory known as classical economics, with Adam Smith the prominent apologist. This Glasgow professor wrote An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776) in which he advocated individual self-interest free from any government interference. Smith proposed a policy of laissez faire, of leaving things alone in order to liberate the individual.

According to the system of natural liberty, the sovereign has only three duties to attend to; three duties of great importance, indeed, but plain and intelligible to common understandings: first, the duty of protecting society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies; secondly,

the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice or oppression of every other member of it, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and thirdly, the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and certain public institutions, which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain; because the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to a great society (11, p. 651).

This attitude of individual self-sufficiency became the underlying philosophy of the nineteenth century. As a consequence of the process of industrialization there also began a migration from the rural agricultural areas to the urban centers. It was not an accident that guidance began in large urban industrial centers. As people moved into the cities their educational and social needs necessitated preparing them for a more industrialized society.

The factory system in America had its beginnings during the presidency of Washington. The first successful factory was built in 1790 by Samuel Slater. This English immigrant had taken with him the secrets of the English textile industry. His factory, built in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, contained seventy-two spindles tended by nine children. In the next quarter of a century hundreds of factories were built so that by 1816 there were 130,000 spindles in operation (5, p. 205).

This description of the mechanization and birth of the cotton industry could be applied to other industries where

mechanical power played an increasingly important role. This factory environment changed work patterns and created a new class, the proletariat. Laborers who tended machines for a prescribed weekly wage were cut off from consumers and owners as large-scale factories impersonalized their function. In addition, the increased competition among producers resulted in cost cutting. Working conditions were harsh; thirteen-hour days were expected, six days a week, in the 1830's. It was estimated that twenty thousand of the lowest-paid women in eastern cities worked sixteen hours a day for \$1.25 a week (5, p. 207).

The human misery which resulted from the crowded conditions of the cities, as well as the economic dislocations caused by cycles of prosperity and recession or depression, produced the first social responses to the process of industrialization. David Cook's investigation of the panic of 1819 reveals that it marked the beginning of organized relief by charitable institutions and that, although relief was mainly concerned with food and shelter, some agencies made earnest attempts to secure jobs for the unemployed (13, p. 48). A contemporary author, Benton, states that 1819 and 1820 were years of agony and gloom. "There was no money, no price for property or produce, no employment for industry, and no demand for labor" (4, p. 5). The Niles Register kept its readers informed on unemployment in the various cities of the country.

In August, 1819, 20,000 persons were daily seeking work in Philadelphia; in New York 10,000 able-bodied men were reported to be wandering the streets looking for work while an equal number of employable unemployed women were pursuing the same occupation (29, p. 20).

The evolution of philanthropic bureaus indicates that they had a history of servicing special groups. This was especially the case for women, since other agencies, including labor fraternities, were most concerned with men. Anna Reed reports that by 1850 Boston was operating a free employment bureau for girls "and was averaging 100 placements a day." Other cities soon followed. In 1854 Brooklyn established an all-denominational Christian service "where destitute females secured employment--not alms" (35, p. 21). Also, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. began to include placement in their service programs. Both were philanthropically motivated. Commenting on this, Reed states, "Both organizations have established honorable positions in the placement area of personnel services. Service was their original *raison d'etre*; they have met a definite need" (35, p. 21).

Beginning in 1819, many types of organized philanthropy responded to current economic depressions, panics, and unemployment, and the exploitation of newly arrived immigrants. Frequently such agencies served special groups, and a few instituted training programs to prepare the unskilled and unemployed for jobs.

Rapid industrial and commercial growth called for a more functional knowledge. Butts and Cremin note society's

demand for the training of competencies and the criticism leveled against educators for not producing pupils who qualified for their station in life. These authors quote a widely circulated pamphlet, Thoughts on the Condition and Prospects of Popular Education in the United States (1836), which concludes, "Surely we are within bounds when we say that to write a common letter, promissory note, receipt, bill, or account, legibly and in proper form, is the least that should be required of our common schools" (10, p. 214).

The literature and speeches of pre-Civil War America find numerous demands for a more practical education. Capitalists and educators began to insist on the "cash value" of curriculum as a positive asset and in keeping with the laissez-faire ideals of an individualistic capitalist society (10, p. 214). Between the years 1820 and 1860 renewed demands for some kind of vocational education were heard. The 1829 report of a Philadelphia workingman's committee recommended the establishment of schools patterned after those of Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland, where youngsters might be taught agriculture, gardening, and the mechanic arts in addition to standard subjects (46). A year later, Robert Dale Owen in his six essays, titled Public Education, made the same proposal.

We now proceed to enquire whether, in public schools, children ought to be taught something more than abstract science and book learning, as it is popularly called: whether practice and theory ought to be united, and whether children, even while their

literary and scientific education is most carefully superintended, may not contribute towards their own support for the present, while they learn some trade or occupation, that shall render them independent for the future.

We are decidedly of the opinion, that unless this is done, the system will be very incomplete and unnecessarily expensive (47).

Although the real demand for vocational education did not come until after the Civil War, these early proposals are indicative of the movement to make education more directly useful.

Given the increasingly competitive job market, there came into being many books and articles dealing with the qualifications necessary for success at various occupations and professions. Brewer refers to this pre-Civil War occupational information as being "prophetic of the guidance literature of today" (8, p. 28). Examples cited by Brewer include The Book of Trades or Library of the Useful Arts, published in Philadelphia in 1807, listing sixty-eight trades with descriptions of each. Another, The Complete Book of Trades (1837), states that the candidate for attorney "must pass a clear and solid understanding . . . the whole improved by a liberal education, which may be continued until his sixteenth year" (8, p. 28). The most comprehensive text of the period was The Panorama of Professions and Trades, or Every Man's Book, published in Philadelphia in 1836. Brewer reports that it was "printed as attractively as the best textbook of the period." The appendix supplies a large

number of questions for guidance as the reader sorts through the facts of the text proper. In evaluating these works, Brewer declares that they "made no permanent contribution toward the concept of providing classes in occupational information in the school curriculum. That idea was to wait eighty more years" (8, p. 30).

In addition to information on trades and occupations and the success literature, there were definite instances of counseling. A wide range of topics and counseling suggestions was covered by the Lord Mayor of London in A Present for an Apprentice. Such problems as excess drinking, government of the tongue, physical fighting, gaming, female companionship, quarrels with relatives, proper use of time, and sports are treated with practical advice (8, p. 42). There were also public lectures imparting occupational information and tips on career success. Albert Barnes delivered an address in 1831 entitled "The Choice of a Profession" to the Society of Inquiry at Amherst College. Barnes explained the importance of vocational choices and supported his position with three propositions:

1. Vocational choice impacts on the development of character;
2. Occupational surroundings will affect one's disposition;
3. Future life will be directed by present occupational choices.

He also warned of the two chief dangers that often accompany professional status: love of money and desire for fame (8, p. 43).

These sporadic attempts at providing guidance services prior to the Civil War were for the most part negligible in their impact. Only with the coming of a more practical education would guidance personnel be seen as an integral part of the function of education.

Industrial Expansion, 1865 to 1890

The years between 1865 and 1890 marked the transition from an agrarian to a modern industrial America. The Civil War was a contest between two alternative ways of life--a decentralized agricultural way in the South and the centralized industrial way of the North. The victory of the Union armies resulted in the furtherance of industrial capitalism.

The war accelerated the development of large-scale industry. Executives or managers, rather than owners, were frequently in charge, and skilled craftsmen were replaced by masses of unskilled laborers. Historians Miller and Ward comment,

The new employers had little concern for the personal needs of workers, and as a result the labor force felt little loyalty to the employers. Workers also lost much of their interest in the product, for they performed only a single, unskilled operation and no longer attained a sense of identity by creating an article requiring the application of experience and skill. As the factory became the only important producing unit, the individuals connected with it were demeaned. An

employee could no longer hope to have his grievances heard, for he could not compete with the power of capital and management (27, p. 432).

Contributing to the industrial expansion were the millions of immigrants pouring into America. Even during the turbulent decade of the 1850's more than 2.5 million immigrants arrived. Despite the Civil War, almost as many came during the 1860's, while over 2.8 million entered America during the 1870's. In the 1880's, immigration reached a peak when more than 5 million newcomers reached American shores (10, p. 307).

As immigration increased, cities mushroomed. Between 1860 and 1900 the fastest-growing cities were Minneapolis, whose population increased seventy-nine fold; Omaha; Kansas City (Missouri); Denver; and Chicago. In 1890, greater New York City was the largest immigrant center in the world. About 20 per cent of all the city dwellers in 1890 were of foreign birth (32, p. 348).

Urbanization and immigration, coupled with industrialization, brought unknown complexity into jobs, society, and interpersonal relations. Yet the American belief that drew so many immigrants--that the individual is the most precious product of a free society--remained strong. It was again the task of education to help each individual learn how to create a life of meaning and purpose. The forces unleashed by these sweeping social changes established the foundations for guidance as a service central to education. Guidance

was now needed, Glanz stated, for it helped to "bring order out of complexity" (20, p. 66). The industrial revolution helped to establish the foundation for guidance and it made it possible "for man to come closer to his dreams of self-determination and freedom" (20, p. 66).

Post-Civil War America witnessed a further acceptance of the doctrine of laissez faire and the belief in the personal-success motive. "Success literature" became even more fashionable as a guide for the ambitious. Newspapers found such articles popular with the general public, and books by the score were in print. One of the most widely read was authored by W. D. Matthews, Getting on in the World: Or Hints on Success in Life (1875). In spite of the title, Brewer declares that the book offers "no help on the problem or process of choice" (8, p. 21). Yet in a clear, concise style the author, a professor of rhetoric and English at the University of Chicago, admonishes the reader,

Give your energies to the highest employment of which your nature is capable; be alive, be patient; work hard; watch opportunities; be rigidly honest; hope for the best, and if you fail to reach the goal of your wishes, which is possible in spite of the utmost efforts, you will die with the consciousness of having done your best--which is, after all, the truest success to which a man can aspire (8, p. 21).

William James Tilley, a midwestern clergyman, wrote in 1887 Masters of the Situation. He extolled the virtues of industry, purpose, manners and perseverance, and "the value of studying great models." Brewer reviews one chapter

entitled "Wait" in which Tilley emphasizes the necessity for hard work and stick-to-it-iveness.

With all its buoyancy and hope and seeming assurance, youth has its hours of discouragement and dependency, and young men are often faint-hearted. They believe in all things save themselves. Too often they lack the courage to go out in pursuit of life's prizes and rewards. For such this volume has been written. At the same time it is hoped that it may not be found wholly wanting in hints and incentives of value to those farther on (8, p. 23).

The Boston Herald brought out a compilation of short essays in 1881 under the general editorship of Benjamin Franklin Butler. The book, How to Get Rich, was composed of short testimonials from successful businessmen and philanthropists. The ethic of individual enterprise and diligence was presented as the surest way to gain success in the race to make money (8, p. 22).

The most successful promoter of the rags-to-riches formula was a Harvard-educated former clergyman, Horatio Alger. During the nineteenth century he authored 135 books, which sold over 200 million copies.

Superficially, at least, the Alger stories reflected important economic realities. But the reflection was indirect and distorted. Alger did not deal with the adult, business careers of his heroes. Instead, he wrote coy exercises in moralism, designed to show how Ragged Dick, or Tattered Tom, or Poorhouse Jed overcame orphanhood and poverty by saving the drowning daughter of a wealthy sonless merchant. The books always ended just as their heroes were about to embark on adult careers in commerce. The reader was left to assume that, in their adult lives, Alger's heroes would continue to thrive through a steady application of "pluck" (43, pp. 546-547).

Many of the articles and books on success originated as addresses, lectures, and sermons. One address delivered more than six thousand times by Russell H. Conwell finally appeared in print in 1888. Brewer observed that it was "a glorification of success and riches as sanctioned by religion" (8, p. 23). Conwell entitled his speech "Acres of Diamonds" which, when explained, meant that we were all diamonds in the rough waiting to be polished and so made valuable. Conwell made explicit what was implicit in economic success.

Money is power; money has powers; and for a man to say, "I do not want money," is to say, "I do not wish to do any good to my fellowmen." It is absurd thus to talk. It is absurd to disconnect them. This is a wonderfully great life, and you ought to spend your time getting money, because of the power there is in money. And yet this religious prejudice is so great that some people think it is a great honor to be one of God's poor. I am looking in the faces of people who think just that way. I heard a man once say in a prayer-meeting that he was thankful that he was one of God's poor, and then I silently wondered what his wife would say to that speech, as she took in washing to support the man while he sat and smoked on the veranda. I don't want to see any more of that kind of God's poor. Now, when a man could have been rich just as well, and he is now weak because he is poor, he has done a great wrong; he has been untruthful to himself; he has been unkind to his fellowmen. We ought to get rich if we can by honorable and Christian methods, and these are the only methods that sweep us quickly toward the goal of riches (9, pp. 414-415).

A number of writers produced success biographies, particularly after John Bigelow reprinted in 1868 the original first edition of Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography. James Parton dealt with success in several books, for instance, Captains of Industry: A Book for Young America (1884 and

1891) which discussed success in the lesser vocations such as carpentry and office management. In the rest of his titles he chose the most eminent and interesting people he could find, such as Greeley, Burr, Jackson, Franklin, Jefferson, and Voltaire--seventeen books in all (8, p. 25).

The ideals established by these writers were, on the whole, realistic. The reader was constantly reminded to challenge himself, to discipline himself for the sake of achieving the desired goal. Brewer notes that "all these authors, true to the Adam Smith philosophy, aimed to advance the general welfare of society through the direct help and inspiration they gave each individual reader" (8, p. 26).

This prevocational-guidance literature served its purpose well. But, as Brewer concludes,

Such writing, while stirring many a boy and girl to effort, hardly provided the needed guidance for the problems of a complex world. It depended on feeling rather than on cerebration, it omitted actual experience, and it did not provide for counseling as we think of it now, without which no book on vocational success is likely to take effect (8, p. 27).

Awareness of the need for vocational assistance was at the center of Vocophy, a small volume published in 1881 by Lysander Salmon Richards. In the preface Richards describes a new profession which would enable "a person to name the calling or vocation one is best suited to follow" (36, preface). He was confident that his approach could

. . . bring order out of chance and chaos, and form or establish a system to enable a person to find the most

fitting pursuit in which he can reap the greatest success that it is possible for him individually to attain (36, preface).

He called for guidance workers or "vocophers" to be located in every town in the country, with the professional status of a doctor or lawyer. Furthermore, each "vocopher" would be acquainted with the specific requirements for each occupation as well as the social and moral standards assumed for entry into a profession. Each "vocopher" would

. . . be trained in all things which will in the least aid in determining the special occupations to which each person is adapted. He must gain not a special, but a general knowledge of the arts and sciences of philosophy; must learn the requirements of the professions of music, of statesmanship, and all the various trades (36, p. 32).

To carry out this training, Richards called for the establishment of specialists in an institution set aside for the study of occupations.

A professor of Vocophy might be added to some College, Institute, or University, where special attention could be given to its study. The other method, which is the most preferable, is the establishment of an institution, well equipped with teachers and professors who are experts in the studies to be followed, and can impart their knowledge to the students in a practical manner. The time occupied in preparation for this profession should be no less than in the profession of law, and even after its practice begins, he who would expect to reap the greatest success will continue his studies until he becomes master of his profession (36, pp. 41-42).

Richards was aware of the pseudoscience of phrenology and how it had come to be associated with counseling. He cautioned against phrenologists who were fortune tellers.

The phrenologist attempts too much prophesy in determining a pursuit for one to follow. He asks no questions, but strives to establish his reputation on his powers to describe the various cranial organs, and unassisted by any other source of information, to foretell the latent abilities, especially fitness and success in following a particular pursuit. Notwithstanding the great value we place upon phrenology, the science is nevertheless more or less speculative in its details, and every follower of it . . . knows it is founded and is worked upon a hypothesis (36, p. 56).

Richards had amassed correspondence from several prominent personalities of his day in order to study occupations. Perry Rockwell, noting this approach, mentions the similarity of Richards' assumption about personality type and job preference and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (37, p. 42).

Out of Richards' Vocophy, calling for a systematic approach, no actual guidance clinic was forthcoming. Though Richards proposed guidance as a definite professional calling, Brewer concludes that it would be premature to credit Richards as the founder of modern vocational guidance.

1. Although he had been a teacher, he did not see the educational implications of the work and did not relate it to the schools.

2. His interests and manner of writing were decidedly too naive and unusual, even for that early day, to lead to the implementation of his ideas.

3. He made no attempt to carry his proposals into effect, and nothing came of his plans (8, p. 44).

Nevertheless, Richards' Vocophy represents a conceptualization of guidance as a distinctive profession.

The Reform Era, 1890 to 1908

The history of the United States is characterized by periodic reform movements. The expediency and self-interest characteristic of the business climate in America following the Civil War had by the decade of the 1890's bred social discontent.

The quarter-century after the Civil War was a time of full acceptance of Adam Smith's philosophy of laissez faire, coupled with growing urbanization, the arrival of the great numbers of European immigrants, and the expansion of the industrial working classes. Workers were discovering the growing impersonality due to large-scale industrial organization which sacrificed security and identity as well as the satisfactions that bestow meaning and value on work. By the mid-1880's the factory system had become highly mechanized. Between 1880 and 1890 the total capital investment in the production of machinery increased two and a half times, and the average investment in machinery increased 200 per cent for each establishment and 50 per cent for each employee. Historian Vann Woodward concludes, "The manufacturer, with all his capital tied up in new machinery, was driven to seek a rapid return on his investment, generally at low prices in a highly competitive market" (5, p. 435).

The economic progress gained for Americans was purchased at a high cost in brutalized labor. The time-motion studies of Frederick W. Taylor in 1879 ushered in scientific

management of the production process, for he became pre-occupied with matching men and machines. His recommendations called for identifying the steps involved in manufacturing any commodity and then specifying the function of each employee along each step of the assembly process. The outcome was increased rates of production. This required more employee discipline, increased job pressure, and more incentives for output (41, pp. 82-113).

The first to sound the call for reform of the industrial system were the intellectual critics, and their focus was the urban environment. American cities seemed to represent the accumulated evils of industrialization, the Reverend Josiah Strong argued, "The city has become a serious menace to our civilization." Radical Henry George held that the city was the place of "the greatest wealth and the deepest poverty." Its corruptions, George said, rivaled that of ancient Rome. Unless something were done to tame the cities, they would produce "brute force and wild frenzy" (32, p. 496). With such waste of human potential in the cities, Aubrey emphasized, "It was no accident that guidance began in the large industrial centers of the midwest and eastern seaboard" (2, p. 289).

In Edward Bellamy's utopian novel, Looking Backward, he describes a renewed Boston in the year 2000. All urban problems had been solved through state socialism and technology, and the city was once more adorned with trees and green

parks. Bellamy writes of freedom of choice in occupational preference, declaring, ". . . everyman for himself in accordance with his natural aptitude, the utmost pains being taken to enable him to find out what his aptitude really is" (3, p. 132). His twenty-first century prophecy included classes in occupational information, on-the-job training, and guidance.

The principle on which our industrial army is organized is that a man's natural endowments, mental and physical, determine what he can work at most profitably to the nation and most satisfactorily to himself. While the obligation of service in some form is not to be evaded, voluntary election, subject only to necessary regulation, is depended on to determine the particular sort of service every man is to render. As an individual's satisfaction during his term of service depends on his having an occupation to his taste, parents and teachers watch from early years for indications of special aptitudes in children. A thorough study of the National industrial system, with the history and rudiments of all the great trades, is an essential part of our educational system. While manual training is not allowed to encroach on the general intellectual culture to which our schools are devoted, it is carried far enough to give our youth, in addition to their theoretical knowledge of the National industries, mechanical and agricultural, a certain familiarity with their tools and methods. Our schools are constantly visiting our workshops, and often are taken on long excursions to inspect particular industrial enterprises. In your day a man was not ashamed to be grossly ignorant of all trades except his own, but such ignorance would not be consistent with our idea of placing every one in a position to select intelligently the occupation for which he has most taste (3, p. 133).

These far-sighted suggestions do not, however, include a professional service of trained counselors. Nevertheless, Brewer contends that Frank Parsons, a socialist who established the first guidance center, had read and been influenced by Bellamy's Looking Backward (8, p. 46).

Along with the literary critics, philosophers and psychologists challenged American society, for they wanted to help people understand why they behaved as they did. William James, John Dewey, and G. Stanley Hall were among those who sought to use the tools of science in developing new concepts about man. James provided a new philosophical foundation. He held that all knowledge was derived from experience. He believed that truth does not exist in the abstract, that concepts must be applied and judged by the results. So began the philosophy of pragmatism (14, pp. 452-458).

This philosophy enhanced the prestige of reformers and encouraged social change. John Dewey called for the use of the experimental method of science to solve political, educational, and social problems. As a reformer, Dewey argued for an educational system that would look beyond mere acquisition of academic subject matter to life itself. Dewey believed

The school should be the place where the other environments which the child encounters--the family environment, the religious environment, the work environment, and others--are coordinated into a meaningful whole (30, p. 90).

Education should not be looked upon as a preparation for life, but as life itself. Thus, educators should be "aware of the interest and motivations of children as well as the environment from which they come" (30, p. 90). In "My Pedagogic Creed" Dewey set forth the belief that education has

two sides: the psychological and the sociological. In summarizing Dewey on this point, Ozmon and Craver state,

One could not be subordinate to the other, for the child's own instincts and powers provide the material and starting point of all education, and a knowledge of social conditions is necessary to interpret the child's power. The educator does not know what these powers and instincts are until he can translate them into the future for insight into their consequence. In sum, Dewey believed that individuals should be educated as social beings, capable of participating in and directing their social affairs. This means a freer interaction between social groups as well as attention given to developing all the potentialities an individual may have for future growth. He looked upon education as a way to free the individual (30, pp. 90-91.)

It was this focus on the development of the individual in contrast with individuals en masse that became the foundation of modern guidance. Dewey stated the concept in these words.

There can be no difference of opinion . . . as to the necessity of a more persistent and adequate study of the individual as regards his history, environment, predominant tastes and capacities, and special needs (16, p. 67).

Dewey advocated

. . . more positive consideration and attention as an individual, and a correspondingly different mode of treatment. . . . The ultimate will be found, not along the line of mechanical devices as to the election or nonelection, but rather through more continued and serious study of the individual in both his psychological make-up and his social relations (16, p. 68).

These philosophical statements laid the groundwork for the development of guidance. Dewey further declared,

The actual interest of the child must be discovered . . . if the significance and worth of his life are to be taken into account and if his full development, the aim of a democratic and progressive society, is to be achieved (14, p. 83).

Butts and Cremin, in their evaluation of Dewey's contribution, again underscore his insistence on individualization.

. . . from the beginning, Dewey emphasized the necessity of studying both the psychological nature of the individual and the social nature of his environment (10, p. 345).

Dewey sought to close the gap between classical education and the Industrial Revolution. Audrey observes that it was Dewey's emphasis on the identification of the child's uniqueness that ensured the emergence of guidance in the schools (2, p. 289). John Dewey did not create the progressive education movement singlehandedly but, because he saw it whole, he was "able to weave the social reformism of the urban settlement workers, the individualism of the Rousseauan pedagogues, and the scientism of the university psychologists into a reasonably consistent view of education" (28, p. 4). It was this effort to individualize education which was central to the new pedagogy of the turn of the century that launched guidance services.

The work of G. Stanley Hall of Clark University and his founding of the child-study movement contributed to the growing sensitivity of society towards the child. Hall instituted studies of the child to measure physical and mental characteristics. Brewer notes Hall's emphasis on the natural differences among children in a democratic society, "The very life of a republic depends on bringing these [differences] out . . . and giving the best training to those fittest for

leadership" (8, p. 322). Hall is remembered too for bringing Freud to America in 1911 and so introducing Freudian concepts of child development into American education and psychology.

Hall must be considered a pioneer in establishing the awareness of the need for society to provide guidance services for children. Shertzer and Stone credit the child-study movement with four contributions.

1. The individual was the central point of study.
2. The formative years were viewed as especially important with regard to later personality development.
3. It made clear the need for reliable factual knowledge about children.
4. It resulted in the scientific study of the child (39, p. 24).

Out of these theoretical and practical innovations came a growing demand for a restatement of the function of American education at all levels. In 1892 the National Educational Association created the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies. Butts and Cremin state that its report, issued in 1894, "determined the course of American secondary education for a generation following its publication" (10, p. 190). Among its several recommendations was adequate course selection necessary for preparation for life-long careers.

Promoting this objective, Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, became a leader calling for educational changes. Challenging educators to examine the status quo, Eliot advocated the concept of individualization of education. He emphasized focusing attention on the uniqueness

of the student, an approach anticipating future guidance. For example, he declared, "To the individualization of instruction will be added in time the careful study of each pupil's temperament, constitution, and mental aptitudes and defects" (17, pp. 88-89). Later in the same year President Eliot delivered a speech calling for a more specific role for guidance as a way to aid in a student's development.

Another important function of the public school in a democracy is the discovery and development of the gift or capacity of each individual child. This discovery should be made at the earliest practicable age, and once made, should always influence, and sometimes determine, the education of the individual. It is for the interest of society to make the most of every useful gift or faculty which any member may fortunately possess; and it is one of the main advantages of fluent and mobile democratic society to secure the fruition of individual capacities. To make the most of any individual's peculiar power, it is important to discover it early, and then train it continuously and assiduously. It is wonderful what apparently small personal gifts may become the means of conspicuous service or achievement, if only they get discovered, trained, and applied (8, p. 48).

Commenting on the remark, Brewer says Eliot was obviously aware of the need to assist the individual student. However, Brewer states that Eliot "never arrived at an understanding" of how to implement this concern (8, p. 48). Eliot's reform was echoed by another college president, William R. Harper, founder and first president of the University of Chicago. In a speech entitled "Waste in Education" Harper urged individualized instruction and predicted the advent of college personnel specialists.

For the waste involved in the failure of the university to deal specifically with each student, its failure to use in every case the proper method of instruction, and, above all, its failure properly to correlate his work, a remedy will be found in the provision of officers whose first duty it will be to make exhaustive study of each individual in some such manner as a physician would study the case of his patient (22, pp. 93-94).

Organized Guidance Emerges: Contributions of Merrill and Davis

Guidance as a systematic activity was begun in Cogswell High School in San Francisco in 1888. George Arthur Merrill, an instructor in manual arts, had developed a concern for students' vocational choices. Merrill offered students a plan whereby they could explore "and try out courses in the industrial arts" (8, p. 49). His reputation as an innovator had brought Merrill to the attention of James Lick, a California philanthropist, who in 1894 was organizing a new trades school. Merrill was Lick's choice as headmaster. A feature of the California School of Mechanic Arts was its revised curriculum development by Merrill, which condensed the general four-year course of study to two and offered highly specialized trade preparation for the last two years. The plan was implemented in 1895 and contained the following:

1. The first two years would present students with samples of the kinds of vocational opportunities and tasks available in the world of work, with additional studies offered in English, civics, mathematics, and science;
2. During these primary years individuals would be observed and counseled, aiding in the appropriate vocational choice;

3. At the beginning of the third year a student and counselor would select a specific trade as a course of study;

4. Two years of intense study in a specialty would include all related technical subjects;

5. The school and the student would seek job placement with periodic follow-up on the graduate's performance (8, p. 49).

As Bonk notes, Merrill's plan "embraced several aspects of today's guidance programs. These functions include analysis of the individual, counseling, job placement, and follow-up of former students" (6, p. 62). Brewer credits Merrill with initiating vocational guidance but not as its founder--a claim never made by Merrill. In correspondence with Brewer shortly before his death, Merrill states the purpose of the school was primarily vocational education, with guidance as incidental. He describes this function.

From the beginning of Lick School we used to discuss the progress and outlook of individual pupils, not only at teachers' meetings but also at the table at dinner hour. We also kept in close contact with pupils at the end of each quarter. Also, on Friday afternoon I had a consultation hour, with all the boys in the high tenth grade, in anticipation of their reaching decisions in the matter of selecting their major courses to be pursued in the eleventh and twelfth grades (8, p. 50).

Furthermore, Brewer describes the curriculum as broadly based in order to provide versatility and adaptability. Guidance was not offered "as to aid in the actual choice of a trade" (8, p. 50). As is seen in Merrill's above comments, counseling was not a function of a particular individual as advocated by Frank Parsons in 1908. Yet one must agree with

Brewer that Merrill "offered guidance within the industrial field" (8, p. 50). Merrill had the vision to connect manual training with the rising educational movement for individual attention coupled with vocational training.

Guidance was emerging as an instrument of the social idealism and reform which marked America's passage from the nineteenth century to the twentieth. Borow states that almost without exception "the earliest pioneers of vocational guidance were social workers" (7, p. 45). One who exemplified the tenets of this reform spirit was Jesse B. Davis, a product "not of an emerging applied psychology or of vocational education but of the social reform movement" (7, p. 49).

Jesse B. Davis served as eleventh-grade counselor in the Central High School in Detroit from 1897 to 1907 and initiated guidance procedures. He counseled over 500 students on their educational problems and vocational careers (8, p. 51). When he became principal of Grand Rapids High School in 1907 he required all students from the seventh grade on to devote one hour a week to composition on "vocational and moral guidance" (6, p. 19). English classes were selected for guidance activities because all pupils would be given the opportunity through composition to express occupational interests. In order to help students to think about careers he had them write themes on such topics as "The Kind of Man (Woman) I Should Like to Be," "What I Will Do when I

Grow Up?" and "To What Extent Am I Indebted to the Social Interest of Others?" (15, p. 34).

Davis strongly believed an essential part of guidance must be ethical instruction. This emphasis on moral themes was expressed in his book, Vocational and Moral Guidance (1914).

From the moral standpoint, the idea of "guidance" is particularly essential in the development of the pupil. Ethical instruction that merely informs the brain does not necessarily produce better character. It is of most value when it is in some way applied to the actual thinking and acting of the pupil. In this connection, guidance means the pupil's better understanding of his own character, it means an awakening of the moral consciousness that will lead him to emulate the character of the good and the great who have gone before; it means a conception of himself as a social being in some future occupation, and from this viewpoint the appreciation of his duty and obligation toward his business associates, toward his neighbors, and toward the law (15, p. 17).

Davis saw as part of his "calling" the instruction of students in the moral value of hard work, honesty, and the development of good character.

Davis's work was not officially recognized by the Grand Rapids Board of Education until 1913. In June of that year he was made city-wide Director of Vocational Guidance and by October was able to establish a Vocation Bureau similar to that in Boston (35, p. 13).

In evaluating the Grand Rapids experience, Davis deserves credit for his innovative approach. He offered counseling to students based upon essays and oral reports. For Davis, occupational choice brought with it a moral

imperative and he insisted upon "right motives" for entering a profession. Davis believed that the social contribution of an occupational choice was crucial in the decision-making process "because it was the best means by which they [students], with their ability, might serve their fellow men" (15, p. 105).

Davis's vocational composition does not evolve into a systematic guidance model. Davis acknowledges that the guidance movement originated with the work of Frank Parsons. He considers Parsons the founder of the movement who introduced the "methods of vocational guidance" (15, p. 137). It is clear that the times were right for initiating the movement to establish guidance services as signified by the writings of Richards and the efforts of Merrill and Davis.

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CHAPTER III

FRANK PARSONS

To credit a single individual with the establishment of guidance in the United States would ignore the fact that the guidance movement did not just appear but was the product of innumerable social pressures. The Zeitgeist of an expanding industrial culture created the conditions for social reform and civic projects in the 1890's and early 1900's. Though events were larger than individuals, the times were right for a talented and committed individual to seize the initiative and use the public enthusiasm for social reform. History can be shaped by forceful personalities, and America was ready for a leader able to formulate modern concepts of guidance and to put them into practice.

Three pioneers in guidance during the early formative decades of this century, Jesse Davis, John Brewer, and Anna Reed, all single out Frank Parsons as the primary architect of the guidance movement in the United States. This admission by individuals who themselves strove to establish the legitimacy of guidance is the surest recognition of Parsons' dominant position among the early pioneers. Jesse Davis called Parsons "the pioneer counselor" who gave to guidance the first systematic techniques (3, p. 78). John Brewer

gives an entire chapter to Parsons in his History of Vocational Guidance, and concludes the chapter by listing nine assertions that earn for Parsons the designation "the founder of the movement for organized vocational guidance" (1, p. 64). Anna Reed stated that Parsons' contribution was prophetic, for it anticipated much of the history of guidance in this century in both theoretical position and practices (16, p. 41).

Frank Parsons was born during the turbulent decade preceding the Civil War, on November 14, 1854, at Mount Holly, New Jersey. Both parents died while he was very young and he was raised by aunts who placed high demands for intellectual and spiritual excellence upon their charge. Having acquired self-discipline early, the young Parsons achieved high marks at Aaron's Academy. He was admitted to Cornell University in 1869 at the age of fifteen. He completed a degree in civil engineering in three years with superior grades in mathematics and engineering (17, p. 74). While at Cornell the eclectic nature of Parsons' intellect led him into controversial social issues. He had read Darwin's Origin of Species as well as the writings of social Darwinists such as Spencer. The most influential social philosopher that he encountered, Parsons later declared, was John Stuart Mill. Parsons particularly favored Mills' views as expressed in Political Economy, which advocated economic justice through formation of trade unions, and a share in profits for

workers, and he even challenged the sanctity of private property (17, p. 76).

The early 1870's were prosperous years for railroads as they sought to take advantage of government land grants. Parsons, seeking to put his new skills to use, hired on as a railroad engineer. But land speculation and fraudulent business practices among the railroads brought in the panic of 1873 and Parsons had to seek employment in a rolling mill in Southbridge, Massachusetts. For a year he lifted and loaded bundles of iron for thirty-nine dollars per month. It was during 1874 while at the mill that Parsons became interested in teaching and had secured a position in a high school teaching history, mathematics, and French (1, p. 53). Ever ready to extract the full measure from life, he began a literary and debating society. His visibility brought him to the attention of E. P. Benjamin, a local lawyer impressed with the rational approach Parsons advocated in the solving of problems. Benjamin urged Parsons to become his law clerk and to begin study for the bar. Parsons relinquished his newly acquired position as superintendent of art and undertook the full-time study of law. When in 1881 he passed the state bar exam, the board declared his answers to be the best they had seen in their twelve-year term (1, p. 54).

Parsons' drive and personal commitment, however, required a price, and on the advice of a physician he was

told to travel and live in the dry Southwest. Near physical exhaustion and bothered by poor eyesight, he went to New Mexico territory for three years (17, p. 77). The three years in the West are lost to us, for Parsons makes no mention of them in his correspondence. The biography written by Howard Vaughan Davis on Parsons' life finds no evidence to even speculate on how this energetic man coped with his personal crisis (2, p. 14).

The arid Southwest had certainly not altered Parsons' drive, and on his return to Boston in 1885 he immediately hired out as a law clerk, and soon went into private practice. Continually interested in several ventures, he was given a contract in 1887 by a publisher to revise Morse, On Banks and Banking. His success from this revision landed Parsons contracts to edit two additional economic texts, and in 1891 he was invited to join the faculty of the Law School of Boston University. His specialty was railroad law (1, p. 54).

It was natural to expect a man deeply concerned and knowledgeable about social issues to try his hand at politics. In 1895 Parsons became a candidate for mayor of Boston under not one, but three, political party banners, the Socialist, the Populist, and the Prohibitionist. His popularity with political parties almost brought him victory at the polls. In a three-candidate race, Parsons lost by less than one per cent (1, p. 56).

Parsons seemed most comfortable as a reformer. His social agenda was full and a review of the articles written by Parsons indicates he was at the forefront of many of the liveliest debates. By 1895 he was a regular contributor to The Arena, a protest-and-reform magazine, and had authored articles on such wide-ranging topics as "Uniform Divorce Laws," "Women Suffragists in Prisons," "The Railroads, the Trusts and the People," "The Taxation Fallacy," and "A Fair Education for all." Clearly, Frank Parsons must be considered among the major social reformers of the Progressive Era (8, 11, 12, 13, 14).

Parsons was a student of history from which he drew many lessons. From his studies he developed a philosophy which he called mutualism (10, pp. 783-815). He based mutualism on the cooperative commonwealth. He wrote that the new social order should contain

. . . cooperation, self-government, the diffusion of wealth, and an all-including effort to attain a nobler manhood. It will be a cooperation, not only for wealth production, but for mutual help in every relation to life; in other words, a mutualism pure and simple--a universal cooperation of equals, for the production of intelligence, virtue, wealth, power and happiness--a world trust for the ennoblement of man (10, p. 800).

This more cooperative society would be achieved only when basic reforms were instituted. Parsons advocated such reforms as women's suffrage, proportional representation, civil-service reform, and the initiative and referendum. Miller states that he wanted to abolish saloons and advocated

urban renewal projects and educational reform. He also favored government ownership of utilities (5, pp. 147-148). The utilitarian philosophy of John Stuart Mill and the influence of Edward Bellamy show through in Parsons' socialistic positions. Parsons writes,

The law fails of its duty, fails of justice, if it permits one man to enslave his fellows through the power of wealth and the machinery of industrial life just as truly as if it allows him to enslave them through the power of religion and the machinery of the church or through the power of birth or position and the machinery of political life (10, pp. 794-795).

As a teacher, publicist, and social reformer, Parsons was passionately involved in his times.

In 1897 Parsons left Boston and joined the faculty of Kansas State Agricultural College. The prairies of the West, however, lacked the cosmopolitan tolerance of Boston and in the two years Parsons taught history and political science he became increasingly controversial due to his liberal philosophy. While at Kansas Parsons delivered one of his most famous lectures, "Glimpses of the Future." The speech is significant for it contains so much of Parsons' own personality and values.

Today there is a new ideal--the ideal of more perfect democracy--diffusion of power, intelligence, virtue and wealth; equalization of opportunity, cooperation; brotherhood; the law of love as supreme in politics and industry and society as in the home. It is simply the ideal of Jesus, of Luther, of Jefferson, of Hamilton, Garrison, Phillips and Lincoln carried into industrial, political and social life. Will you accept this grand ideal and work for it? In my judgement

the man or woman who does not do so is missing the best of life. The man or woman who does not work for a great ideal forfeits the highest privilege of a human being (9, p. 438).

Like all lasting social architects, Parsons constructed his social edifice upon facts that he drew from the conditions around him. His advocacy of public ownership of monopolies and the extension of the suffrage, in addition calling for the referendum, direct nominations, and proportional representation finally cost him his lectureship in June of 1899 (17, p. 91). After his dismissal, Parsons was asked to join the faculty of Ruskin University at Glen Ellyn, Illinois, and soon became the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. Wanting to provide people with every opportunity to advance, he was active in the establishment of Ruskin College of Social Science at Trenton, Missouri (5, p. 147). This was begun while Parsons remained visible in Boston with return visits to lecture at Boston University as well as the publication of articles in The Arena.

Independent of Parsons, events in Boston in 1901 developed so that within seven years America would have its first guidance center. Through the generous financial support of Mrs. Quincy Adams Shaw, Civic Service House opened its doors at 112 Salem Street in Boston's North End. This social-settlement house was established under the directorship of Meyer Bloomfield, a Rumanian immigrant who had grown up in the University Settlement of New York City.

Bloomfield graduated with his second A.B. degree from Harvard in 1901 (18, p. 5). He created at Civic Service House and opportunity for what educators today call continuing education. Designed for immigrants as well as native youth, Civic Service House sought through classes and social support to provide opportunities for continued growth educationally and culturally (1, pp. 57-58).

Bloomfield took advantage of the educational complex in and around Boston and provided the members of the settlement house with speakers. Accepting an invitation to lunch offered by the Economics Club of Boston, Bloomfield's path crossed Parsons'. Parsons had been asked to address the group and he entitled his remarks "The Ideal City." In this address Parsons outlined a plan of choosing vocations scientifically (7, p. 91). Immediately, Bloomfield recognized the utility of such comments and asked Parsons to speak at Civic House. Perry Rockwell declares that out of this lecture

. . . the vocational guidance movement began its organization. At the end of his lecture Parsons was swamped with questions and young men seeking private counsel. Appointments were made, conferences were held and advice was given (17, p. 59).

With such success, Bloomfield asked Parsons to establish at the Civic Service House an institute, which was to become known as Breadwinners' College. With this commitment, in 1905 Frank Parsons had decided to put his social theory to

the test and, along with Bloomfield, plan a systematic vocational guidance bureau.

The aim of the Breadwinners' College as stated in its prospectus for the term 1905-1906 was

to offer young men and women who are wage earners the elements of a broad culture and a careful training in the best methods of thought and work. The occupations and daily experiences of the pupils will be kept constantly in mind in planning work for classes. An effort will be made to discover and develop the special endowments of each individual, to make them of use to him and to his neighbors, and also to bring him into active contact with the life and progress of city, state, and nation (1, p. 58).

Soon the name was changed to Breadwinners' Institute, with Parsons as director. Classes met in the evenings and Sunday afternoons. Subjects taught included civics, history, English language and composition, literature and biography, sciences, industrial history and economics, and life principles and practical psychology (1, p. 58).

From 1905 through 1907 the Breadwinners' Institute flourished. Yet Parsons felt that many individuals needed more personal guidance than could be offered in formalized classes. Parsons was well aware that less than 10 per cent of seventeen-year-olds graduated from high school and were unprepared to select a career (20, p. 59). He submitted to Mrs. Shaw plans for a vocational bureau which she "enthusiastically approved," granting it the necessary financial support (1, p. 59). On January 13, 1908, the Vocational

Bureau of Boston was opened at Civic Service House with Parsons as director and vocational counselor.

In considering the success of the settlement house with its institute and bureau, it must be emphasized that the support provided by the Bostonians through financial underwriting and public encouragement made success possible. There were other attempts to launch guidance in cities across the country, but it was the quaternion of support from business, labor, education, and philanthropic individuals that propelled Boston to the forefront. These factors, coupled with Bloomfield's initiative and Parsons' visionary thinking, established Civic Service House and made the Vocation Bureau possible.

The strong community support was evident in the prestigious names of individuals who sponsored the Vocation Bureau. The list includes the renowned lawyer Louis Brandeis; E. H. Clement, editor of the Boston Transcript; Charles F. Dole, President of the Twentieth Century Club; Charles Fleischer, Rabbi, Temple Israel; George H. Martin, Secretary, State Board of Education; and Mrs. Mary A. Ward, President, Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs (1, p. 60). This broad-range cooperation of the community certainly was a major reason for the bureau's early growth as compared to the difficulties of other pioneers, to be discussed in Chapter Four.

Helping to chart the direction of the Vocation Bureau, an executive committee was organized, and it too reflected participation from a wide social spectrum. The committee consisted of Paul H. Hanus, Professor of Education at Harvard and Chairman of the Massachusetts State Commission on Industrial Education; F. P. Speare, Educational Director of the Y.M.C.A.; Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, President of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union; L. Filene, General Manager of Filene's Sons Company and a member of the Commission on Industrial Education; J. F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; J. L. Richards, President of Boston Consolidated Gas Company; and M. Bloomfield, Director of Civic Service House. Frank Parsons was an ex officio member of the committee (1, p. 60).

By the first of May, 1908, the organizational work was completed and Parsons made his first and only report to the executive committee. He reported that in addition to an office in Civic Service House, offices had been opened in the Y.M.C.A.'s Educational Department, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and in the Economics Club (1, p. 303). He went on to claim that seventy-eight men and women, ranging in ages from fifteen to thirty-nine, had stated that they had been helped through the Vocation Bureau's guidance services. He detailed the general aims of the Vocation Bureau:

1. To study the causes of the waste which attends the passing of unguided and untrained young people from school to work, and to assist in experiments to prevent this waste;
2. To help parents, teachers, children, and others in the problems of thoughtful choosing, preparing for, and in advancing in a chosen life work;
3. To put out programs of cooperation between the schools and the occupations, for the purpose of enabling both to make a more socially profitable use of human talents and opportunities;
4. To publish vocational studies from the viewpoint of their educational and other efficiency requirements and for their career-building possibilities;
5. To conduct a training course for qualified men and women who desire to prepare themselves for vocational guidance in the public school system, philanthropic institutions, and in business establishments;
6. To maintain a clearing house of information dealing with life career problems (15, p. 25).

Parsons emphasized that the Bureau in no way made choices for individuals: "No attempt is made . . . to decide for the applicant what his calling should be; but the Bureau tries to help him arrive at a wise, well-founded conclusion for himself" (1, p. 304).

Parsons had always believed that the early years in the educational process were most important. He ended his report to the executive committee with the hope that guidance would soon be an integral part of the education of youth.

The work is in its infancy as yet but it is constantly growing in volume and importance. The Director and those associated with him are enthusiastic over the results that have been achieved even in the few weeks since the Bureau was established, but they believe that in order to cover the field in the most complete and adequate manner the work should become a part of the public school system in every community, with experts trained as carefully in the art of vocational guidance as men are trained today for medicine or the law, and supplied with every facility that science can

devise for testing the senses and capacities and the whole physical, intellectual and emotional makeup of the child (1, p. 308).

Parsons had only four months to live when he made this report on the progress and hopes of the Vocation Bureau. His pioneer book, Choosing a Vocation, was published posthumously in May, 1909. These two publications earned for Frank Parsons his rightful place as the founder of vocational guidance.

Of all Parsons' endeavors, his most enduring contribution to guidance was his systematic approach in helping skills or, as he called the procedure, "true reasoning." As outlined in Choosing a Vocation, his view of vocational guidance consisted of three steps.

First, a clear understanding of yourself, aptitudes, abilities, interest, resources, limitations, and other qualities.

Second, a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensations, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work.

Third, true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts (7, p. 5).

Today this model would be descriptive of the trait-and-factor approach to counseling. Believing that the individual had innate interest, skills, and aptitude, Parsons sought to match individual traits and occupational requirements. This three-step procedure called for self-knowledge about the configuration of unique individual traits (first step), a thorough knowledge of occupational information (second step), and the decision-making process itself (third step). Herr

and Cramer's statement summarizes well the historical significance of this first systematic guidance paradigm.

Although many other approaches to vocational guidance have been presented in the ensuing 70 years, much of the history of vocational guidance in this century can be perceived in terms of which Parsons' three steps was most dominant in the theoretical positions and practices of a particular decade (4, p. 3).

Psychometric procedures which seek to measure individual differences and correlate these differences to occupational interests are the essence of steps one and two. Many followers of Parsons concentrated on vocational information and placement, and this has remained a major area of interest in guidance practice. Not until the early sixties when Tiedeman formulated a decision-making model has much theoretical and practical attention been invested in Parsons' third step (19, pp. 15-20).

Parsons' credo while director of the Bureau was "It is better to choose a vocation than merely to hunt a job" (4, p. 2). In order to implement this statement, Parsons developed techniques for each of the three steps in his system of vocational guidance. These techniques covered the following areas:

1. Personal data,
2. Self-analysis,
3. The person's own choice and decision,
4. Counselor's analysis,
5. Outlook on the vocational field,
6. Induction and advice, and
7. General helpfulness in fitting into the chosen work (7, pp. 45-46).

Parsons' guidance principles were based on more than a common-sense approach. Munsterberg states,

Parsons sometimes turned to little experimental inquiries in which he simplified some well-known method of the laboratory in order to secure with the most elementary means a certain objective foundation for his mental analysis (6, pp. 45-46).

Williamson, commenting on the technical sophistication of Choosing a Vocation, reports that Parsons had

. . . some familiarity with some of the techniques used in the psychological laboratories of his day and indeed makes reference to the "Yale experiments on sight and hearing reactions," which may be interpreted as indicating that he was seeking to use psychological tests of the type used earlier by Cattell and Farrard (21, pp. 77-78).

At the heart of Parsons' approach was the individual's self-report. Influenced by the social worker's case study, Parsons explained how he collected and used information about individuals.

Besides this study by the applicant on his own account, the counselor usually questions him at some length in a private interview. Ancestry, family, limitations, resources, etc., are inquired into with a vigor and directness that are not possible in a written research. The memory is tested and the general intelligence so far as possible, the senses also and delicacy of touch, nerve, sight, and hearing reactions, association-time . . . are liable to too much variation from special causes, difference in the stimulus, attention, emotional condition, etc., to be of much practical value. But the Yale experiments on sight and hearing reactions seem to afford a clear basis for taking such facts into account in forming a rational judgment, and that is the opinion of a number of investigators of high authority. . . . Tests of association-time, memory-time, will-time, etc., may throw some light on the probability of developing power in cross-examination, executive ability, fitness to manage large affairs, etc. Rapidity and definiteness of memory and association, promptness and clearness of decision, etc., are certainly more

favorable than their opposites to the development of the powers just mentioned. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that all such indications are only straws, hints to be taken into account with all the other facts of the case (7, pp. 7-8).

Along with this collected information, Parsons advocated techniques that today would be considered interventionist.

He states,

If the boy is undeveloped and inexperienced and shows no special aptitudes, he is advised to read about various industries in Fowler's "Starting in Life" and other vocational books, and to visit farms, factories, carpenter shops, machine shops, laboratories, electric works, railroad depots, buildings in course of construction, newspaper offices, photograph studios, courts, banks, stores, etc., talk with the workers and superintendents, too, if he can, try his hand at different sorts of work on the farm, in the care of animals, in the factory, office, and store, so as to get an experience sufficient to bring out his aptitudes and abilities, if he has any, and to form a basis for an intelligent judgement as to what he shall try to do in the world (7, pp. 11-12).

Though Parsons appreciated the scientific method and wrote with detachment while seeking objective analysis, it is still possible to find traces of phrenology in his theory of personality. Parsons used the term "character analysis" for personality assessment and wrote,

While I am questioning the applicant about his probable health, education, reading, experience, etc., I carefully observe the shape of his head, the relative development above, before, and behind the ears, his features and expression, color, vivacity, voice, manner, pose, general air of vitality, enthusiasm, etc.

If the applicant's head is largely developed behind the ears, with big neck, low forehead, and small upper head, he is probably the animal type, and if the other symptoms coincide he should be dealt with on that basis.

If the voice is harsh, or unpleasant, or lacking in vitality, I generally give the youth a lecture on the value of voice culture and the use of clear, sweet, well-modulated tones in conversation.

If the face is blank and expressionless, a talk about the economic value of the smile is in order.

If the handshake is listless or wet, clammy or too forceful, it is well to call the young man's attention to his defects in this respect. So if the manners are in any way objectionable or undeveloped, the boy should be frankly but kindly told and urged to correct his errors (7, pp. 21-23).

Parsons' contribution to guidance practice has been neglected, with the emphasis by historians placed on his establishment of the Vocation Bureau. Williamson, however, notes that Parsons' three-part counseling formulation "has continued, with some modification, to undergird modern practice until the close of the past decade, a span of almost half a century" (21, p. 80).

In assessing the significance of Frank Parsons' genius John M. Brewer, a leading figure in the guidance movement from 1918 to 1943, suggested that Parsons moved beyond the pseudosciences and gave to guidance a scientific basis.

He used all the scientific tools available to him; there is evidence that he would have used various kinds of standardized tests if these had been available. He used rating sheets, interview techniques, and specific assignments. His book has hints of the tryout plan, versatility, and follow-up (1, p. 64).

Although other pioneers were actively engaged in guidance, it was the establishment of the Vocation Bureau of Boston and the publication of Choosing a Vocation which placed Parsons ahead of his contemporaries. Parsons' approach to guidance

encompassed children, adolescents, and adults, all served by professionally trained counselors.

Frank Parsons was a man of his time whose innovations reflected the particular Zeitgeist of the social reform era. His philosophy of mutualism amounted to gradual socialism. He championed social causes for which he was personally penalized. Parsons could easily have become a successful entrepreneur but the conditions created in the wake of the industrial revolution and the abuses of human beings required a personal response. For Parsons, institutions within society were required to promote human happiness. He refused to accept inequality and denial of opportunity. The final criterion by which a civilization should be judged, he declared, was the "degree of perfection with which it produces the happiness of man" (10, p. 783). He knew that this was difficult to determine but stated that the tests could be applied to any civilization. First, had it encouraged noble and complete lives? Secondly, had that civilization produced characteristically perfect men and women? And, thirdly, to what degree had that civilization conformed to "the law of love," which meant the realization of our shared humanity (17, pp. 80-81)? For Parsons, the achievement of these goals was a part of the evolutionary process; it was inevitable. Howard V. Davis, in summarizing the spirit of Parsons' thought, states,

The driving spirit behind his philosophy was his belief in the definite goodness of man, coupled with his capacity to win the war of good over evil, of law over anarchy, of cooperation over competition, of reason over blind domination, and of the individual over forces which compelled him to become beastlike and a brother of the ox (2, p. 118).

Frank Parsons' call for guidance in the public schools has been heeded to the extent that all states do now provide this opportunity for students. Parsons judged early and well the needs of individuals.

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CHAPTER IV

THE POST-PARSONS YEARS

The Vocation Bureau and the Boston Public Schools

Social movements are larger than the individuals who seek to shape the forces unleashed by such movements. Frank Parsons' death in September, 1908, did not bring to an end the work of the Vocation Bureau. One of Parsons' last stated goals was the establishment of guidance in the public schools and in February, 1909, the Boston Board of Superintendents drafted a proposal seeking assistance in aiding students in the selection of high school vocational courses. The superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, Stratton D. Brooks, on May 3, 1909, presented the Vocation Bureau with the request for such assistance.

The request came as the trustees of the Bureau selected a successor to Parsons. Charles Zueblin recommended David Stone Wheeler, a progressive educator from Lexington, Massachusetts. Wheeler assumed the directorship on June 19, 1909, serving only five months before resigning to enter training for the Methodist ministry. Though his tenure was short, Wheeler demonstrated bold leadership in organizing meetings with designated teacher-counselors as well as proposing plans for graduate courses in counseling (6, p. 66).

Late in 1909 Meyer Bloomfield relinquished his duties as director of Civic Service House and replaced Wheeler as full-time director of the Vocation Bureau. He served in that capacity until 1918, acquiring a national reputation. Barry and Wolf state that during those years he was "almost an omnipresent publicist for vocational guidance" (1, p. 47). The lack of any printed material for use with the Boston school counselors necessitated the drafting of articles for publication, and to assist in this task Frederick J. Allen was named assistant director in June, 1910. Allen had been involved in civic programs in Boston since 1903 and had supported the activities of Civic Service House and the Vocation Bureau (6, pp. 69-70).

In addition to serving the public by offering guidance services, the Vocation Bureau under its new leadership published in 1910 its first vocation literature. There is great similarity in format between these brochures and the eighteenth-century occupational titles reviewed in Chapter Two. These pamphlets provide much occupational information on such topics as working conditions, pay scale, duties of apprenticeship, length of training, etc., an approach followed by the authors of the 1747 and 1761 handbooks on vocational information (6, p. 70).

Also in 1910 a Committee on Vocational Direction was established to coordinate the Vocation Bureau's efforts in

the training of Boston teachers as counselors. The Committee stated three elements necessary for a guidance service:

1. To secure thoughtful consideration, on the part of parents, pupils, and teachers, of the importance of a life-career motive
2. To assist in every way possible in placing pupils in some remunerative work on leaving school
3. To keep in touch with and help them thereafter, suggesting means of improvement and watching the advancement of those who need such aid (5, p. 37).

This early proposal called for instructing students in occupational information, providing placement services, and seeking follow-up information. All three are elements that have become part of modern guidance practice.

Of the many developments in 1910, the most far-reaching was the First National Conference on Vocational Guidance. Its success indicated that guidance was a concept whose time had come. Commenting on the national support, Paul H. Hanus, professor at Harvard and Chairman of the Executive Board of the Vocational Bureau, wrote,

At the First National Conference on Vocational Guidance held in Boston under the joint auspices of the Boston Vocation Bureau and the Boston Chamber of Commerce on November 15 and 16, 1910, several hundred persons were in attendance. Forty-five cities sent delegates, including cities as widely separated as New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Grand Rapids. It is apparent that the problems of systematic vocational guidance are attracting the attention their importance deserves (14, p. 51).

The delegates covered the spectrum of labor, industry, business, social work, and education, and reflected the humanitarian impulses of the Progressive Era.

The Conference heard speeches from several guidance pioneers. Superintendent Brooks called for the "scientific investigation" of the potentiality of each student. He advocated vocational guidance as the means of "fitting a boy to a job that he will at some future time be able to fill" (36, p. 42). Brooks went on to outline the innovative teacher-counselor guidance service being created in the Boston schools.

In the schools themselves many things have been done at the suggestion of the Committee on Vocational Direction, chief among which is the appointment in each high school and elementary school of one or more vocational counselors. These counselors have been selected by the principals with reference to their interest in the work of vocational direction, their skill in determining the abilities and possibilities of the children, and their willingness to devote extra time to acquiring information and perfecting themselves for the successful performance of their duties. Meetings of these counselors have been held for the purpose of discussing the problems of vocational direction and considering how best to minimize its dangers and increase its beneficial results. Most of them are now taking a course of instruction arranged by the Vocation Bureau wherein they may be even more efficiently prepared for the work of directing pupils wisely (36, p. 46).

Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, emphasized the "life career motive" in his remarks. He declared, "This is a strong and lasting motive, and it should be developed as early as possible." Eliot urged that school guidance personnel aid students in course selection in order that students might develop early an attitude that their work "actually counted in preparing for a life's work" (23, p. 200).

In his remarks, Professor Hanus focused on the transition from school to vocation and the need to make a deliberate career choice.

A wise choice of a calling demands accessible opportunities of satisfactory preparation for it, adaptation of personality and capacity, and a knowledge of the conditions of employment and of the prospective rewards, material, spiritual, and social, of satisfactory work in it. These are problems of vocational guidance. How much depends on their satisfactory solution for each ambitious youth both for himself and for society, need not be dwelt upon. What we must deplore now is the absence of such guidance for the great majority of each generation, and the fact that until quite recently we have been unconscious of our duty in this respect; or at least that we have not endeavored to equip ourselves satisfactorily to discharge that duty (14, p. 54).

The conference proceedings were being reported by Frank M. Leavitt, a member of the editorial staff of School Review. His "Editorial Notes" appeared in the January, 1911, issue, and offer insight from a participant observer.

It was astonishing to note that all the way from the lowest grade of industrial school, such as the Manhattan Trade School, for instance, to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it was agreed that the girl or the boy emerging from school needed vocational guidance. There was a need for (1) vocation vision for the young, (2) the placing of children which applied to the young, (3) guidance in the form of sympathetic counseling subsequent to his entry into his new work, and (4) the establishment of vocational bureaus (24, p. 59).

Leavitt also delivered the last address before the conference, stating,

I would, therefore, urge that this conference exert its influence not only toward the establishment of vocational bureaus, but as well toward the

development of vocational guidance within the schools themselves. I especially plead that the schools of tomorrow shall furnish a richer and more varied background of vocational experience for those who now leave school early to enter the lower grades of industrial work (6, p. 140).

The wide interest in guidance was clearly established as a result of this first national conference. At the close, it was decided that a second national meeting would be held in New York City in 1912.

Of all the activities of the Bureau, its involvement in the Boston Public Schools was the most precedent setting. In 1911, Superintendent Brooks began to implement plans for vocational guidance. He called for a survey of vocations in the community, an examination of the school system to find out how efficiently it could carry out the guidance function, the appointment of committees to work with parents and teachers, and procedures for follow-up. Brewer reported on the committee's activity:

Committees cooperate under the direction of the Vocation Bureau, many meetings were held, teachers giving time to the work, men drawn directly from occupations gave explanations of their field, high school principals told of the aims and methods of their schools, and later district conferences were held (7, p. 32).

All 110 elementary and secondary schools in Boston were assigned teacher-counselors. Appointed by school principals, these teachers were expected to perform this additional function "without any allowance of time or money" (7, p. 33).

There is no evidence that training classes in guidance methods were conducted nor that Parsons' three-step process of vocational guidance was taught.

Bloomfield held sessions with the teacher-counselors in which a "list of topics treated by experts" was discussed. The experts were representatives of industries and business. Bloomfield described one such session.

One of the most profitable sessions of the Boston School Counselors was that devoted to a brief description on the part of their headmasters of what the six central high schools of the city offered and what kind of boys and girls could make best use of the opportunities (4, p. 622).

Vocational guidance became a function assigned to teachers. The question of competence and professional identity would take time to materialize. But one contemporary of the time, psychologist Hugo Munsterberg, questioned the appointment of teacher-counselors. He saw the abandonment of Parsons' step one, that is, the analysis of the individual's capabilities.

The real psychological analysis with which the movement began has, therefore, been somewhat pushed aside for a while, and the officers of these institutes [Vocation Bureau] declare frankly that they want to return to the mental problem only after professional psychologists have sufficiently worked out the specific methods for its mastery (28, p. 42).

Bloomfield stated as much in The Vocational Guidance of Youth.

At present it is very doubtful whether psychological tests can be used to advantage by the counselor. Clues of value may be found in the elementary tests for vision, hearing, muscular sense, association time, and

the quickness of perception. Laboratory psychology, however, is not far enough advanced to enable one to fathom bent and aptitude. The common-sense tests of experience are more reliable guides (5, p. 94).

Parsons had emphasized the discovery of personal traits and was willing to borrow techniques from the psychological laboratory. Bloomfield and those associated with the Bureau in the post-Parsons years showed little interest in the work of psychologists. Commenting on this departure from Parsons' method, Williamson notes, "The divorce of vocational guidance from psychological laboratories and instrumentalities developed a wide chasm between the industrial psychologist on the one hand and the high school counselor on the other" (46, p. 140). This divorce caused Patterson to declare,

The failure of the vocational guidance movement to make any noteworthy progress in the development of improved methods of analyzing the individual has undoubtedly prevented the movement from making as great a contribution to American education as its founder had a right to expect (29, p. 38).

Yet in summarizing the introduction of guidance in the Boston public schools, Bryant Girard observes,

By 1912 Stratton Brooks and his corps of fine teachers had made vocational guidance a part of the Boston School System, not on a hit-or-miss basis, but as a part of every school in the entire system, both elementary and high. It may be difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of this early program, but there is evidence that the counselors in each school took their work seriously and added considerable refinement to it (12, p. 163).

From 1911 onward the Bureau became involved in numerous undertakings. Enlarging upon its training of public school personnel, the Bureau offered the first university course in

vocational guidance at Harvard University in the summer of 1911. Brewer gives the catalogue description:

Vocational Guidance--The duties and equipment of teachers as vocational counselors; the theory and practice of vocational guidance.--Lectures, readings, conferences. Ten lectures beginning Friday, July 7, and continuing on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 4 p.m. for three weeks (6, p. 184).

Meyer Bloomfield instructed forty-one students in the first class and continued to teach at Harvard until 1913, by which time "ninety-five institutions were represented in the enrollment of the course" (6, p. 185).

In addition to teaching and serving as director of the Bureau, Bloomfield published his first book, The Vocational Guidance of Youth, in 1911, followed in 1915 by Readings in Vocational Guidance. As a recognized authority, he was sought after for his opinions. In a 1913 address he stated,

The children who leave the schools of our country, whether they graduate or drop out, are obliged to find themselves, somehow or other, as workers. The schools have done little, specifically, to point the way.

The schools have been kept so busy with what is called preparing for life that the teachers have been given no leisure for a more active contact with that life. A thoroughly outworn yet stubborn notion regards work seeking and employment as a private concern of the individual and the employment bargain and all that follows it as nothing more than the personal affair of the bargaining parties (37, p. 5).

Bloomfield also managed to teach summer sessions at the University of California at Berkeley and at Teachers College at Greeley, Colorado, and had part-time assignments at Brown University Extension, Boston University; and Teachers College, Columbia University (37, p. 5).

The Boston Vocation Bureau continued to investigate and describe occupational titles. Frederick Allen created one of the earliest systematic approaches to the study of occupational information, dividing the field into business, trades, and professions (7, p. 32). It was through Allen's on-the-job observations that Bloomfield involved the Bureau in the identification and training of a new profession. In preparing an occupational brochure, Allen found "a dozen or more establishments" that had employment managers or personnel directors. In response to this emerging group of supervisors the Bureau "invited fifty men, who had in charge the hiring of employees in large shops and stores of the city and vicinity, to come together and consider the advisability of meeting regularly" (2, p. 77). From these early meetings was organized the Boston Employment Managers' Association which set for itself three aims for discussion of common problems and to "plan to prepare them for their work" (6, p. 71). This was a clear example of using guidance to prepare men already employed in industry, and parallels the developments of guidance in the public schools.

As Bloomfield and Allen were promoting guidance, the Bureau itself experienced a decline in individual counseling. The reasons were given in a 1915 report.

The Vocation Bureau believes that the most effective vocational counseling comes through close association with individuals or groups. It does not believe that as a rule stranger can well counsel stranger. Therefore one main effort of the Bureau has been to secure the appointment of adequate

training of those who are best situated for the right relationship with applicants for vocational help.

A counselor in a school system or in a business establishment is in a good position not only to observe the needs and growth of an individual but also to secure cooperation in judgment and personal service from those who are equally interested in a particular individual's welfare (7, pp. 26-27).

The Bureau also took a stand against counseling by mail with an official policy that declared, "It is absolutely impossible to give any vocational counsel by mail. Only harm can result from such an attempt" (7, p. 28).

Late in 1917 Bloomfield was selected to become head of the Industrial Service Department of the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation in Washington. With his departure, the trustees of the Vocation Board decided to be incorporated into the Division of Education at Harvard University under a new name, the Bureau of Vocational Guidance (6, p. 74). The transfer was reported in School and Society.

The transfer of the bureau to Harvard comes about very naturally through the fact that Professor Paul H. Hanus, of the Division of Education, has acted as chairman of its Board of Directors since the inception of its work and has aided materially in developing the bureau. (The work of the bureau is as follows:)

1. To carry on occupational research and to publish material giving information concerning occupations
2. To continue to promote the movement for vocational guidance and to serve as a center of information on vocational guidance
3. To give personal counsel regarding the problems of choosing, preparing for, and entering on a vocation.

4. To conduct investigations in schools or other institutions, in various lines of business, and in the industries with a view to determine the need and suggest plans for vocational guidance
5. To train vocational counselors for service in schools, in institutions, and in employment departments
6. To cooperate with employment managers' associations
7. To aid and cooperate with vocational guidance organizations
8. To be of individual and public service in dealing with the questions of vocational guidance arising from the present war (15, p. 507).

Bloomfield's successor as director was Dr. Roy Kelley, former principal of the Technical High School, Fall River, Massachusetts. During Kelley's tenure, the Bureau enlarged its course offerings, and classes were conducted for employment managers and foremen, as well as workers in factories (6, p. 74). In 1919 Kelley resigned to accept a personnel management position in San Francisco, and John M. Brewer was selected as the Bureau's fifth director. Brewer was the logical choice for the directorship. He had an expressed interest in guidance and had taught at Harvard since the fall of 1916. His mentor was Professor Paul Hanus, who was instrumental in bringing vocational guidance to Harvard and who had served as a trustee of the Boston Vocation Bureau (12, p. 328). The coming together of Hanus and Brewer allowed Harvard to take the lead in developing vocational guidance. Beginning in 1916, Harvard has regularly listed courses in vocational guidance as part of its regular curriculum.

Brewer addressed the question "What became of the Vocation Bureau of Boston?" by stating that its work became absorbed by several agencies. The Division of Education at Harvard transformed the Bureau into an academic discipline while many functions were "gradually assumed elsewhere, first by the National Occupational Conference (1933-1939) and later by the Office of Education in Washington and by the National Vocational Guidance Association" (6, p. 75).

The Spread of School Guidance

Although the work of the Boston Vocation Bureau received national attention, efforts at organized guidance were to be found in several cities. In New York City activities originated within the school system, but without official endorsement, under the leadership of Eli W. Weaver. From 1904 to 1906 Weaver was chairman of the Students' Aid Committee of the New York High School Teachers' Association. He was concerned with the difficulties of students seeking to find themselves in an increasingly complex industrial society. A critic of "general education," Weaver wanted to cultivate in children an interest in their surroundings and a sense of responsibility. As a way of achieving this, Weaver in 1904 started placing Brooklyn boys in farm work during summer vacations. By 1908, 2500 boys registered for summer placement (27, p. 149).

Weaver also began peer counseling by selecting students to serve on aid committees in order to advise students on the selection of courses necessary for entry into an occupation. This innovative approach became popular so that by 1906 many schools in New York had adopted Weaver's plan. In 1909 Superintendent Maxwell included the following in his annual report.

Some work of a most beneficent character has already been done along these lines by a self-appointed committee of high school teachers, under the chairmanship of Mr. Eli W. Weaver, of the Boys' High School, Brooklyn. The work thus happily commenced should be officially recognized and greatly amplified. The Board of Education would do well to organize a vocation or employment bureau with Mr. Weaver, who has shown a rare capacity for such work, as its head (33, p. 9).

The New York City Board of Education refused to endorse Maxwell's suggestion and the guidance program remained voluntary.

Nevertheless, Weaver's dedication to the concept of school guidance did not lessen. Even though the plan had not been formally adopted by the Board of Education, Weaver in 1909 outlined his future plans.

1. A counselor in every school with time for counseling and a time for record keeping
2. A vocational director and trained staff forming a department for the collection and publication of occupational information (45, p. 193).

Of the pioneers in guidance, Weaver was the only one whose efforts involved helping students learn the vocation they had selected. Commenting on this, Rockwell states,

By 1908, the year in which Parsons set up the Vocation Bureau, his [Weaver's] efforts had resulted in each school having a teacher or committee of teachers who volunteered to help students choose a vocation and to learn that vocation (34, p. 54).

Weaver's conceptualization of guidance included training in a skill as well as self-knowledge and occupational information.

Weaver was deeply imbued with the Protestant ethic, preaching the moral value of hard work and the development of character as the vehicle of success. He felt that a Christian upbringing and the influence of Sunday School were major forces in shaping a youth's attitude toward work. His writings speak as much to character formation as to career development. For example, he states in his Vocations for Girls,

. . . she will find that woman's value is not estimated by what she has acquired in the way of knowledge or accomplishments or skill, but by her character; and that is the sum of her continued self-denials, of her keen judgments of herself, and of a constant daily squaring of herself with her obligations of whatsoever kind (45, p. 44).

Weaver remained in the New York Public Schools until his death in 1922. Of the early pioneers, Eli W. Weaver is the least visible for, as Rockwell observed, "His ego did not permit him to work at the task of publicizing the work he was doing or to perfect a system for others to use" (35, p. 181). With the support of the Teachers' Association he did see his aim of a counselor in every school come to pass.

In terms of national recognition, next to Parsons and Bloomfield, the work of Jesse B. Davis in Grand Rapids,

Michigan, was widely publicized. Davis initiated a needed system of "vocational and moral guidance" for all pupils in the seventh through twelfth grades. Once a week during English class, students would write compositions relating to a guidance problem. However, the Board of Education did not recognize Davis's work until 1913, when Davis was appointed city-wide director of Vocational Guidance (33, p. 13). By October there existed a centralized bureau similar to that established in Boston. The aims of the bureau were outlined by Davis.

1. To establish a closer relationship between the high schools and the business world
2. To advise with the school authorities regarding the practical side of school work
3. To aid in giving the pupils some idea of the demands and opportunities of the various vocations in life
4. To form a kind of employment bureau for those who must leave school on or before graduation
5. To lend a moral influence toward the enforcement of child labor laws and more favorable conditions of employment (33, p. 12).

Davis's book, Vocational and Moral Guidance, was published in 1915 and was a description of the author's guidance practices and philosophy. For Davis, the school was the "social center" of a student's life and educators had to be responsible for students' moral character and social efficiency.

The plan set forth in this volume aims to guide the youth by means of the social opportunities of the school, realizing that in this phase of school life

there can be a direct application of the moral principles and social requirements that, in class discussion, have been found essential to vocational success (9, p. 23).

With class discussions Davis may be credited with beginning group guidance, devoid of any systematic use of group dynamics principles.

In Davis's book, the chapter entitled "Vocational Counseling" details a method for guiding the student in choosing an occupation.

The advice of the counselor should rarely if ever be positive. By this I mean that the process of counseling should be more often in the negative, eliminating the various paths or vocations which are evidently impossible for the applicant or for which he is without doubt unfit. Then by being carefully guided through a process of self-analysis, he may be led to catch a vision of his call to service (9, p. 143).

This approach sought to discover the true nature of an individual's traits by a process of elimination. Davis sought the gradual unfolding of a pupil's personality so that the student with self-knowledge might find his own best field of service. Always to be considered a part of this growth process was

. . . the awakening of the moral consciousness that will lead him to emulate the character of the good and the great who have gone before; it means a conception of himself as a social being in some future occupation, and from this viewpoint, the appreciation of his duty and obligation toward his business associates, toward his neighbors, and toward the law (9, p. 18).

These words reflect Davis as a social reformer who believed that decisions required a moral dimension.

Interest in a public school guidance service began in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1907. In that year's annual school report, Superintendent Dyer lamented the difficulties encountered by Cincinnati youth in personal and occupational adjustment. An attempt at organizing guidance was begun under the leadership of F. P. Goodwin but it was not until 1909 that Goodwin was named director of the Department of Civil and Vocational Guidance (20, pp. 78-79). He designed a broad-based approach to guidance containing the following elements.

1. Study of the individual and use of personnel record cards
2. Systematic effort to keep the life-career motive before high-school pupils
3. Collection of occupational information including information on the personal factors which make for success in different lines of work
4. Knowledge of opportunities for advancing training, especially college training
5. Better adaptation of school courses to the vocational needs of pupils (3, pp. 129-140).

Goodwin also listed the conditions necessary for successful vocational guidance in large high schools.

1. The appointment of a director with time for supervision
2. A school organization which will permit the close personal contact of each pupil with at least one teacher of the right type
3. The exercise of an intelligent and sympathetic helpfulness on the part of the teacher
4. A logical analysis of the personal characteristics of each pupil
5. An understanding of the relation of the school work to the life-career motive
6. The adaptation of school work to the vocational needs of the community (20, p. 118).

Although Cincinnati led the country in many innovative concepts such as the use of personal files on each student, its most noteworthy accomplishment was a research program in the field of individual differences and the relation of these differences to employment influences. Begun in 1911, this longitudinal study sought to compare the rate of development, mental and physical, of children in industry and those in school. Reed notes,

The findings were somewhat disappointing to the sponsors of the study, but in methods of research and as an example of the desirability of conducting psychological laboratories in connection with guidance bureaus, it made an admirable contribution to the progress of personnel methods and to knowledge of the comparative influences of school and employment on fourteen- to eighteen-year-old youth (33, p. 11).

Another example of the contemporaneous beginnings of the guidance movement in public schools was Chicago. Developing out of the work begun in child welfare bureaus, civic service associations, and the subcommittee chaired by Professor George H. Mead on vocational guidance for the University of Chicago, the Chicago Board of Education officially endorsed school guidance in 1913. The Board made two recommendations:

1. That the Board accept the offer made by various organizations to extend the work in vocational guidance begun at the Lucy L. Flower High School to other schools of the city subject to direction by the Superintendent of Schools and that Assistant Superintendent Roberts be in charge
2. That women counselors be appointed in each "mixed" high school for the social guidance of girls. . . . The boys have a counselor and a friend in the

principal who directs and advises them in affairs of personal and organized social nature arising outside the classroom; . . . the girls have no women teacher to whom they can go in similar circumstances (33, p. 12).

The Board recognized the time involved in performing the guidance duties and recommended that women teachers who would serve as guidance personnel "shall teach three regular classes and shall, under the direction of the principal, give special attention to organized social life of the girls." They were also to receive an additional 300 dollars in salary, one of the few examples of remuneration and an important step in establishing professional autonomy for guidance personnel (33, p. 18).

In addition to large metropolitan school districts, cities of less than 50,000 inhabitants instituted vocational guidance. Principal of DeKalb, Illinois, Township High School, Frank M. Giles, reported on the three steps in his plan which he introduced in 1913.

1. A general survey of occupational titles conducted with the students
2. The investigation of industrial conditions in the community
3. Detailed work with the individual pupil in the endeavor to make as definite as possible the conditions, requirements, and opportunities in a given occupation (11, p. 227).

The bulk of occupational information would be disseminated in an assembly once a week. Lectures would serve as an overview. "This corresponds to what might be accomplished by taking a boy through various typical industries. . . . It

is something akin to what Franklin's father did when he took his son to see men at work" (11, p. 229). Once the occupational titles had been described, time was permitted for discussion on personal qualifications considered necessary for success. Following the custom of this late Victorian period there was emphasis placed on the moral dimension of personal choice.

As might be expected, the moral qualities come decidedly to the front and the discussion is largely a treatment of practical ethics. Our experience shows that in its effect on individuals the treatment of the subject from this point of view is decidedly worth while (11, p. 230).

The next consideration was based "upon some knowledge of the vocational plans of the students." It was found through questioning that 50 per cent of the girls were planning to go into teaching; 30 per cent had no plans; 10 per cent preferred bookkeeping and stenography; 8 per cent agriculture; and 5 per cent engineering. The student survey indicated interest in twenty occupations (11, p. 231).

In order to know what the community expected of the graduating students, a vocational survey of industries was conducted. The township was divided into commercial business, manufacturing business, and agriculture, and questionnaires were mailed to employers. The results were stated by Giles.

In the commercial lines the great majority of employers asked that boys be trained thoroughly in three things, penmanship, spelling, and arithmetic.

Although a few asked for training in salesmanship and some for trustworthiness . . . on the trade side we found that the majority of the shops did not ask for a very high degree of skill (11, p. 231).

The concluding statement is particularly revealing.

In general, our survey showed that there is not, in our town, much of a demand for trained beginners as we had thought. The problem faces us, whether we shall leave our boys unskilled for the jobs that are open to them, or whether we shall endeavor to train them for positions in the larger towns. We found, also, that there are few positions open to the boys and that promotion is quite slow (11, pp. 232-233).

Obviously, even the establishment of a vocational guidance service in the public schools involved larger issues related to the transformations then taking place resulting from the internal migrations from rural to urban areas. Depending on the locale, vocational guidance would only be able to perform with a high degree of success when occupational options were available.

The necessity for guidance personnel had permeated into even smaller towns such as Mishawaka, Indiana. In detailing the program as carried out in the Mishawaka High School in 1914, D. W. Horton noted the following developmental approach to their guidance service.

1. A vocational survey of the city
2. Differentiation of the high school courses for vocational guidance purposes
3. A collateral reading list on the vocations for use in the English Department
4. Frequent use of the assembly periods for talks on the vocations by men and women engaged in them
5. Conferences with the members of the graduating class upon what they expect to do after leaving high school

6. Talks to eighth grades on the vocational value of the high-school courses
7. Having students express their vocational expectancy and choice of course on their enrollment blanks
8. A course on the vocations is offered for credit
9. Placement of students in summer employment and in permanent employment after graduation and withdrawal (19, pp. 236-237).

This guidance model follows definite steps and has a structure allowing the student to work toward a goal. The use of surveys, conference periods, and placement has all become part of modern guidance practice. It is worth noting that the final stage in many of these early guidance strategies involved placement of students, a definite example of accountability.

Guidance was not a regional movement. In addition to the efforts cited in the north and midwest, mention has already been made of the pioneering work of Merrill in San Francisco, and in 1910, Anna Reed traveled to Seattle, Washington, to work with her husband who had just been appointed principal of Franklin High School. She developed an interest in placement services as they related to the business community, and so began the Seattle School Guidance Bureau in 1913. Her philosophy of guidance revolved around meeting the conditions generated by private enterprise. Anna Reed never joined Parsons and Davis in their calls for economic reforms. She advocated

. . . stiff competition for grades in school and suggested that only 100 per cent success was good enough

in school as it was in industry. . . . She believed that by adding guidance services to a school system she would help prevent much of the waste of the educational product. Her guidance services were organized and operated with business methods (35, p. 351).

Reed's faith in business and its reliance on competition resulted in her refusal to accept the premise popularized by many in guidance, that the fulfillment of the individual student's needs should be the primary focus. She believed that "an individual's worth was judged by his acceptability to employers" (35, p. 172). Too many guidance programs, she declared, ". . . savored too much of a philanthropic or social service proposition and too little of a practical commercial venture" (31, p. 62). According to Reed, personal adjustment required acceptance of the dominance of a business ethic and the competition necessary to survive in a society that functioned according to such a code of behavior.

She stated that techniques and methods for guidance were scarce. In her 1916 report to the Board of Education, Reed wrote,

The best methods of vocational guidance are still to be developed. Up to date we have depended upon individual rather than general methods, which, in order to bring success, must be based upon a logical combination of two things--correct psychological interpretation of the aptitudes and abilities of the individual concerned and correct sociological interpretation of his social, civic and industrial environment (32, pp. 13-14).

Her goal was to counsel pupils to find themselves so as they grew to maturity they would know how to guide themselves.

Lagging behind the urban industrial north, guidance in the south during these first two formative decades was slow to emerge. Physical, social, and economic conditions were very different, creating a uniquely Southern way of life. There was, in addition, a large segregated Negro population that compounded all questions of educational reform and the introduction of guidance into public education. A major source of specific information documenting the Southern attitude was provided by the efforts of David Spence Hill, Director of Educational Research, Public Schools of New Orleans. In 1914, he raised the question "What is being done about organized vocational guidance in the south?" In order to obtain the answer he sent a letter to forty-one superintendents in fourteen southern states including Oklahoma. The letter stated,

The problem of vocational guidance doubtless is an issue that is becoming more urgent in the educational work of our southern cities. So far as I know there is no definite organization or bureau for vocational guidance in any city of the south. In studying this matter, however, I am taking the pains to make inquiry, and I am therefore writing this letter to the superintendents of schools in the chief cities of the south.

Will you kindly answer the following questions?

1. Do you know of any definite effort undertaken by competent persons in your city to organize a bureau or department for the vocational guidance of boys and girls? If so, please send us as complete information as possible concerning the history of this organization.

2. Please write your opinion concerning the values, local difficulties, and probable outcome of the vocational-guidance movement in your city, if such movement is on foot. What will be the best kind of provision of this kind for the south? (16, p. 258)

Only fifteen replies were returned. These came from Richmond, Lynchburg, and Norfolk, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Raleigh, North Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; Mobile and Montgomery, Alabama; Meridian, Mississippi; Columbus, Georgia; Columbus, South Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Covington, Kentucky; and Houston, Texas--not including New Orleans, Louisiana. Of these, twelve stated that there were no plans to organize vocational guidance services. Only four southern school districts--Birmingham, Little Rock, Houston, and New Orleans--indicated that any interest in the movement existed within their districts (16, p. 259).

Comments from the respondents are revealing, and indicate how far the South had committed herself to this new education practice. For example, Superintendent Phillips of Birmingham reported on the formation of a committee to study the feasibility of vocational guidance. The committee had become so involved that it had actually engaged in guidance duties. Phillips writes,

I regard the work of this committee as exceedingly valuable, not simply in the way of securing information but in the practical assistance it has afforded hundreds of young people whose work in school, whose choice of studies and future life-work have been determined after serious consideration and consultation (16, p. 259).

Superintendent Horn, of Houston, Texas, makes an interesting request.

I have always believed theoretically in the idea of vocational guidance, but I have never felt quite sure that the work has been so developed, up to the present, as to make it particularly valuable. In other words, we have been waiting for you, and some other gentlemen, to do a little more experimenting before our own city goes into it. I am interested in the subject, however, and should be glad to know anything that may be of value as to results obtained (16, p. 259).

Superintendent R. C. Hall of Little Rock, Arkansas, wrote, "We are studying the question thoroughly and shall be ready to make some recommendations later" (16, p. 259). New Orleans was the only southern school district to have completed the preliminaries and establish objectives for vocational guidance in the public schools. Hill enumerates these.

1. The use of vocational guidance at Nicholls Industrial School, a new school designed for girls "who had an express desire to go to vocational school"
2. Making available occupational information published by the Young Women's Christian Association and the Consumer's League
3. The study for two years of exceptional children in order to "determine their capacity for education and possible aptitudes for vocations"
4. The gathering of occupational information from 10,000 children, ages thirteen and older, and their parents in order to better counsel them on vocations. and the selection of speakers from various occupations (16, p. 260).

Hill's basic orientation was scientific. He favored using the techniques and psychological tests then current, and even sent investigators into students' homes to observe directly the influence of environment on the child (35, p. 353). He brought to vocational guidance the critical attitude of the researchers, cautioning,

With the recognition of the necessity of some kind of definite efforts at vocational guidance throughout the country certain dangers are apparent in the movement. In the first place, there are quacks not remote in principles and practice from phrenologists, astrologers and fortune tellers. . . . There are the illuminists who pose as self-authorized authorities speaking ex cathedra. . . . Then there are the job seekers who, collecting bundles of questionnaires, card indices, and notes at six-week summer schools, return to the grade or school work of the local community to appear as "lecturers" and even "specialists" and prospective directors and counselors of the local bureau (16, p. 263).

In addition to having the detachment necessary to question methodology, Hill offered philosophical insight into the complexity of human nature and the need for professional guidance to mature.

It is indeed a difficult matter either for an individual or an organization to guide human beings successfully into their life work, so manifold and elusive are individual differences, so spotted with shoals are economic opportunities, so inadequate our expensive, slow-moving educational machine--and so ignorant are we of human nature. It is a delusion to believe because a proposition seems logical that the conclusion will prove satisfactory when applied to the individual human organism. It is a question whether theoretical, defective vocational guidance is harmful or worse than no guidance at all. On the other hand, our leaders and our efficient workers, many of them, have found their life work through the school of unchosen experience, that costliest of schools in which the survivors are a handful as compared with the multitudes who have succumbed to its curriculum. The waste of potential human productivity, the presence of poverty, the absence of skill and knowledge in industry, the pretense in the professions, the misfits, and the wreckage of hopes, ambitions and love itself--some of these of late may be charged to the lack of organized vocational guidance, a necessity evoked by the complexity of our present civilization (16, p. 263).

Guidance, having begun with the activities of vocational bureaus, in time became part of the public schools, for the schools offered students and the personnel necessary for launching a national guidance movement. Commenting on this, Percival W. Hutson noted that schools took

. . . the wholesome attitude that their purpose was not merely to give guidance but also to demonstrate the value of the service so that the public would recognize it as one the school should perform (21, p. 147).

The guidance movement had become a national phenomenon. It was the inevitable outgrowth of a society experiencing rapid population growth. In 1890 small high schools predominated. In 1928, although there were still many small schools, the United States Office of Education reported that 40 per cent of the students were in schools of more than 1000 pupils, and only 12 per cent in schools of less than 100 (42, p. 15). To meet the depersonalization of crowded urban schools and to offer assistance in sorting out vocational choices, guidance as an organized function began.

Professionalization

With the growing acceptance of vocational guidance within the public schools, it was only a matter of time before there would be created a national organization. This was an important historical milestone, for such an organization would serve as the forum for exchanging views and would

provide a philosophy of guidance necessary for professional identity.

There had existed, prior to the 1910 Vocational Conference, several departments of the National Education Association (NEA) which could have served as the germ from which a national vocational guidance organization might have sprung. But these departments concentrated their efforts on vocational or industrial education. In reviewing the Annual Proceedings and Addresses of the NEA from 1857 to 1906, Girard finds " . . . no mention of guidance or vocational guidance; but industrial education, manual training, technical education, child study, and psychology and education are mentioned a number of times" (12, p. 206). During the formative years 1909 through 1911 the proceedings of the NEA conferences "contain nothing directly related to guidance" (12, p. 208).

Cooperating with the Boston Chamber of Commerce, the Vocation Bureau organized the first national guidance convention. This conference served as the genesis for a national organization. Nearly 300 delegates from thirty-five cities met in Boston November 15 and 16, 1910, to hear speeches emphasizing vocational guidance within the schools. They were told by Professor Hanus that vocational guidance was a response to fulfill the nation's "democratic ideal of individual welfare and social progress" (14, p. 51). Upon adjourning, the delegates called for a second conference.

The Second National Conference on Vocational Guidance met in New York from October 23 to 26, 1912. Whereas the first conference had addressed the reasons justifying vocational guidance in the public schools, the second provided the first opportunity for persons interested in guidance work to exchange points of view on a wide range of topics. The forty speakers addressed such topics as placement, scholarships, occupational information, follow-up, opportunities for vocational training, and vocational analysis (38, p. 60). It was this last topic which drew so much attention, particularly the remarks by Stuart H. Rowe. "We have now psychological tests capable of securing accurate data; we have the general knowledge of the methods--scientific methods--of attack upon psychological problems" (13, p. 83).

This call for the use of psychological-experimental analysis of human aptitudes was to become the hallmark of guidance in the 1920's. It also underscored the growing split between those who saw guidance strictly as a function of education and those who favored the psychological analysis of the individual. This became most obvious with the actions taken in 1913 by the newly organized National Guidance Association "which defined guidance without mention of Parsons' step one" (46, p. 140).

During the second national conference, a committee was established to initiate plans for a national association of vocational guidance workers. The committee was composed of

Mrs. Bryant B. Glenny of Boston, Arthur D. Dean of Albany, Jesse B. Davis of Grand Rapids, Meyer Bloomfield of Boston, Benjamin Gruenberg of Brooklyn, Eli W. Weaver of New York, and M. Edith Campbell of Cincinnati. The work of this committee was the major concern at the third national conference, held in Grand Rapids in October, 1913 (13, p. 204).

There were only five years separating the founding of the Vocation Bureau of Boston from the third national vocational conference. It was from this third meeting that the recommendations of the organizational committee were accepted and the National Vocational Guidance Association was created. A provisional constitution was accepted and the following officers were elected: Frank M. Leavitt, president; Alec P. Barrows, vice president; Jesse B. Davis, secretary; and James S. Hiatt, treasurer. On the executive council were Meyer Bloomfield, M. Edith Campbell, George Platt Knox, O. W. Burroughs, and E. M. Robinson (39, p. 7).

The provisional constitution reflected the singular focus of the association on vocational guidance.

The objects of this association shall be to promote intercourse between those who are interested in vocational guidance; to give a stronger and more general impulse and more systematic direction to the study and practice of vocational guidance; to establish a center or centers for the distribution of information concerning the study and practice of vocational guidance; and to cooperate with the public schools and other agencies in the furtherance of these objects (39, p. 7).

Glenn Smith, commenting on how this definition locks in the Association to a narrow definition of guidance, states,

The Association has continued to emphasize vocational guidance as a somewhat separate aspect of the guidance process. It has not always appeared to be sufficiently sensitive to the broadened concept of guidance services, a concept which recognized that educational, vocational, personal-social, and other needs of individuals are interminably bound together in such a manner as to defy dealing with one without at the same time dealing with the other (38, p. 62).

It must be remembered, however, that the objective of the Association was vocational guidance and that viewing the helping professions as a cluster of interrelated services was an idea whose time had not yet arrived. The purpose of the Association was expressed by its first president,

Frank M. Leavitt:

The new association was organized only when a careful study of the situation had disclosed the fact that no existing organization was in a position to do the work to which the association proposes to address itself; a work, furthermore, which should be undertaken immediately (39, p. 5).

The third conference also heard from a wide range of speakers. Papers were read on social, economic, and educational advantages to be derived from vocational guidance. Facts presented included mention that "over 90 per cent of the children leaving school between the ages of fourteen and sixteen go into blind-alley occupations" (6, p. 144).

George H. Mead, one of the original American pragmatists and a professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago, saw vocational guidance as the means to free American education

from "medievalism" and to close the gap between the classical curriculum and the needs of the community. He said,

Vocational guidance means testing the whole training given the child, both within and without the school. It is the point of contact with the outer world from which to criticize both this training and the occupations into which society admits the children whom it has partly educated (39, p. 26).

The practicality of vocational guidance was underscored by Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the New York Child-Labor Commission.

The employers have a very definite program. They know what they want and are going after it. Let us not delude ourselves by thinking they are activated by philanthropy. It is simply good business. They want a crop of fresh, young labor furnished them every year that can make fewer mistakes and profits (39, p. 27).

From this 1913 meeting, the Association was to grow. The charter membership of sixty-three in 1913 climbed to 6200 members in 1952, when the NVGA became a division of the American Personnel and Guidance Association.

It was during the period from 1912 to 1913 that cooperation between the National Education Association and the guidance movement began to deteriorate. When Leavitt became president of the NVGA he stated that the desired results necessary to give vocational guidance the proper attention required for growth could not be obtained by working through the NEA (40, p. 7). A subcommittee had been appointed by the NEA to report on the vocational guidance movement and present its findings at the annual meeting in 1914. However,

it was not until 1916 that the committee finally issued a report, primarily of definitions and terminology. Girard notes, "The great bulk of the report was concerned fundamentally with industrial education. With two exceptions the writers never referred to vocational guidance" (12, p. 233). Of the two references in the report, one claimed, "The historical agency of vocational guidance has been in the home" (41, p. 71).

After 1914, NEA had little public interest in vocational guidance. The emphasis was placed on industrial education as the vehicle to provide students with skills to make the transition from school to the work force.

Conventions were held on an annual basis for the NVGA from 1913 on, with the second meeting held in Richmond, Virginia, December 7 to 9, 1914. At this meeting a permanent constitution was adopted. Article II declared the purposes of the Association.

The necessity under our modern complex conditions of leading the child to discover his possibilities and of affording him opportunities for exercising them in those industries or professions in which his capacities may find the fullest and most effective expression leads to the formation of this Association. Its object shall be to engage every agency that has to do with the education or employment of young people in a co-operative attempt to realize this purpose.

This Association will attempt to give a stronger and more general impulse and more systematic direction to the study and practice of Vocational Guidance than has heretofore been given; to establish a center or centers for the distribution of information concerning the study and practice of Vocational Guidance; and to

enlist the public schools in the practice of Vocational Guidance as a part of the task of education (6, p. 145).

The Richmond conference published its proceedings and all members who had paid their membership dues of one dollar for the year received a copy. Brewer summarizes the topics presented.

The papers at the conference were grouped under three headings, practical phases of vocational guidance, vocational guidance in the public school system, and vocational guidance and social welfare. One paper spoke of our isolated and unrelated school attendance laws and child labor rulings and advocated correlating them with vocational guidance. Another on "Vocational Guidance, a Function of the University" proposed a complete guidance program in five steps, through placement (6, p. 145).

Professionalization brought with it the publication of the first issues of the Vocational Guidance Bulletin. Twenty-three issues of the Bulletin were published from 1915 to 1918 and were edited by W. Carson Ryan, Jr., secretary of the association. This professional periodical was devoted largely to news related to innovations and practices of vocational guidance personnel. It was published monthly at first but, because the association had only 323 members in 1915, who paid one dollar a year in dues, the pamphlet became a bimonthly publication (12, p. 157). Its aims were stated in the first issue in April, 1915.

The purpose of the Vocational Guidance Bulletin is to serve as a medium of communication. Members of the National Vocational Guidance Association are scattered over the country. The annual meeting, which is the only opportunity for direct interchange of ideas, reaches only a relatively small part of

our membership. This Vocational Guidance Bulletin should help all of us know what the other fellow is doing (6, pp. 175-176).

A review of the Bulletin reveals significant issues brought before the membership. For example, this editorial in December, 1915, declared,

The most dangerous thing at present about vocational guidance is its commercial value. A crop of vocational counselors is springing up whose stationery reveals--to all but the intended victims--the selfish motive and dubious mental makeup that lie behind the assumption of vocational conscience. Probably only a few are real frauds; a number are of the obvious, ignorant type who fool nobody; but some are zealous enough to be a peril (43, p. 1).

Bryant Girard's survey of Bulletin articles from 1915 through 1918 led him to conclude that the material was "sel-dom critical and frequently distorted" (12, p. 276). But one cannot argue with the enthusiasm of the editors, as deduced from a statement in the March, 1916, issue:

The membership of the National Vocational Guidance Association has increased from 323 to 404 during the past year. . . . A campaign for memberships could easily run the total to 1,000 within a few months (44, p. 8).

Although small by comparison with other professional publications, the Vocational Guidance Bulletin did provide guidance with its first national organ.

Between 1915 and 1919 there were conventions in Oakland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, and St. Louis. The formative decades that brought the guidance movement its first national organization were drawing to a close with the coming of the twenties.

Guidance and College Personnel Services

Background

The early history of the guidance movement in the United States is to a large degree the acceptance of vocational guidance in the public schools. However, guidance is a multidisciplined profession and the historical foundation of the movement contains many cornerstones. Guidance as a college personnel service began as part of the movement to individualize the education process.

The American emphasis on the maximization of individual potential was again the reason underlying the emergence of a profession within guidance. Student personnel services on the college level was a uniquely American invention; it had no counterpart in the universities of the old world (10, pp. 84-90). It was an offshoot of the population increase of the last quarter century, which resulted in more than doubling the college-going student population. Historian Richard Hofstadter viewed the twenty-five years prior to the turn of the century as a time of "university revolution." This period was characterized by an explosion in knowledge requiring specialists, the building of new universities as well as the rapid expansion of existing schools, and the multiplying of courses (17, p. 48).

These changes challenged the notion that a student could receive an overall general education by being expected

to take all the courses a university had to offer. Educational reformers argued that a world requiring specialization had doomed a prescribed curriculum. President Eliot of Harvard, in his inaugural address, called for an elective system allowing students the chance to discover their own "peculiar faculties." Furthermore, he contended it would allow students "additional human freedom" to design their own destinies (22, pp. 230-231).

The granting of elective privileges soon became the vogue. Hofstadter characterized the rapid acceptance as a pendulum swing from one extreme to the other with freedom of choice leading to chaos. Attempts to balance choices with a system of majors and minors met with only limited success (17, p. 51). By 1901, when Pierson conducted his elaborate survey of the curricula of ninety-seven institutions, he found that thirty-four had devoted more than 70 per cent of their curricula to elective studies; twelve had from 50 to 70 per cent; and fifty-one had less than 50 per cent (30, pp. 165-174).

Another facet of the "university revolution" was the acceptance of coeducation. Throughout the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, women began seeking admission to institutions of higher learning in increasing numbers. Between 1882 and 1895 ten state universities were created, all of them coeducational from the start. And in the East, where coeducation was slower to win acceptance, several of

the older men's colleges opened affiliated women's colleges. The influx of women caused administrators to "openly voice their concern for the social, moral, and physical welfare of women" (33, p. 31).

Before guidance became a differentiated educational service and while the number of students was comparatively small, it was possible for students to meet even with a college president or a prestigious faculty member and receive advice and counsel. Both students and advisors were of the same sex, and little in the way of decision-making would actually take place, due to the fact that vocational goals were few and were finalized before entering college. New demands were placed on administrators as the number of students increased and vocational options multiplied, complicated by the choice of electives and the appearance of women. To meet these new conditions, organized guidance programs were instituted.

Guidance for College Women

Two specific groups labored on behalf of services for college women. One group arose from within educational institutions while the other sought to deal with vocational and educational problems of college women. The former arose from the fears administrators of men's institutions had of women studying side-by-side with men. Reed supplies

quotations from several college presidents warning of such a calamity.

President Hopkins, of Williams, thought "the difficulty would be social"; Horace Mann, of Antioch, was forced to admit that "the dangers of it are terrible"; while President Finney, of Oberlin, suggested, "You will need a wise and pious matron with such lady assistants as to keep sufficient supervision" (33, p. 32).

Oberlin did become the first college to admit women.

Acting on President Finney's suggestion, the college appointed a Lady Principal who had complete responsibility for supervising the social life of the female students (1, p. 10). By 1892 the University of Chicago had changed the title to Dean of Women. It was through the efforts of Dean Marion Talbot, while at the University of Chicago, that the first national convention was held in 1903, with eighteen members in attendance (18, p. 25). The personnel work carried on by the deans of women was basically social and of an extracurricular nature. In looking after the general welfare of students, the deans were concerned with adequate housing, supplying chaperones, discipline, and counseling on both personal and educational matters. However, the perceptions of students toward the dean of women, as Reed notes, had a negative effect.

The administrative, authoritative, and disciplinary aspect of the dean's work was so definitely in the foreground of everyone's consciousness that it seriously handicapped her effectiveness as a counselor (33, p. 37).

The demand for deans increased rapidly after 1913. Seeking to provide the training for this new group of educational specialists, the first diploma for Dean of Women in College was offered by Teachers College of Columbia University in 1914. However, a review of the courses listed for the degree indicates that none were specifically designed for the work of the deans (1, p. 25). The first book written on the emerging profession was published in 1915, authored by Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews and entitled The Dean of Women. Mrs. Mathews viewed the position of dean as the prominent position in education for women (25, p. 18). The professional integrity of the group had established itself so that by 1916 the National Association of Deans of Women came into being and held its first convention in New York City.

The second effort at guidance services for women stemmed from concern over the vocational and educational choices available. This was the chief concern of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. It had sought occupational information through surveys in order to better inform and guide women in their career development. Reed comments on the thoroughness of the Association.

By 1890 it had completed a full series of surveys on college elimination, occupational distribution, training and employment opportunities, and health. The occupational distribution survey of 1894 found that 451 college women were distributed among sixty-eight different occupations (33, p. 33).

The Association frequently subsidized collegiate vocational bureaus. These were found throughout the country and offered speakers to nearby colleges. Reed reports that they even served as counselors and provided placement services when possible (33, p. 34). Also, the Association took an active interest in the work of the newly appointed deans of women. The Association's Journal published several articles on the deans and gave special notice to coeducational institutions that had a dean of women (1, p. 25). Because college personnel services lacked the wide civic support and public interest that vocational bureaus enjoyed, the role played by the Association in advancing college personnel work was most significant.

Guidance for College Men

The historical factors that resulted in personnel services for men were many of the same factors that explained the emergence of Lady Principals. By the 1890's men's institutions of higher education were experiencing the complexity resulting from (1) increased numbers of applicants, (2) confusion over a wider range of vocational choices and the responsibility for choosing electives, (3) the expansion of fraternity and other extra-classroom activities, (4) a lack of adequate housing, and (5) course departmentalization and faculty specialization which tended to lessen the value of faculty members as advisors (33, p. 35). The confusion

caused by this clash of forces made clear the need for personnel officers.

Seeking to meet the challenge, Harvard, in 1899, instituted guidance for incoming freshmen. This consisted of a Board of Freshman Advisors, augmented by faculty who volunteered to serve as counselors (1, p. 15). In the evolution of personnel services the emphasis on student counseling for men was apparent from the beginning of the movement, whereas deans of women were perceived as authoritarian and responsible for student control. This counseling function begun by male deans was expressed by President Eliot of Harvard in his characterization of Dean Briggs.

I had discovered that he possessed a high honesty, a readiness to give himself to others, and a certain charming kindness of character which made men at ease in his presence and encouraged them to be confidential with him. . . . I feel sure, however, that my chief reason for appointing him was this: I had discovered that students were going to him for counsel on every kind of problem, and I thought they might keep on going to him, even if he was a dean (8, p. 197).

Although guidance was by no means a unified discipline, there was some contact between the vocational guidance movement and the early phase of the personnel movement. From 1911 through 1913 at Stanford University the faculty conducted "the first survey of vocational guidance of the college student" (26, p. 7). The conclusions of the survey stated that some students, "particularly those choosing major subjects for other than vocational reasons, needed guidance which the major departments could not give" (26, p. 7).

The recommendation was made that an advisor be appointed to deal with all such students.

During the first decade of this century, the men's movement grew more slowly than the women's. The demand for deans and advisors of men developed more as a response to specific situations, and when appointments were made they received little publicity. There was no male counterpart similar to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae which actively worked in forcing the appointment of deans of women as a condition for accreditation. The formation of a national organization for deans of men lagged behind that of women. In December, 1918, Dean Robert Rienow of Iowa and Dean S. H. Goodnight of Wisconsin planned the first meeting attended chiefly by deans from midwestern universities. When the meeting was held on January 24 and 25, 1919, at Madison, Wisconsin, only six representatives were in attendance. The chief topic of conversation was social and extracurricular activities. Another meeting in 1920 brought into existence the National Association of Deans and Advisors of Men (1, pp. 32-33).

Summary

As is evident, there was little communication between the growing vocational guidance movement and the attempts to organize college personnel specialists. The origins of the two movements reflect the different needs of people being addressed. Vocational guidance's primary concern was

a noncollege group, while personnel work created guidance procedures for students in higher education. There was as yet no broad view integrating the various guidance services.

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CHAPTER V

THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT IN THE 1920'S

Vocational Guidance in the 1920's

Frequently the founding of historical movements calls forth such a burst of energy that after the structural work has been completed the movement enters a period of remission. A review of the national conventions held by the National Vocational Guidance Association between 1915 and 1919 indicates lessened enthusiasm as a result of the immense effort required to launch the movement during the formative years 1908 to 1914. When the 1919 convention was held in St. Louis few officers attended, and the meeting adjourned without electing new officers (6, pp. 145-148).

With the advent of the twenties, the second generation of guidance pioneers had to assume an active role if vocational guidance was to remain a national movement. Commenting on the disorganization, Brewer shares the following sequence of events.

When I returned to Harvard University in September, 1919, after two years in Los Angeles, Secretary Kelley, whom I succeeded, gave me the secretary's records and advised me to see the president, Superintendent Thompson of Boston. The latter, however, seemed to think that the association was extinct beyond recall. Soon after this conversation Katherine F. Ball wrote me urging a reorganization of the association. She and I both wrote to

interested persons in New York City and its vicinity (6, p. 148).

As a result of the invitation by Ball and Brewer, on January 6, 1920, in New York City, fifty people met to discuss the status of vocational guidance and particularly the need for a new professional organization. Brewer stated that there were two purposes of the meeting.

1. To get a consensus of opinion on certain outstanding problems of vocational guidance to the end that a tentative program be adopted for presentation at the vocational guidance session to be held in connection with the joint meetings of the National Society for Vocational Education and the Vocational Education Association of the Middle West on February 19 and 20.

2. To organize a new national vocational guidance organization which should take the place of the National Vocational Guidance Association (6, p. 148).

At this meeting localism was stressed as an underlying precept in the new organization with the creation of seven local and regional branches and a national society governed by a board of trustees. Cities and regions where these seven branches were established included New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New England, and California (6, p. 52).

A statement of principles was adopted which declared,

The purposes of vocational guidance are (1) to assist persons to choose, prepare for, enter, and make progress in occupations; (2) organization of a community for vocational guidance; and (3) activities and working policies of vocational guidance (6, p. 149).

Brewer was elected temporary president and a meeting for February was agreed upon, at which time a constitution would be adopted.

The February meeting in Chicago produced a constitution which sought to revitalize the guidance movement. By returning to the grassroots, where the movement had initially begun, it was expected that the local associations would become the spearhead for guidance in the United States. These associations would keep the movement close to the public and allow those persons concerned with vocational guidance a chance to participate actively in their home-town association. The new charter encouraged the formation of new branches and experimentation on the local level (6, p. 149). This document reflected the lesson learned, namely, that a movement concentrated at the national level soon loses support. Increased flexibility and local participation were now the hallmark of the NVGA.

Permanent officers were elected and once again John Brewer was president; Clyde A. Brown (Chicago), first vice-president; Edward W. Rynearson (Pittsburgh), second vice-president; Russell H. Allen (New York City), secretary; and I. B. Morgan (Kansas City), treasurer. Trustees were Katherine F. Ball (Minneapolis), Helen M. Bennett (Chicago), S. E. Fleming (Seattle), Emma P. Hirth (New York City), and T. Woolley (Cincinnati) (6, pp. 150-154).

During his year as president, John Brewer chaired a committee which prepared a report on the principles of vocational guidance. The principles were a guide for those working in the field, and contained six steps in the

vocational progress of an individual: (1) try-out courses; (2) classes in occupations; (3) counseling, testing, and opportunity for a sensible choice of occupations; (4) vocational education; (5) information about openings; and (6) employment supervision and counsel. Permeating throughout this process, Brewer said, was the life career motive (32, p. 9).

The concept of localism soon invigorated NVGA with new members. Growth was reflected in the addition of Kansas City, Kansas, as the eighth branch in 1921, followed in 1922 by Washington, D.C., and Southern California. In 1923 branches were created in western Pennsylvania, New Orleans, and Rochester, New York. By 1933 there were thirty-nine branches; by 1941 the total was sixty-one, including a Negro branch in Atlanta (6, p. 150).

Along with the reorganization of the NVGA came a new publication. In August, 1921, the National Vocational Guidance Association Bulletin was published. Only four issues a year appeared between 1921 and 1922, but this was changed to eight a year in December, 1922. This was due to the fact that the Bureau of Vocational Guidance of Harvard University agreed to finance any deficit of the Bulletin (33, p. 514). In March, 1924, the Bulletin became The Vocational Guidance Magazine and, according to Girard's extensive review of early periodicals, "It showed a maturity and sophistication that the earlier Bulletin lacked" (10, pp. 434-435).

A review of the articles in the Vocational Guidance Magazine reveals the issues considered significant for the period. For instance, the first insistence on requirements for certification of vocational guidance personnel were specified. Both Massachusetts and New York had passed laws for certification but this was only slowly to become a major professional issue. Nevertheless, in detailing college courses necessary for guidance personnel, the Vocational Guidance Magazine called for a college major in what was identified as vocational direction. A minor in psychology, sociology, or business organization was considered the most appropriate supporting field. It was further suggested that guidance workers should take an examination upon completion of their courses and then be certified. The Boston public schools, it was noted, insisted on these requirements plus "three years' experience in teaching, a satisfactory portion of which shall have been in a vocational school" (38, p. 14).

The progress of the states toward recognizing the vocational guidance profession can be traced in the pages of the Vocational Guidance Magazine. An article on new legislation affecting the movement appeared in November, 1924. It was noted that in New York the State Commissioner of Education issued two certifications.

Limited vocational guidance certificate.--This certificate is issued by the commissioner of education to teach vocational guidance in the public schools for three years. This certificate is not renewable and is granted only on condition that at the expiration of

the three years the full requirements for a permanent vocational guidance certificate will be issued.

Permanent vocational guidance certificate.--A life license issued by the commissioner of education to teach vocational guidance in the public schools is granted upon the satisfactory completion of the required general and special teacher training courses (23, p. 66).

It was also mentioned that Connecticut in 1923 had passed legislation to "establish vocational guidance as a part of the educational system" (23, p. 66).

By the end of the twenties there was widespread agreement that the guidance worker must have the special training necessary to perform his task. An article by Percival W. Hutson declared, "Without question, the successful exercise of the guidance function demands a specially trained personnel, and the next decade will see notable advance in state and local recognition of this need." Hutson even envisaged a time when teachers would acquire special training. "But we shall make a serious mistake if we do not also recognize the need for training the rank and file of teachers to appreciate and perform the guidance function" (15, p. 157).

Reviewing the Vocational Guidance Magazine makes clear the time at which techniques and procedures were first considered innovative concepts, for example, the debate over the use of cumulative records. Hutson in his article had said,

Without records, there is little point in taking measurements of the pupil or in making critical observations of him. Records are the means of capitalizing for guidance all the revelations of the pupil to his teachers and to his parents through the years (15, p. 156).

Other issues found in the Vocational Guidance Magazine discussed the proper use of intelligence testing, the problems associated with motivation and drop-outs, how to conduct conferences with parents, and suggestions for interviewing.

Conclusion

It was through the renewed efforts of the second generation of guidance leaders that vocational guidance as an organized movement was spared a premature death. By restructuring itself and returning the movement to the local communities it was possible for the National Vocational Guidance Association to fulfill the promise of vocational guidance.

The Heyday of Testing

The Beginnings

Prior to World War I the use of clinical or group tests by guidance workers was nonexistent. Frank Parsons was alone in his call for the assessment of individual differences through the use of instruments provided by the mental measurement movement. The two movements were to have little to do with one another until the postwar period began to apply to civilians the army tests used to classify and assign draftees.

The mental measurement movement had begun with the development of an objective psychology that set out to study

human nature and human learning with the experimental and laboratory methods of science. James Cattell in 1890 was the first to refer to "mental tests" which were designed to measure mental ability (13, p. 41). He introduced the first battery of psychological tests in the United States in 1894 when he attempted to appraise the mental abilities of incoming freshmen at Columbia University (12, p. 52). The appeal of this objective approach reached its climax in the early decades of this century when "a whole generation of American psychologists threw themselves into the task of creating an objective educational psychology" (7, p. 338).

In the early years after 1900 Edward Lee Thorndike began to study every phase of the school curriculum and developed quantitative measurements in spelling, handwriting, arithmetic, and composition. In a published report for the United States Bureau of Education in 1908, Thorndike referred to the high attrition rate of school children in the United States. Less than 10 per cent of the children entering the first grade ever completed high school (37, pp. 1-63). Thorndike's research led him to the conclusion that the interests of a child are a reliable indicator of the child's permanent interest and abilities. The importance of these findings was obvious for all those who advised students on choices of school, studies, and careers (27, p. 456). His concept of individual differences was to have a pronounced effect on guidance.

The objectification of human nature led inevitably to attempts to measure human intelligence. Alfred Binet, a French psychologist, first developed a test to measure the academic potential of French schoolchildren. Before Binet's work, psychologists had sought to measure intelligence by designing tests of sensory and motor coordination, by testing a person's ability to estimate accurately the passage of time, by measuring the efficiency of hand-eye coordination, and assorted tests of memory. Around the turn of the century, Binet began to study differences in mental ability associated with changes in age. He reasoned that if an older child performed better than others of the same age, then the child must be more intelligent (12, p. 53).

In 1902, Binet authored The Experimental Study of Intelligence in which he described the combination of functions that he believed composed intelligent behavior. By isolating different mental functions--such as memory, attention, or comprehension--it was possible to develop test items in each function and to use the overall score as a measure of intelligence (14, pp. 29-30). Binet and Theodore Simon, a physician, were commissioned in 1904 by the Minister of Public Instruction for the Paris schools to develop a test that could identify mental defectives, so that these children could be taught separately. Out of this came the Binet-Simon Test (1905), which consisted of thirty items arranged in order of increasing difficulty. Binet arbitrarily defined

children as retarded whose scores were at least two years below the scores for children of their chronological age (29, p. 390). By 1908, normal school children were being tested and predictions of their success were being made.

The Binet Test represents a historical milestone. The perfecting of a scientific basis for the identification of intelligence was to become a major part of the practice of guidance. Herbert Goldenberg, in describing Binet's approach, states that Binet devised a test that was "simple and clinically oriented to the real classroom situation" (12, p. 53). What Binet had succeeded in creating was a measure of "general intelligence." This concept ran counter to the "faculty psychology" of his day which sought to measure singular traits. Furthermore, the test was standardized and easy to administer and score. Binet's contribution was so significant that Lee Cronbach declared,

Among mental tests, none has been more influential than that fathered by Alfred Binet, in its many forms. A history of mental testing is in large part a history of the Binet Test, its antecedents and its descendants (8, p. 101).

Later revisions in 1908 and 1911 introduced refinements, including a measure of mental age, to aid in classifying intelligence. The 1911 revision of the Scale for Americans was done by Henry H. Goddard and Fred Kuhlman. Within three years of the introduction of intelligence testing in the United States, Miller reports that the movement was "attracting considerable attention" (22, p. 153).

In 1916, L. M. Terman of Stanford University revised the tests so much that a whole new scale was constructed. The Stanford-Binet Test followed Binet's pattern of grouping tests by age levels and included tasks of both a verbal and performance nature. The "intelligence quotient" (IQ) was first employed in the 1916 revision and contributed to the growing nationwide popularity of the tests (36, p. 6).

The construction of achievement tests began as a separate enterprise from the intelligence testing movement. Achievement tests were the outgrowth of teacher concern in establishing student proficiency. One of the earliest tests to measure subjects taught in school was Courtis Arithmetic Test, published in 1908 (13, p. 67). Like other early achievement tests, it allowed for little freedom of expression and offered standardized responses. It was not until the 1920's that great strides were made in the technology of achievement testing.

With the exception of intelligence testing, the emphasis on measurements and the objectification of human behavior was met with great indifference by the guidance movement. Bloomfield, writing in 1915, thought that "At present it is doubtful whether psychological tests of the ordinary sort can be used to much advantage by the counselor" (4, p. 53). What was needed, he believed, was further refinement, which he considered to be some distance down the road.

The First World War and Intelligence Testing

America's two world wars in this century have produced enormous social consequences. As terrible as these wars were in human suffering, they did accelerate scientific discoveries, caused internal migrations of people responding to the war effort, and produced transformations that without the wars would have taken decades to complete.

In 1917, the United States joined Britain and France in declaring war on Germany, and the people of the United States were asked to contribute to the sacrifices necessary for victory. The American Psychological Association appointed a special committee, with Robert M. Yerkes as chairman, to consider what the profession of psychology could do to help win the war (13, p. 67). The answer was generated not from within the committee but by the U.S. Army Medical Department which asked Yerkes to develop some method to group and classify Army recruits (12, p. 56).

It was agreed that six requirements would have to be met for adequate testing.

1. The test would have to be designed for large numbers of men representing the widest cross section of life experiences.
2. The test should not measure prior academic learning.
3. A minimum of writing would be necessary.
4. The test should measure "general intelligence" and so cover a wide range of abilities.
5. It should be objectively scored with norms established.
6. A number of equivalent forms should be provided ensuring test security (14, pp. 35-36).

Out of these requirements was constructed the Army Alpha group test for literates. The test provided measures for simple reasoning, arithmetic, computation, and following directions. The test proved invaluable in classifying and assigning men. It was possible to identify, for example, a recruit with a special skill and provide the necessary training in order to maximize his talents. The Army Beta intelligence test soon followed; it required no reading and was also a general test of mental ability. The Beta Test was the first nonlanguage test to have been successfully constructed (13, p. 67). These two intelligence tests were administered to 1,726,966 men by Armistice Day, 1918 (41, p. 12).

The convenience and economy of group intelligence tests were borne out by this unprecedented use of testing. The Army Alpha and Beta tests demonstrated that masses of people could be tested, a point not overlooked by educators. Commenting on this, Cronbach states,

It was a practical test, easily administered and highly useful to the army. . . . It convinced people that adequate prediction of human success could be made by mass processing, so that following the war schools and industry demanded tests of this type (8, p. 105).

Furthermore, the placement of army personnel showed how testing could contribute to better guidance. Miller notes that the mass of data collected proved useful to guidance personnel.

Striking differences in the mean scores of occupational groups were noted. And the data from the Student Army Training Corps strongly suggested that there were differences in the mean scores of men in different colleges. There was evidence that many outside the army were interested in this program (22, p. 154).

The stage was now set for infusing the guidance movement with a precise technology.

The High Plateau of the Testing Movement

The Zeitgeist created by the war paved the way for psychotechnology. In the 1920's, guidance sought to use the testing movement as the vehicle to demonstrate once and for all the utility of applied guidance. By hooking onto the testing bandwagon many in guidance agreed with Joseph Jastrow that testing was "the pay vein that supports the mine" (24, p. 290). Shortly after the war Yoakum and Yerkes note,

During the past few months the office of the Surgeon General of the Army and the National Research Council have been besieged with requests for information concerning the methods of psychological examining and for the printed materials used in the United States Army (41, p. 4).

The Army intelligence tests became particularly sought after as the educators' panacea. The intelligence quotient became omnipotent and few ventured to doubt its revealed truth. Commenting on this testing fever, Miller states,

The cautious attitudes of the early years were forgotten, and many abuses were compounded by enthusiastic but naive testers. Pupils were promoted on the basis of test scores alone, without regard to other indicators of development. "IQ" became a part of

educational jargon to be bandied about, often with no more attached meaning than would be carried by a word from a strange language (22, pp. 154-155).

Nevertheless, advances in testing were being made, with many new tests the result of painstaking research. In 1918, Otis brought out a group intelligence test targeted for high school students. This was followed in 1919 by the Haggerty Delta 1 and Delta 2 Tests. The former was nonlinguistic and designed for use in the primary grades; the latter was verbal and used in upper elementary grades. An extensive study sponsored by a grant from the General Education Board produced the National Intelligence Tests of 1920 (14, p. 39).

In reviewing the history of the early twenties, Thelma Hunt sees the intelligence-testing fad maturing and developing five attributes. (1) It was necessary to validate the group approach to mental testing. The public had to be convinced that the new group tests were as applicable to the public at large as they had been to the army. (2) The period saw the standardization of measures that had stood the tests of validity and reliability. Thus precise procedures were constructed in how to administer the tests and normative data necessary for comparisons were made available. (3) The development of numerous studies of the application of intelligence testing to the public schools was undertaken. (4) There appeared mental tests to measure different targeted populations. The general adult-level tests of the original Army Alpha and Beta tests were expanded to include measures

for students from kindergarten through college. A survey made by Toops in 1923-24 revealed that 60 per cent of the colleges and universities were making use of some kind of mental tests (14, p. 119). (5) Finally, the popular interest in intelligence tests was aroused by the attention given to instruments of all kinds for measuring human abilities (14, pp. 39-40).

As the twenties progressed, innovations became commonplace in the testing movement. Clark L. Hull had experimented as early as 1923 with statistical formulas linked to a forecasting machine for "predicting probabilities of vocational success" (39, p. 103). Later, as Professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin, he was assigned a course in tests and measures. After surveying the literature in the field, he became convinced a universal aptitude battery was an essential tool for adequate vocational guidance (19, p. 284). In 1928 he published his pioneering work, Aptitude Testing. Hull believed it was possible to match men to occupations and that guidance could be refined using the technology of testing in order to achieve a high rate of job satisfaction (11, p. 30).

Interest measurements also appeared in the latter half of the decade. However, a crude interest questionnaire was developed at Carnegie Institute of Technology by James Burt Miner in 1918. At the same institution Bruce V. Moore did research in 1921 on the interest measurement of graduate

engineers, and Karl Cowdery applied a differential weighting system to interest-item responses at Stanford University. But the major contribution came in 1927 when Edward K. Strong, Jr., published the first edition of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (5, p. 52). In constructing this test, Strong took the responses to particular questions asked a group of men successfully employed in a particular occupation and compared them to the responses of a group of "men in general." Only the questions that produced clearly different responses from the two groups were included in the test.

There were tests for special aptitudes as well as general battery exams. Beginning in 1919 with The Seashore Measures of Musical Talents, the decade witnessed a plethora of measures of all kinds. Late in the 1920's O'Connor sought to find traits for dexterity by studying workers at the West Lynn Works of the General Electric Company (21, pp. 49-54). In 1925 The MacQuarrie Test for Mechanical Ability was introduced, followed within a year by The O'Rourke Mechanical Aptitude Test (22, p. 155). In the 1920's it appeared that, given time, all problems could be objectified and measured.

As tests proliferated and data sheets multiplied, it became clear that some method of storing and retrieving such data was necessary. The American Council on Education devised a cumulative record card not unlike that used by military personnel. This record card contained a student's

school history as well as the annual and cumulative plotting of the individual's development curve in tested fields of knowledge, plus intelligence and achievement test scores (40, pp. 14-52). The recording of such data in itself set limits for guidance personnel as well as providing a valuable base line.

Testing's Impact on the Guidance Movement

Much can be made of the testing hysteria that swept over America in the 1920's, but it is clear that the contributions of the testing movement outweighed the short-term preoccupation with test scores. Paterson noted that when Frank Parsons went to the cupboard--psychology--for help in studying and measuring the abilities of individuals, "he found that the cupboard was bare" (25, p. 37). A knowledge of individual differences was scarce when Parsons opened the Vocation Bureau in 1908; there were few tools for the analysis of the individual. This situation had changed dramatically by the end of the twenties.

It has been suggested by Roger Aubrey that vocational guidance would not have survived "without a psychological support base in psychometrics" (1, p. 290). Before different tests were available it was hoped that a guidance worker through insight and skill could determine the future worker's interest, capabilities, strengths, and limitations. But as Aubrey notes, "Without a scientific means to justify the

first step of individual assessment, it is unlikely that vocational guidance would have been received so widely" (1, p. 291).

The tremendous growth of measurements of all kinds impacted the guidance movement in a way that enhanced its status and respectability. This was another reason public institutions needed guidance personnel, for these were the professionals who could administer and interpret the new tests. Caught up in this excitement, many guidance workers went to the extreme and developed an excessive dependence on testing. This resulted in a myopic view with little appreciation shown a person's total life development. But this pendulum swing was the price paid for seeking to apply a new technology to a profession willing to expand its own horizons.

The Mental Hygiene Movement

There are many tributaries that have come together to form our present concept of guidance. By the 1920's one such movement--mental hygiene--had become established. It sought as its goal the promotion of mental health and the prevention of mental illness. Though it did not seek to become a part of the guidance movement, its themes of emotional calm and freedom from neuroticism soon became intertwined with the guidance process.

Clifford W. Beers

Once again, it is possible to credit a single individual with the force of will necessary for launching a reform movement. Clifford Whittingham Beers was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on March 30, 1876, and had by all accounts a normal childhood. At eighteen he entered Yale University determined to become a successful businessman. But in 1891 while Clifford attended Yale, his older brother was stricken with epilepsy, and the younger Beers became obsessed with fears that he, too, was destined to fall victim of this dread disease (9, p. 302).

After graduating in 1897, Beers began a career in business. However, the hidden fear of epilepsy, with which he had lived for six years "now seized complete domination of his mind." In June of 1900 he attempted suicide, preferring death to the affliction. Albert Deutsch describes the event.

Thanks to a last-minute whim of a sick mind he dropped from the window sill by his hands, landing feet first on the soft earth a bare three inches from a stone pavement. On that fateful three inches hinged not only the life and death of a man, but the birth of a world-wide movement (9, p. 303).

His only physical injuries were broken bones in each foot and a sprained but unbroken spine.

The failure at suicide transformed Beers. He was now "stormed by a train of delusions, alternating from those of persecution to those of grandeur" (9, p. 303). This was his plight for the next three years as he was committed to

several mental hospitals in Connecticut. Even in his illness, he was aware of the degradation and senseless brutality of the asylum. Again Deutsch records the period.

He was beaten mercilessly, choked, spat upon and reviled by attendants, imprisoned for long periods in dark, dank padded cells, and forced to suffer the agony of a straight-jacket for as many as twenty-one consecutive nights. Once, after a particularly excruciating experience, he scribbled on the wall of his room this ironic inscription: "God bless our Home, which is Hell" (9, p. 303).

As the symptoms abated, Beers began to reflect on his experiences within mental institutions. He was convinced that the harsh treatment and deprivations that he had suffered were unnecessary. His last few months spent in an asylum were active, as he wrote long letters to the governor and other officials, describing conditions of mental hospitals. Out of all that he had seen and experienced he was filled with a resolve to make the public aware of mental illness (9, p. 305).

Upon his release in September, 1903, Beers resumed his ambitions to become a successful businessman. But never far from his thoughts were the problems of the hidden afflicted and how to launch a movement in their behalf. He recalled that on occasion in American history authors had so captured the nation's attention as to channel tremendous public concern toward a neglected social evil. Beers decided to write about himself, about his experiences in three institutions for the insane. This would be a book "that would not merely

entertain or instruct, but would rally its readers to action along lines set down by the author" (9, p. 306).

The result has become a classic autobiography, A Mind that Found Itself, published in 1908. In the foreword, William James wrote, "It reads like fiction but it is not fiction" (3, p. 4). James was the first in a long line of notables who praised Beers for his courage and sensitivity. Booth Tarkington declared it "a unique, human record . . . poignantly moving and inspiring." Yale's C. E. A. Winslow commented, "One of the most remarkable autobiographies ever written" (26, p. 7). It was from this book and the interest generated in mental health and mental illness that an organized movement began.

Beers not only described the inhuman conditions of America's asylums but also proposed a concrete nationwide program for reform. Before his death in 1943, Clifford Beers was to live to see such a movement, promoting measures for mental health and seeking to remove the stigma from mental illness. It was Beers's book that proved to be the catalyst that finally forced the indifferent public to become aware of patient care and the need for mental hygiene.

The Mental Hygiene Movement Becomes Organized

Clifford Beers had the temperament of a crusader. He envisaged a national society which would lead to reform of the nation's asylums and bring the issue of mental hygiene

out in the open. On May 6, 1908, Beers, along with thirteen supporters, met on the campus of Yale University and decided to launch a statewide pilot program, and so was founded the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene. Prevention was clearly the primary objective of the society, as stated in its constitution.

The chief purpose of this Society will be to work for the conservation of mental health; to help prevent nervous and mental disorders and mental defects; to help raise the standards of care for those suffering from any of these disorders or defects; to secure and disseminate reliable information on these subjects; to cooperate with federal, state, and local agencies or officials and with public and private agencies whose work is in any way related to that of a society for mental hygiene (3, p. 304).

This was the first attempt to organize citizens concerned with mental disorders into a social movement.

The success of the Connecticut Society convinced Beers of the need for a national organization. In 1909, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was created, and Beers remained actively involved with its direction until his death. The Committee established four purposes:

1. to help bring about that the mentally ill shall be decently housed, clothed and fed;
2. to help give them the best possible scientific treatment;
3. to help lessen the factors which lead to mental illness; and
4. to help increase the mental stamina of all men, women and children (16, pp. 27-28).

The years before World War I were precarious for the new movement. There was very little money available for funding necessary projects, and it was not until 1917

that the National Committee was able to publish its own periodical, Mental Hygiene. The war in Europe, however, transformed the organization. The discovery of war neuroses propelled mental hygiene, like the testing movement, to the public's attention. In seeking to care for soldiers, the federal government created within the Surgeon General's office a division for neurology and psychiatry. The task of organizing this division was entrusted to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (3, p. 318).

During the twenties, the influence of the National Committee extended into almost every state. Louis Kaplan's history of the movement notes, "Mental hygiene principles were adopted as integral parts of the child guidance movement, of social work, delinquency, and prison reform" (16, p. 28). The most important impact of the mental hygiene movement on American society in the twenties came from studies conducted by the National Committee on public school children. The studies disclosed that many behavior problems existed among apparently normal children and that facilities for dealing with these problems were grossly inadequate (3, p. 345). Needless to say, these findings supported those calling for guidance services for all children as a necessary and proper function of education.

The Influence of the Mental Hygiene Movement
on Guidance

By reducing public apathy and resistance to the discussion of mental illness and mental health, the mental hygiene movement had a far-reaching effect. It helped to sensitize educators and parents to the problems of youth and thus accelerated the initiation of guidance programs in schools. Beers stated that it was the teacher's duty "to wield a hygienic influence on children" and to "give children a sense of security" (3, p. 345). He conceptualized the teacher's function as all encompassing, similar in view to those spokesmen who advocated that teachers provide vocational guidance.

With the passage of time and the establishment of professional guidance practitioners, the mental-hygiene point of view became integrated into guidance practice. Commenting on the synthesis of the two movements, Robert H. Mathewson states, "Guidance cannot be limited strictly to one aspect of personal concern--such as vocational--all aspects enter into vocational choice, academic achievement, and social adjustment, hence guidance must be a generalized process" (20, p. 87). Favorable emotional and motivational developments in school children obviously relate to later life adjustments.

Having its genesis about the same time as the guidance movement, mental hygiene has become part of the mainstream

of guidance services. The movement begun by Clifford Beers has brought to realization that the development of wholesome personalities is the most important purpose of education.

Student Personnel Work during the Twenties

Prior to World War I the personnel movement was confined to a handful of colleges and universities. These institutions were adjusting to the demands placed on them by coeducation, and sought to respond by creating the position of dean. The war effort, however, expanded the concept of "personnel work." In 1917 the army created the Committee for Classification of Personnel, which sought to use scientific methods for placement of manpower in critical wartime industries (6, p. 130).

The Committee's success resulted in a period of great expansion for personnel work during the twenties. Courses in personnel services, like programs of guidance, proliferated. Yet a unified guidance approach did not exist. A student interested in a career in guidance had to choose between training for vocational guidance or becoming a high school or college dean. Barry and Wolf observed, "This enforced choice served only to reinforce the separateness of the two phases of the guidance-personnel movement" (2, p. 111).

Personnel Department Instituted
at Northwestern University

The most extensive commitment to personnel work was launched in 1919 by the new president of Northwestern University, Walter Dill Scott. He had been active in the army in personnel activities and intended to develop a system of educational personnel administration that would be a model for other universities. Scott was ahead of his time in viewing student personnel services as wider in scope than the departmentalization described by Barry and Wolf (18, p. 16).

As an innovator, Scott did not hesitate to use what he learned from his wartime experiences. In 1919, psychological testing was introduced to deal with "the freshman problem." This was combined with personal counseling conducted by deans and their associates along with faculty members who were instructed in problems students might be expected to have in academic, vocational, and personal matters. Scott was also an early advocate of mental hygiene which he saw as "a means of building up positive mental health in every individual student on campus" (18, p. 14).

As students sought out these services it became clear that the different functions of Scott's plan needed to be centralized. In 1922 a "personnel office" was established, with L. B. Hopkins as director. The duty of the director was to coordinate the work that was already being done. Lloyd-Jones reports that during the first two years of its

existence the personnel office was heavily used for personal counseling, so much so that the director and his two full-time assistants had little time to do other activities such as testing and statistical research (18, p. 20).

During the twenties, Northwestern led in offering a broad and inclusive list of student personnel services. Building on the work provided by deans, President Scott expanded the role of personnel administration to include generalists grounded in the fundamentals of student life.

Courses in Student Personnel Work

Prior to 1925, the only recognized and organized course for college deans was offered at Teachers College, Columbia University, and it was open only to women. In the fall of 1925, Northwestern University offered a course "which will give dean's training to both women and men" (28, p. 9). This course was followed in the summer by a course designed by New York University for deans and their advisors. The rapidly increasing demand for men and women as advisors signaled a shift away from specialists trained in any one area to that of generalists. This was made clear in the announcement of the topics offered in the summer-school course at NYU.

The following topics are included: standards of admission, orientation of new pupils, psychology in relation to behavior problems, personality development, distribution of time, extracurricular activities, social programs, honor societies, fraternities and sororities, etc. The organization and administration of personnel services will be discussed (34, p. 248).

The generalist-trained personnel worker marked a major historical step in the evolution of guidance. This fact was reflected in definitions of guidance offered in the late twenties that were broad in scope.

By 1927 New York University had developed courses in personnel administration; counseling methods; vocational information, guidance, and placement; conference course in personnel problems; and research in personnel problems. In that same year, the University of Missouri offered courses in junior college personnel administration and educational guidance (35, pp. 348-349).

Along with the proliferation of college courses, the late twenties witnessed a drive to elevate the status of college personnel workers. A report, prepared for the 1927 meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women, stated, ". . . that the Association put itself on record as advising all young women who would like to become deans to include in their plans a Ph.D. degree" (30, p. 51). This improvement and upgrading in training and qualifications provided personnel workers with the professional status necessary to earn the respect of faculty and administrators on college campuses.

An Expanding Definition of Guidance

By the end of the twenties it was clear that the guidance movement had come to represent more than assisting pupils in making sound vocational choices. The scope of the

movement had expanded and it became increasingly difficult to keep separate the many guidance functions. One of the first to publicly address this fusion process was J. B. Sears; writing in 1925, he said that educating children had become more complex and that the machinery of educators had to respond in kind. He wrote,

Somehow we have not increased our guidance facilities as rapidly as we have increased the complexity of the educational maze through which an ever-increasing number of children are trying to pass, and, as a consequence, numbers of children are on the wrong path, are losing sight of their proper goals, and the result is waste. It is to meet this issue that a plan of guidance must be devised (31, p. 323).

The most inclusive definition of guidance to appear was offered by Leonard V. Koos in 1928 to high-school principals.

It will help . . . to think of guidance under such categories as discipline, social conduct, and quality of work as adjustment, in the sense of effecting a better adjustment of the pupil to the school situation, and guidance under such categories as curriculum guidance, vocational guidance, placement, and follow-up as distribution, in the sense of distributing the pupils as advantageously as possible to the curriculum and vocational opportunities at hand. . . . I should like to emphasize the great desirability of our seeing that both these elements of adjustment and distribution are kept in the concept of guidance that should dominate the practices in our schools (17, p. 184).

Given this definition, guidance as a more global set of functions stood out in the total task of education. Koos's emphasis on distributive and adjustive services viewed guidance as integral in the total development of the individual. What Koos had succeeded in doing was to integrate the several activities related to decision-making while seeking to

promote differentiation in development. The adjustive side of guidance sought to remove those impediments to personal growth.

This all-encompassing approach to guidance was necessary if the public was not to come to the conclusion that guidance was solely a function of specialists. Furthermore, it was essential that guidance and education not be seen as synonymous if the guidance movement were to survive and reestablish an identity. The failure to establish boundaries and definitions for guidance could have resulted in the movement being absorbed into a general philosophy of education. The legacy of the twenties to the guidance movement was that it allowed for the creation of a superstructure on which could be constructed an ever-growing body of knowledge for housing the profession of guidance.

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CHAPTER VI

THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT IN THE 1930'S

The 1930's: The Impact of the Great Depression and of Government Action

Rarely does a single historical event become as all-pervasive in its impact as the great depression of the 1930's. Beginning with a series of devastating crashes in September and October, 1929, the securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange lost \$26 billion--more than 40 per cent of the paper value of common stocks. From 1929 to 1933, as confidence evaporated, manufacturing production was halved and new construction nearly stopped. Banks and businesses failed; farm income, already low, was cut in half; and, worst of all, unemployment grew steadily. By 1932 unemployment was variously estimated at from thirteen to seventeen million (5, pp. 613-615).

Within the context of the depression, the 1930's wrought profound changes affecting American life. Under the Roosevelt administration a revolution was begun, altering the role of government and ushering in the welfare state. The total expenditure of local, state, and federal services rose sharply, and whereas in 1930 over \$10 billion was spent on all kinds of government services, this figure had risen to \$23 billion by 1941 (8, p. 462). A nation that had been

born in the same year that Adam Smith brought out Wealth of Nations, and which agreed with Henry David Thoreau that any government which governed least governed best, now turned to the federal government for aid in meeting the greatest challenge in her history.

The Federal Government's Involvement before the 1930's

Prior to the great depression the federal government showed no interest in a nationwide organized guidance service. What activities the federal government instituted before the 1930's were restricted to aiding vocational education. The federal government had given its support to the concept of vocational education as early as 1862, with the passage of the Morrill Act. This Act led to the establishment of agricultural and mechanical colleges in all the states (2, p. 186). In 1871, U.S. Commissioner of Education John Eaton advocated the introduction of commercial subjects into the public schools. The call for a more balanced and practical curriculum produced a coalition of interest groups advocating the extension of comprehensive vocational education programs throughout the nation (11, p. 3). In 1917 the federal government responded with passage of the Smith-Hughes Act. This act provided approximately \$7 million annually, as a permanent appropriation, for vocational education in agriculture, trades, home economics, and industry and for teacher training (2, p. 187).

For the next twelve years there was no additional federal legislation. The Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations followed a strict laissez-faire policy. The attitude of the period was expressed by President Coolidge: "If the Federal Government should go out of existence the common run of people would not detect the difference . . . for a considerable length of time" (5, p. 590). The role of government was to minimize itself, its activities, and its expenditure. The only legislation passed during these three Republican administrations was the George-Reed Act. Signed into law on February 5, 1929, by President Hoover, it authorized an appropriation of \$1 million annually to expand vocational education in agriculture and in home economics (2, p. 187).

The Depression and New Deal Agencies

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated president on March 4, 1933, the depression was into its third year, and despair gripped the United States. The new president declared in his inaugural address, "This nation asks for action, and action now." He added that he would seek from Congress "broad executive powers to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe" (5, p. 631).

Of all the problems Roosevelt faced, none was more urgent than putting people back to work. During the

Hundred Days after March 4, 1933, Roosevelt asked for and got from Congress legislation creating the Federal Emergency Relief Act, which established for the first time a system of federal relief. Under the direction of Harry L. Hopkins, a New York social worker, a succession of agencies was created to aid the unemployed. In Hopkins' view the solution lay in "work relief" rather than in "doles". This work-relief program sustained millions of Americans unable through no fault of their own to secure private employment (5, p. 636).

One of the agencies created during the Hundred Days was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), an organization that recruited young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five to work in the countryside. This was followed in 1936 by the National Youth Administration (NYA). Both agencies had as their primary task the employment of youth, but both agencies came to assume educational functions, particularly vocational training of an on-the-job type. What the depression made clear was that individual plans often fall victim to cataclysmic social, economic, and political events, and that youth needed to be versatile in order to adjust to changing conditions (16, p. 160).

In reviewing the history of New Deal agencies, Miller notes that the Civilian Conservation Corps publicly called for guidance services. The six million unemployed persons under the age of twenty-five in 1933 were described in a CCC report as having little work experience and needing

skills necessary for adjusting to the planned economic recovery (16, p. 160). The very fact that national surveys were conducted on targeted populations only enhanced the need for guidance personnel. By 1936, guidance was incorporated in the activities undertaken by the National Youth Administration. In seeking to place youth in out-of-school programs, the NYA established five specific guidance procedures: (1) self-evaluation conducted by all youth who entered NYA programs, (2) a review of vocational options available to each youth, (3) selection of training programs to enable a youth to achieve the desired vocational choice, (4) placement of the youth in the selected vocational choice, (5) a follow-up on work assignments to insure that the youth was in fact meeting personal expectations (16, p. 160). This first nationwide guidance service conducted by the federal government benefitted some 2,677,000 youth between 1936 and 1943 (16, p. 160).

Out of this extensive program evolved numerous guidance services. For example, to simplify personal/vocational information and to transmit this information clearly to other personnel, standardized record forms were developed. A myriad array of occupational information pamphlets were printed and distributed, and there was continued reliance on on the testing movement. Hidden away in all this activity was the opportunity for a number of guidance workers to receive what Mathewson called "seasoning on the job" (15,

p. 35). The activities of the federal government also served as models for a number of state programs in guidance services. Prior to 1938, only New York and Vermont appropriated money for the position of state guidance supervisor. Between 1938 and 1942 twenty-five other states created state-wide programs in guidance (16, p. 163).

Activities of the U.S. Office of Education
and Department of Labor

During its annual convention in New Orleans in 1937, the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) called for the establishment of a permanent guidance service in the U.S. Office of Education. This recommendation coincided with the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which declared that the nation's youth would be served by a federally financed service. Although there was no special unit for guidance, the Bureau of Education had taken an early interest in the guidance movement. In 1914 the Bureau requested Bloomfield to study the guidance problem of the public schools. His findings were published in School and the Start of Life (24, pp. 1-14). The Bureau also published the proceedings of the organizational meeting of the NVGA held at Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1913.

In 1938 the Carnegie Foundation made available to the Commissioner \$40,000 for the creation of a guidance service (6, p. 54). Richard Allen was appointed consultant on guidance, and by the end of the year the Occupational Information

and Guidance Service was established in the Division of Vocational Education. Funding was made available by the George-Dean Act of 1936 which authorized an annual appropriation of \$14 million for vocational education. Although the George-Dean Act did not specify guidance services as part of vocational education, ". . . the language finally used is unquestionable as to its recognition of vocational guidance as a reimbursable activity" (12, p. 485).

With the establishment of the Occupational Information and Guidance Service, the Commissioner of Education called for vocational guidance throughout the American public school system. On October 28, 1938, the Commissioner issued Circular Letter 2107 to state school personnel. The letter was headed "Inauguration of a Program of Occupational Information and Guidance," and stated in part,

For a number of months we have had under consideration the inauguration of a program of occupational information and guidance in cooperation with the States. In planning the program we have had the advice and counsel of a large number of persons who by training and experience are well qualified to advise with the staff of the Office of Education.

The Office of Education conceives it to be the duty of those charged with the administration of vocational education to provide thorough vocational instruction to all those who need and can profit from such instruction. At the same time due care should be exercised in the admission of students to vocational courses. The characteristics, needs, and abilities of a prospective entrant as well as the requirements and opportunities of the occupation should be taken into consideration.

A great majority of the students in the all-day vocational schools come from other secondary schools of junior or senior grade. The extent to which the other secondary schools are able to acquaint their

pupils with occupational opportunities and requirements, on the one hand, and their own possibilities of meeting these requirements, on the other hand, largely determine the degree to which pupils seeking admittance to the vocational schools are headed in the right direction. Not all pupils leaving school to enter a gainful occupation will have the advantage of vocational training. Some of them will return to the part-time or evening school to secure training supplementary to their employment.

All of these considerations make the vocational schools vitally concerned with some kind of program of counseling and guidance, which will include as one of its major features an attack on the problems of occupational adjustment.

In view of the foregoing, the Office of Education is now undertaking through cooperation with the States the promotion of a nationwide movement toward building up an effective program of occupational information and guidance (24, p. 12).

The establishment of a federally funded and operated guidance service was a major victory for the advocates of a national guidance program.

In addition to the activities of the Department of Education, in 1938 the Bureau of Labor Statistics created the Occupational Outlook Service, to study employment trends and the outlook in selected occupations and industries. Information on the occupational structure of various industries was gathered, analyzed, and printed in numerous pamphlets known as "M-7." These were revised and sent to school guidance personnel. In 1949 these were compiled and published as the Occupational Outlook Handbook (17, p. 121).

In 1939, the Department of Labor published the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. This became a basic reference for guidance personnel, consisting of two main volumes:

Volume One, Definition of Titles, and Volume Two, Occupational Classification and Industry Index. The coding system of the former proved particularly valuable, for it afforded a classification structure for occupational information (17, p. 121).

Because of the impact of the depression, the 1930's brought the federal government into the guidance arena as an active participant. Federal agencies in the Departments of Education and Labor paved the way for establishing guidance within state departments of education. The many publications of the federal government consistently stressed the need for school guidance personnel and the services they provided. The governmental agencies served as the most valuable source of nationwide data and provided much needed funding for launching guidance programs. Although the 1930's witnessed a deterioration of the economy, it was also a time of innovation and expansion as the federal government supported the concept of guidance.

The National Vocational Guidance Association in the Thirties

During the third decade of its history, the National Vocational Guidance Association was challenged to expand vocational guidance programs and respond to government initiatives. By 1930, the Association grew to an active membership of 2500, requiring a central office and a

full-time executive secretary (7, p. 158). With national expansion, the need to place the Association on a firmer financial basis became more urgent.

J. C. Penney Foundation Grant

Prior to New Deal legislation there were no government monies for guidance services. Relying on their own initiative, the Board of Trustees of the NVGA decided in 1929 to approach private foundations in order to secure funds to underwrite a ten-year national plan for vocational guidance. In November, 1929, the J. C. Penney Foundation agreed to such a proposal.

The Penney Foundation gave the Association \$6,000 for the first year's operation, with the assurance of at least that amount for the next four succeeding years. However, the Penney Foundation subsidy stipulated that the money could not go toward the publication of the National Vocational Guidance Magazine, nor for promotional work, not even for maintaining a national headquarters. The board did accept an offer to house its national headquarters in space offered by Harry D. Kitson at Teachers College, Columbia University. Also, Harvard University continued to publish the magazine (7, p. 154).

The limited funds made it impossible for the Association to secure a recognized authority as executive secretary. It was decided that the young chairman of the

Association's publicity committee, Robert Hoppock, would be appointed as first executive secretary as of January 1, 1930. Hoppock had organized and become the first president of the New Jersey branch of the NVGA. As the Association's most visible member, Hoppock kept an active schedule, traveling widely, reading current occupational literature, and attending university courses. He carried on correspondence with all chapters as well as answering requests from state departments of education and even foreign countries (20, p. 61).

The economic hard times worsened, resulting in the discontinuance of the Penney Foundation subsidy on December 31, 1931. The Association was able to secure a \$3,500 grant from the Carnegie Corporation (7, p. 158). This grant was for one year and provided for continuation of the office of executive secretary. During this period the number of requests for assistance doubled, providing further justification for a national vocation guidance bureau.

The Call for a Name Change

Increasing reliance on new techniques and procedures during the 1920's brought about a movement within the NVGA to change the name of the Association. Many members were of the opinion that the word "vocational" in the title of the Association provided too narrow a focus for the guidance services becoming available. During the Cleveland Convention of 1929, Walter B. Jones, of the University of

Pittsburgh, recommended that the name of the Association be changed to The Guidance Association. The secretary recorded Jones's rationale,

Ninety per cent of the work is educational guidance and not vocational. In his opinion the term "guidance" should cover all activities and not emphasize a phase of the work in which the majority of members were not engaging (19, p. 322).

The resolution had wide support and was put in the form of a motion for the Convention to consider, whereupon it was narrowly defeated.

The confusion in the mind of the general public over the differences between vocational education and vocational guidance continued to keep the issue of the Association's title alive after the Cleveland Convention. This confusion was the very point made by Arthur J. Jones in an article for the December, 1929, issue of the National Vocational Guidance Magazine. He stated that the movement was at a decisive point in its history and "it must either accept the larger responsibility for the guidance movement in all its aspects, or it must decide to confine itself to the vocational aspect" (13, p. 105). Jones's article sparked a debate, causing a response from prominent Association members defending the exclusivity of the Association's title. Harry D. Kitson entitled a response "If We Should Change Our Name Who Then Would Look After Vocational Guidance?" and declared that the Association should not take upon itself the responsibility for the "all around welfare of

every individual in the country." He concluded his article by declaring,

The chief difficulty under which one labors who desires to change the name of our Association is that he conceives vocational guidance as exclusively or primarily an educational problem. Change that point of view and think of it as a social problem, in the broadest sense of the term and that particular difficulty disappears. It then appears obvious that society needs experts who can do vocational guidance wherever human beings need it--in elementary and secondary schools, in colleges and professional schools; in business and industrial establishments; and among the masses of the workers. Such experts will be needed in increasing numbers. They need a national organization. If this one is changed they will immediately form another, and I predict that the membership will be composed largely of persons who are now members of the National Vocational Guidance Association--Long may it wave! (14, p. 237).

The 1930 convention offered the opportunity once again for changing the Association's title, with two proposals submitted to the full convention. The changes considered were the National Guidance Association or the Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance. Both proposals were defeated (7, p. 152). The controversy over the Association's title reflected the confusion resulting from the many developments occurring simultaneously--developments which had not yet been integrated into a single professional helping service.

Publications

The Association allocated increasing amounts of money for publications during the thirties as guidance services grew in demand. The public's interest in the movement,

along with the incorporation of new concepts, required that the Association revise its own statement of purpose as set forth in Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance. Two revisions were made during the decade, the first in 1930, the second in 1937. The 1930 edition stated four principles that were philosophical assumptions of the vocational guidance worker,

. . . the recognition of individual differences, an appreciation of the complexity of modern occupational life, the acknowledgement of the right of the individual to make his own choices, and the realization that the adjustment of an individual to his occupation is an ever-changing situation (18, pp. 227-235).

The 1930 edition of Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance also provided suggestions on how the vocational guidance worker might integrate occupational information into the curriculum as well as the correct use of cumulative records, the importance of follow-up studies, and eliciting community cooperation.

In 1931 the Association issued its first book, Basic Units for an Introductory Course in Vocational Guidance. The thirty-four units of the book represented topics selected from responses of 102 teachers of guidance in the United States. Along with each unit there were included review questions and a current bibliography (3).

A second publication by the Association, The Printing Trades and Their Workers, appeared in 1932. Florence E. Clark served as editor of this monograph, which represented

a year's work by the Occupational Research Section. It was intended to serve as a model of what an occupational study should be. Written in the interest of students, chapters were devoted to such areas as an overview of the printing industry, description of specific occupations within the industry, the schools and content of courses for preparation to enter this field of work, and a comprehensive bibliography for additional readings (9).

To aid publishers of occupational books, the Association brought out Occupations in Retail Stores by Dorothea de Schweinitz. Relying on data from 3,800 stores covering twenty-one different kinds of retail business in various-sized and carefully selected communities, the book detailed the qualifications for the forty-five jobs found in merchandizing. The text listed necessary worker qualifications, opportunities for training and advancement, and probable earnings. This book was widely used as a reference by counselors and students, and served as a textbook in cooperative retail selling classes (10).

In addition to books, the Association published a number of manuals by May Rogers Lane. These manuals were widely distributed and covered a wide range of occupational titles, including occupations found in rural communities. From these books and manuals the Association became known as a leader in vocational guidance and was selected by the

White House in 1932 to prepare a report entitled Vocational Guidance (7, p. 153).

National Occupational Conference

The American Association for Adult Education, acting on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation, launched the National Occupational Conference (NOC) in February, 1933. Brewer, in writing of the establishment of the NOC, states,

Depression was playing havoc with the schools in the nation. Thousands of youth were being graduated from schools and colleges annually into a world that had millions of unemployed adults and seemed to offer no occupational security for anyone. Here and there, however, were cities and institutions in which youth in surprising numbers went from school to work in occupations for which they had been trained. Some of these schools approximated perfect placement records. Others were solving the problems of vocational guidance in commendable fashion. Nowhere, however, was there an agency for clearing information and practice concerning the problem. Out of this central clearing-house the National Occupational Conference was created (7, p. 265).

Given as its charge the organizing and compiling of occupational materials at all educational levels and the distribution of materials, the NOC became a major source of information on vocational guidance.

Relations between the NOC and the NVGA

From its inception, the National Occupational Conference sought the support of all organizations involved with vocational development. Relations between the NOC and the NVGA were most cooperative as members of the Association accepted assignments from the Conference. Robert Hoppock

joined the staff as assistant to the director, with the understanding that the NOC would establish a field service similar to that carried on by the NVGA.

In a letter to the board of trustees dated March 23, 1933, Franklin J. Keller, Director of the NOC, detailed the area of common agreement between the NOC and the NVGA.

Recognizing the outstanding services which have been rendered by the NVGA in the furtherance of the vocational guidance movement, and expressing its faith and confidence in the personnel of the organization, and in fulfillment of a desire to be helpful in enabling the Association to become of even greater influence, the NOC offers the following program:

1. The NOC has already approved the proposal that the NVGA be granted the sum of \$1,750 of which \$1,000 is to be paid to the Executive Secretary as salary, and \$750 to be paid for clerical service.

2. The NOC has appointed Dr. Fred C. Smith a member of its staff with the title of Editor of the Magazine, at an annual salary of \$1,000 for that part of his time which will be devoted to the Magazine, with an allowance of \$750 per annum for clerical assistance.

3. The NOC will publish the Magazine in cooperation with the NVGA. Similar cooperation may be effected with other organizations which may be included later, after consultation with NVGA. The Magazine will remain the official organ of the NVGA and the term "vocational guidance" will be retained in the title.

4. If, at the end of the one year, this agreement is not renewed, the NVGA may resume publication of the Vocational Guidance Magazine on the same basis as prior to the date when the agreement takes effect.

5. The Magazine is to be distributed to members of the NVGA on the present basis. The NOC is to receive \$1.50 from each branch member and \$2.00 from each national member.

6. The NOC assumes the field service activities heretofore conducted by the NVGA.

7. The NOC will cordially entertain from the NVGA among other organizations, proposals for studies in occupational research or other phases of vocational

guidance, or occupational adjustment and will act upon them in accordance with the expressed objectives of the Conference.

8. The NOC will welcome the appointment of a representative or a committee of the NVGA to effect cooperation with the NOC in all of the above projects.

9. The NOC proposes this program for the period of one year beginning April 1, 1933 (7, p. 270).

The two organizations continued to work closely for the remaining six years of the NOC existence.

Publications

With the acceptance by the Association that the Conference become a co-publisher of the National Vocational Guidance Magazine, the size and scope of the periodical were enlarged. The title was changed to Occupations, the Vocational Guidance Magazine in 1933, and within three years its circulation had grown by 50 per cent, to nearly 3,000; and by 1936 by more than 100 per cent, to 6,500 paid subscriptions. Articles were selected for their practical nature with special emphasis placed on training, placement, and job adjustment (7, pp. 265-266).

During the six years of co-publishing of Occupations, some 500 articles appeared, by as many authors. A review of the topics includes all the then-current issues before the vocational movement, as well as special features on education, commerce, industry, and labor. The growth of Occupations had taken place without promotional campaigns, and reflected a publication serving a professional need. One reader's letter to the editor declared,

Occupations is far better than ever. In fact, it's getting to be a magazine that challenges comparison with any of them, for meat, for readability, for usefulness, and for downright interestingness!" (7, p. 266).

In January, 1936, the NOC established the Occupational Index, a periodic annotated index of books and pamphlets relating to the broad field of guidance services. During its first three years 2,562 new references were listed, annotated, and indexed by subject, title, and author (21, p. 63). In addition to the Index, the NOC published numerous books on vocational guidance, including Robert Hoppock's Job Satisfaction. These publications were made possible by grants from the Carnegie Corporation.

Other Activities

Additional activities conducted by the Conference included an innovative use of radio broadcasts in cooperation with the NVGA, beginning in 1933 and continuing through 1937. Scripts were produced on a weekly basis for dramatization over the Columbia Broadcasting System's School of the Air. It was reported that the programs had no trouble in obtaining sponsors, and the number of local stations carrying the programs increased (7, p. 276).

One of the most novel activities of the NOC was the Occupational Education Tour for School Superintendents. On May 2, 1937, thirteen superintendents boarded a private observation-Pullman car in Chicago and traveled for two

weeks observing, first-hand, schools throughout the North and Midwest. On completion of the tour at Princeton, the superintendents issued a report which appeared in the June, 1937, issue of Occupations (7, p. 274).

Between 1933 and 1935 the NOC sponsored five regional conferences, bringing together 500 economists, psychologists, and personnel workers from secondary schools, colleges, and industry. The primary focus of each of these conferences was occupational adjustment. These conferences fostered interdisciplinary dialogue and, according to Williamson, gave psychologists their first chance to reenter the vocational guidance movement (25, p. 145). It is also noteworthy that a separate Negro conference was held at Atlanta University in December, 1935, sponsored by the NOC (7, p. 275).

The Demise of the National Occupational Conference

At the annual meeting in Atlantic City in February, 1938, the Conference was informed that the Carnegie Corporation desired to withdraw support from the NOC. It was the policy of the Carnegie Corporation that after the successful completion of a program, support would be withdrawn.

During the six years of its existence, the NOC had established itself as a national service for the dissemination of occupational and vocational guidance information and services. It received more than 16,000 requests for

assistance with vocational problems from a cross section of the society, both public and private. More than 5000 of these requests were for aid for assistance other than printed materials. Perhaps most significant, members of the NOC staff traveled extensively over the country to assist local communities in developing guidance programs (21, pp. 63-64).

Other Programs and Projects

There were programs and projects initiated in response to the depression that were not supported by government funds. It was the attention given to the conditions leading to the massive unemployment that served as the catalyst for these studies. The outcome of these efforts was to impact school guidance, particularly the belief that better vocational guidance would result in better job adjustment.

Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute

The University of Minnesota began in the early thirties to conduct research on the characteristics of the unemployed and the causes of their unemployment. The university established the Employment Stabilization Research Institute, composed of a team of economists, engineers, social workers, medical personnel, and psychologists. A sample of 100 participated in the project over a three-year period, revealing much about the employment problems of adult Americans.

E. L. Tolbert summarizes their findings (22, p. 65), significant in terms of data learned as to the causes of unemployment--the unemployed were found to be clearly distinguishable as a group. Employed workers were less easily distinguished but did possess a more definite repertoire of working skills. The results of the case studies emphasized the importance of remembering that each individual worker was, after all, an individual. This report did serve as a stimulus to the vocational guidance movement (16, p. 159).

The American Youth Commission

In 1935, the American Youth Commission undertook an extensive investigation of the social and vocational problems of the young. Publication of the project's findings by Howard Bell in Youth Tell Their Story revealed that nearly four million youth between fifteen and twenty-four were neither in school nor employed. The study documented the need to provide educational opportunities to the economically disadvantaged, as well as the national neglect of guidance services and vocational training (4, pp. 6-10).

The impact of the Depression on youth can be appreciated from a sampling of the expressions reported in Youth Tell Their Story.

We can't get a job like other people used to before. Solution: "The government should pass some kind of law."

Getting jobs is the main problem. Employers want experienced people, and I don't see how you can get experience if they won't give you a job.

The problem is how to get married on \$15 a week.

The main thing in any person's mind is getting a job he likes. Financial security . . . there must be some answer, but it's way over my head. If so-called brain trusters can't do anything, I can't suggest anything.

A fellow wants to have a good time and have a little spending money. You can go crazy if you hang around the same block with nothing to do. How you get it, I don't know (4, pp. 251-256).

The results from the study of the American Youth Commission, like those conducted by the University of Minnesota, made clear that better vocational guidance would enhance a youth's chances for obtaining a job, as well as provide for job adjustment.

Progressive Education Movement

In 1930 the Progressive Education Association carried out a project which in time led to the broadening of guidance concepts in secondary schools. Agreements were arranged with 300 colleges and universities to accept the graduates of thirty participating high schools whether or not these graduates met the traditional requirements. This freed the secondary schools to undertake revisions of their curriculum and support services (16, pp. 164-165).

As changes in curriculum evolved it became clear that the then-present system of guidance was inadequate for placing students within this revised system. It was felt that a more global approach to students' needs was necessary, an

approach that would focus on cognitive, affective, and social sensitivity. The reliance on a trait and factor guidance model was simple but neglected the demands of helping individual students with total development and adjustment (1, p. 291).

What the study made clear was the development of secondary school guidance heavily influenced by vocational guidance and adaptations of a Parsonian model. Guidance could not yet admit to concern for the total development of the person. The use of psychometrics had given a scientific flavor to vocational guidance, but there remained little understanding of personality dynamics, developmental patterns, and affective communication.

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CHAPTER VII

THE CHALLENGES OF THE FORTIES

The Second World War and Its Influence on the Guidance Movement

During the decade of the thirties the American democracy was absorbed in domestic problems. As late as 1940 some eight million Americans, or roughly 15 per cent of the nation's labor force, were still unemployed. Yet even during the depression years it was apparent that the fragile international order which had prevailed since the end of the first world war was breaking down. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, resulted in Americans fighting a second world war, requiring of the nation a highly specialized military organization. Guidance personnel were again called upon to find the most efficient means of utilizing manpower.

Military Testing in World War II

Anticipating that America would soon be involved in war, the office of the Adjutant General of the Army created a personnel and testing section in 1939. The purpose of this military organization was twofold, first, to devise a series of intelligence and aptitude tests for an increasingly complex military establishment and, second, to work out more adequate means of identifying men who were temperamentally

unfit for combat duty although they might be entirely capable of carrying on other types of military service. Studying what had been learned from the army testing program of World War I, researchers constructed new tests according to similar theoretical assumptions. Walter V. Bingham, a member of the committee that designed the 1917 examination, was appointed chairman of the committee charged with providing a revised version of the Army Alpha Intelligence Test (17, p. 121).

Late in 1940 the committee produced the Army General Classification Test (AGCT), destined to become the principal mental ability test used during the war years. The AGCT at first utilized only an overall score, but eventually had four-part scores as well: reading and vocabulary, arithmetic computation, arithmetic reasoning, and spatial relations. It was the major instrument used for the initial classification of inductees, and it was administered to some twelve million men (22, p. 496).

The efforts of vocational guidance workers and industrial psychologists during the twenties provided voluminous literature on aptitude testing. Measures already in use were adapted for the more stringent requirements of military service. The Army Air Corps initiated a program by Colonel John C. Flanagan to develop aptitude tests for the selection of trainees for three aircrew specialties: pilot, bombardier, and navigator (20).

In addition to the major tasks of classifying men in accordance with their general intellectual ability and their special aptitudes for particular types of service, considerable effort was expended in the refinement of personality measures. The Cornell Selectee Index, essentially a personality questionnaire, proved to have considerable validity in detecting recruits with potential emotional difficulties (17, p. 121).

A comparison of the testing movement in World War II with that of World War I indicates that the work undertaken in 1917 was revolutionary, while that engaged in during the forties was evolutionary. There were no great changes in testing procedures and no wholly new statistical methods. The historian of the testing movement, Florence L. Goodenough, stated that techniques already known were put to more effective use, and that "old tests were adapted to the new requirements of military use" (22, p. 502). The work of testers was less startling in the forties due to the extensive knowledge that a quarter-century of testing made available.

Military Counseling during World War II

Counseling became an integral part of the Army personnel system during World War II. Counselors were located at induction stations and training centers as the Army sought to individualize military life. Military counselors proclaimed that soldiers were not "just a mass of gray faces" (3, p. 533).

It was necessary to train the whole man, and this required giving attention to individual needs and maximizing individual potential.

Although the Army utilized psychologists extensively during the war years, there was no separate corps or unit established for counselors until February, 1944. The Adjutant General's office stated the official policy.

All who exercise command responsibility serve as advisors to their men in innumerable ways. Everyone from corporal to four-star general is to some degree a counselor. We have learned that adequate provisions for counseling are indispensable in the development and maintenance of that intangible quality termed "morale" (15, p. 17).

This military attitude was reflected by the liaison officer attached to the Adjutant General's office, Captain Mitchell Dreese. He stated that counseling "is essentially the same whether it be in the home, the church, the school, industry, business, or the Army" (15, p. 20).

The Army Separation Counseling Program

The Army's major commitment in providing counseling services was begun as procedures for demobilization were established in early 1944. The Army intended not to be caught unprepared for the mass exodus as the war drew to a close. The Adjutant General's office decided that counseling would aim at three objectives.

1. The preparation of a record form summarizing the soldier's educational history, his civilian occupational background, and his Army training and experience;

2. An opportunity for a conference with a trained vocational counselor who would be prepared to discuss with the soldier his future educational and vocational plans; and

3. Proper referrals to local governmental and private organizations which are interested in counseling the veteran and assisting him to adjust to civilian life (15, p. 17).

The overall purpose of separation-classification-counseling was "to assist the veteran leaving the service to adjust to civilian life" (15, p. 117). However, Army policy further stated "that counseling will not be permitted to retard the flow of men through the center, and that every effort will be made to have the soldier remain in the center for not more than two days" (15, pp. 17-18).

The program necessitated the formulation of ten guiding principles of counseling. The first principle stated that "the individual functions as a total organism and his efficiency on the job will depend upon his total adjustment to life" (15, p. 19). This holistically oriented approach focused not on vocational adjustment or educational adjustment or social adjustment, but rather on an integrative model. The Army rejected reductionism as too restrictive, and favored a guidance philosophy which viewed the departing soldier as possessing manifold needs. Given that many military personnel continued to counsel upon their discharge from the Army, this whole-person model was to become an alternative to the trait and factor rationale.

The second principle stated, "The need for counseling arises when the individual is confronted with problems of adjustment which he cannot solve satisfactorily without help." In discussing this principle, Dreese revealed the Army's general attitude toward making counseling available only to those who sought such services for whatever personal reason. This philosophy underscored the Army's reluctance to provide personal counseling during the war years, as Dreese notes, "We have no desire to create or stir up problems in soldiers' minds" (15, p. 19). For the Army, the initiative rested with the soldier.

The third guiding principle declared that the function of counseling is "to help individuals to help themselves." This freedom to develop an independent plan of action ran counter to the command system of the Army which was disposed to dominate and direct. Captain Dreese commented that for men returning to civilian life, "the only guidance that will really be effective in a democracy of free men is self guidance" (15, p. 19).

Principle four noted that the only effective counseling was dependent on adequate data; and principle five held the counselor responsible for the confidences entrusted to him by the client. The sixth principle referred to the need for proper surroundings essential for privacy and freedom from distraction. The Army's belief that any officer was able to give counsel and guidance to inductees was expressed in

principle seven. It stated that "counseling is not confined to those who bear the title counselor" (15, pp. 19-20).

Vocational counseling was viewed by the Army as a specialty. The eighth principle called for "supplemental professional training for employee counselors" (15, p. 20). The Army established a school to train such counselors at Fort Dix, New Jersey.

Principle nine recognized the limitations of Army guidance personnel by stating that "counselors must know when to refer the client to a specialist." Army personnel were cautioned not to go beyond their depth and to make proper referrals when necessary. Captain Dreese commented, "It is an essential part of our service to tell the soldier where he can go, not only in a separation center but also in his home community, for further information and counsel" (15, p. 20). The discharge of some three million men and women with a heightened consciousness of their needs, and desirous of using their potential, was to have a profound effect on the guidance movement in postwar America.

The tenth principle, namely that "the counselor can be more effective through preventive rather than remedial measures" called attention to the need to recognize symptoms of maladjustment and to call these to the attention of discharged service men (15, p. 40). These principles were a systematic approach to guidance, and contributed to the further evaluation of the profession.

Separation counseling programs were organized around the country at major military installations. In addition, selected convalescent hospitals became centers, often providing counseling services on a broader scale than that of immediate separation from the Army. The Army instituted a special program for convalescing servicemen designated as the Classification and Counseling Program. Its stated purpose was

. . . to provide a continuous classification and educational and vocational counseling service for all patients, the aim of which is to orient the patient as to what part he can play and will be expected to play in society, upon his return either to duty in the Army or to civilian life, or, ultimately, both (4, p. 2).

The program included four major types of counseling:

(1) educational reconditioning placement counseling, (2) vocational guidance counseling, (3) return-to-duty counseling, and (4) separation classification and counseling. The Army detailed the purposes of the four types of counseling.

1. Educational Reconditioning Placement Counseling. The immediate object of this type of counseling is to enroll the patient in one of the courses conducted by the Educational Reconditioning Branch as part of the Convalescent Treatment Program. These courses have been conceived of as dual in purpose. In addition to healthfully occupying the patient's mind during his period of convalescence, they are intended to increase his chances of a successful post-hospital life by adding to his knowledge and skills and providing a vocational laboratory in which he can sample a variety of occupational activities.

2. Vocational Guidance Counseling. Vocational counseling has been established as a major service of this Branch to assist the individual soldier in making an adequate appraisal of his future vocational possibilities.

3. Return-to-Duty Counseling. The object of return-to-duty counseling is two-fold. As stated in ASF Circular 90 (1945), it is intended to effect

"recommendations for the proper reassignment of those returning to military duty so as to insure maximum utilization of the patient's aptitudes and occupational skills." It is also intended to orient the patient as to his probable future in the Army; to send him away from the hospital with the feeling that he is again ready to perform as a useful member of a nation in arms; and to offer him final advice on any personal problems (pay, allotments, insurance) which may be troubling him.

4. Separation Classification and Counseling. The aim of Separation Classification and Counseling is to assist the separatee in making a satisfactory readjustment to civilian life (46, p. 4).

As a result of these extensive military guidance programs the concepts of the guidance movement were experienced by millions of service men and women. Upon their return to their local communities, World War II veterans continued to seek out guidance services.

Contributions of the United States Employment Service to the Guidance Movement

Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the State Employment Service was federalized and transferred to the War Manpower Commission. The new agency became the United States Employment Service and began to undertake guidance along with the Service's usual function of placement. A supervisor of employment counseling was designated for each state and one or more counselors appointed to each of the 1500 offices of the Service. The scope and purpose of guidance as exercised by the agency was suggested by Lilian Alexander.

The problems of occupational adjustment have been intensified and multiplied by the war but are present at all times and in all types of economy. Assistance in solving them must be a part of the normal operations of the Employment Service. . . . Early programs emphasized

youth counseling; however, it became evident that problems of occupational adjustment were not confined to any age group. Experienced workers also face vocational problems since neither the individual nor his environment remain static. Thus we find that individuals must enter new fields of work because of the changes in demand that inevitably accompany technical advance; others must enter new fields of work because of the acquisition of disabilities. Many workers change their vocations either because their original choice was poor or they no longer find it satisfying (1, p. 5).

In reviewing the wartime history of the Service, Collins Stocking noted the difficulty in securing qualified personnel. He focused particularly on the shortage of qualified guidance workers, stating that "after undergoing a vigorous staff training program, they have moved on to better paying jobs" (47, p. 501).

The Service prior to the war had conducted extensive research into occupations and developed an occupational classification system. This work culminated in 1939 with the issuance of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. During the war the Employment Service developed a general aptitude test to measure the individual's potentialities, not with respect to the requirements of a particular job, but with respect to broad fields of work. This research resulted in the General Aptitude Test Battery (30, p. 161).

Another Employment Service contribution was in the field of labor market information. War agencies organized their procurement and production program along industrial lines and so it became necessary for the United States Employment

Service to provide labor market information. Each local employment office prepared a monthly statement of the current labor market conditions and anticipated employment developments in critical areas. According to Stocking, the data gathered were "important in guiding the geographical shifts of workers and in assisting veterans and other job seekers in making decisions concerning non-local employment opportunities" (47, pp. 500-503). As the war came to a close the Employment Service turned its attention to gathering labor market information, recognizing it "as most important for counseling purposes" (47, pp. 500-503). The wealth of data was compiled and published in the Occupational Guide. The guides were updated periodically and included a job summary, work performed, training requirements, related occupations, physical activities, and working conditions. Also included was a description of the economic characteristics such as industries and areas in which occupations occur; stability of employment, current and long-range job prospects; wages, weekly and yearly; hours of work; hiring and advancement; and union membership dues (47, pp. 500-503).

Contributions of the Veterans Administration
to Guidance

In 1944 the Veterans Administration (VA) established centers to provide guidance services in vocational reahbilitation, education, training, advisement, and counseling. This was the most extensive single program of guidance ever

undertaken. Ira Scott, Director of Advisement and Guidance Service, detailed the objectives of the Veterans Administration guidance program. First, funds were made available for the counseling program on a nationwide basis in such a way that public and private institutions could participate on a remunerative basis. Never before had such large sums of federal money been provided for guidance services. Secondly, many communities that had never invested in developing facilities and personnel were afforded the opportunity. By establishing centers throughout the country the Veterans Administration did much to promote civilian guidance programs. Thirdly, the cost of a national guidance program using facilities already in existence saved the taxpayer the expense of having to establish a new national program. The last benefit listed by Scott was that the Veterans program lifted guidance above the level of a gratuity and advanced its professional development. Many guidance workers were trained in VA-supported centers and, because of the GI Bill, were able to go on for more advanced preparation (39, pp. 496-497).

Such a national commitment to the soldier's reentry into society reflected how far America had evolved in its concern for the individual. Military authorities recognized that adjustment to civilian life represented serious problems to many discharges. The military viewed the Separation-Center counseling as only a transitional service, as indicated by Colonel George Evans' comment: "Counseling given at

Separation Centers and at Army hospitals should be regarded as preliminary to the work of civilian agencies engaged in direct placement on long-term rehabilitation" (18, p. 70).

The Veterans Administration, in addition to district, regional, and subregional offices, established Veterans Administration Guidance Centers on 200 college and university campuses. This massive program introduced the guidance function to many institutions of higher learning that had remained uninterested in the student personnel movement or vocational movement prior to the war. The scope of guidance services provided included educational, vocational, placement, and personal adjustment counseling. Ira Scott stated the rationale for offering guidance for personal adjustment.

The object of this type of counseling is to assist veterans who are not well adjusted emotionally and need the services of professionally trained personnel in dispassionately analyzing their problems for the purpose of providing the insight and understanding essential to overcoming or avoiding emotional disturbances, mental attitudes, social conflicts, and other conditions that cause maladjustments which interfere with the successful pursuit of vocational or educational objectives (40, p. 3).

The Veterans Administration Guidance Centers located in academic settings extended educational opportunities. The Centers along with the "GI Bill of Rights," which provided for almost unlimited funds for the education of World War II veterans, were responsible for the tremendous upsurge of interest in higher education. In meeting the rising expectations of so many, guidance was transformed in the postwar

years, becoming an accepted part of the total program of American education.

The George-Barden Act as an Influence on Guidance

The Federal Program

In 1946 the federal government enacted the George-Barden Act, making possible the use of vocational education funds to reimburse counselor-training institutions. The Act represented at the federal level a new commitment to expanding guidance services. This act not only increased the authorization for appropriations for vocational education from \$14 million to \$29 million annually, but allowed the U.S. Commissioner of Education wide latitude for distributing federal monies (5, p. 188).

The essential characteristics of this policy are contained in the "Supplement to Vocational Education Bulletin Number 1."

It will be permissible to use the funds appropriated under the several authorizations of section 3(a) of the George-Barden Act to provide the following services:

- a. The maintenance of a State program of supervision in vocational guidance.
- b. The maintenance of a State program of training vocational counselors.
- c. The salaries and necessary travel of vocational counselors, and the purchase of instructional equipment and supplies for use in counseling.

The costs of these services may be reimbursed on a prorated basis from the funds appropriated under the several authorizations made in section 3(a) of the Act, under the conditions which follow:

a. In developing a State Plan for the use of funds for State and local programs, adequate provision will first be made for State supervision and for the training of vocational counselors, with the research necessary in each. Funds may be used, therefore, for reimbursement on the local level only after the program at the State level has been adequately financed.

b. The State Plan should set up standards for conditions of reimbursing the salaries and travel expenses of vocational counselors. These standards will include the duties and qualifications of the vocational counselor, and safeguards to insure that the vocational guidance program serves a school or group of schools maintaining a vocational course or courses.

c. Counselor training courses may be reimbursed from Federal funds for classes composed of (a) persons enrolled in a program qualifying for vocational counseling; (b) persons enrolled in a program qualifying for vocational teaching; and (c) teachers, counselors, supervisors, or directors of vocational education or vocational guidance (25, pp. 483-484).

The passage of the George-Barden Act opened the door to states and localities for improving their guidance services and imposed a burden of leadership on the Office of Education.

Effects of the George-Barden Act

Under the impetus given by the Department of Education, funds for the promotion and development of guidance services expanded state guidance staffs, encouraged the expansion of training programs, and increased the number of local guidance supervisors and counselors. Local programs were reimbursed to the extent of paying for the salary and travel expenses of counselors, and for equipment and supplies used in counseling. Monies that were left from the reimbursement of local programs established pilot demonstration projects: for example, how to establish a vocational guidance program for rural youth (25, p. 487).

The tensions within the guidance movement were also revealed by the passage of this legislation. The Act was designed to promote vocational education, with guidance enhancing vocational choices. According to Miller, "This constricted view was not in harmony with the broader concept of guidance actually developing in the schools" (30, p. 163). To meet this criticism the Commissioner of Education decreed that the distinction made between a vocational counselor and any other kind of counselor would be

The vocational counselor should be trained in all the skills considered necessary in any person called a counselor by the best standards. The word "vocational" would denote added training which would make him particularly competent in vocational implications. This kind of definition, it is evident, involves the same principle which compels, for instance, the psychiatrist to be first a fully trained physician. If this concept prevails there should be no occasion for worry as to whether persons trained as vocational counselors have either breadth or depth. Vocational guidance programs conducted by such persons would likewise be adequate according to any standard (25, p. 487).

Apparently in recognition of this definition, states began to change the titles of supervisors to Supervisors of Guidance Service or something similar implying a broader general area of service.

The Rogerian Revolution

Just as Victorian society provided the cultural milieu for much of Sigmund Freud's conceptualization, the American climate influenced Frank Parsons' pragmatic approach to vocational guidance and E. G. Williamson's belief in measurable

interdependent traits. The blend of pragmatism and optimistic faith in the individual have had a major impact on the development of guidance in the United States. In 1942, the guidance movement was set off in a new direction with the appearance of Carl R. Rogers' book, Counseling and Psychotherapy. Rogers emphasized the counseling relationship rather than diagnosis and thus broke the monopoly that medicine and its psychiatric specialty long held. Personality was viewed by Rogers as realistic, capable of continued growth and rational choice, as the counselor responded to the whole person. These theoretical assumptions were to produce repercussions affecting every aspect of the guidance movement during the next twenty years.

Carl R. Rogers

Born on January 8, 1902, Carl R. Rogers was to become a true representative of the humanistic impulses of the American midwest. Growing up on a farm in Illinois, he experienced the close family ties of a rural America before the mechanization of agriculture. His parents had bought the farm, intent on germinating in their children "hard work and a highly conservative Protestant Christianity" (38, p. 185).

Upon completion of high school, Rogers enrolled at the University of Wisconsin to study scientific agriculture, but during his sophomore year he decided to go into religious education. He finished his degree, receiving a baccalaureate

in history from the University of Wisconsin in 1924. He married and moved to New York, where he enrolled at Union Theological Seminary. Rogers chose this seminary because of its liberal reputation, although his father tried to persuade him to attend a more conservative seminary. Rogers wrote of this experience,

Having rejected the family views of religion, I became interested in a more modern religious viewpoint and spent two profitable years in Union Theological Seminary, which at the time was deeply committed to a freedom of philosophical thought which respected any honest attempt to resolve significant problems, whether this led into or away from the church (38, p. 186).

During his second year in New York he began to take courses at Columbia University. He credits this with being a particularly varied and rich experience, so much so that by the third year he decided to transfer to Columbia to major in clinical and educational psychology.

Here I was exposed to the views of John Dewey, not directly, but through William H. Kilpatrick. I also had my first introduction to clinical psychology in the warmly human and common-sense approach of Leta Stetter Hollingsworth. There followed a year of internship at the Institute for Child Guidance, then in its chaotic but dynamic first year of existence, 1927-1928. Here I gained much from the highly Freudian orientation of most of its psychiatric staff, which included David Levy and Lawson Lowrey. My first attempts at therapy were carried on at the Institute. Because I was still completing my doctorate at Teachers College, the sharp incompatibility of the highly speculative Freudian thinking of the Institute with the highly statistical and Thorndikean views at Teachers College was keenly felt (38, p. 186).

Thus Rogers' educational experience had exposed him to both psychoanalytic thinking through the works of Freud and the

Neo-Freudians as well as the scientific method. Rogers completed his doctorate in 1931 and took his first position at a community guidance clinic in Rochester, New York.

It was while at Rochester that Rogers became acquainted with the thought of Otto Rank, namely, that the individual has self-directing capacities. This position meshed well into Rogers' strong belief in the dignity of the individual. Out of his accumulated experience of working with clients as well as the exposure to the thought of the social workers trained in the Rankian method, Rogers published his first book in 1939, The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child. His desire to go beyond the then-accepted clinical approach, along with his respect for the scientific standards common to academic settings, led Rogers to accept an appointment in 1941 as a professor at The Ohio State University (10, p. 121).

Nondirective Counseling

Few events in the history of the guidance movement have had greater impact than the publication, in 1942, of Rogers' Counseling and Psychotherapy: Newer Concepts in Practice. What Rogers advocated was a counseling relationship characterized by warmth and responsiveness on the part of the therapist, a permissive climate allowing the client to sense that his feelings could be expressed, and a freedom for the client from all coercion or pressure. In such a relationship a client would gain understanding of himself which

would "enable him to take positive steps in the light of his new orientation" (36, p. 18).

Basically, Counseling and Psychotherapy was a technique-oriented book. Harold Bernard and Daniel Fuller identified a dozen steps as outlined by Rogers.

1. The person comes for help.
2. The helping relationship is explained.
3. A permissive climate encourages the counselee to express feelings.
4. Feelings are labeled as negative or positive and are accepted by the counselor.
5. Positive feelings begin to emerge.
6. The counselor labels and interprets these feelings.
7. The counselee begins to accept the self.
8. The client's possible courses of action are clarified.
9. The counselee begins positive action.
10. Positive actions are supported by the counselor.
11. The counselee's behavior shows movement toward a higher level of maturity.
12. Psychological emancipation begins and continues through the termination process of the relationship (6, p. 330).

These techniques were intended, in part, Rogers stated, to stimulate research.

This Rogerian method, as it came to be known, was based on interpersonal relations as the ground of neurosis and health alike. No longer was the guidance worker to be viewed as an authority. The client, given a safe environment in which to express feelings and explore thoughts, was believed to be able to reorganize his perceptions and come to see that he controlled his own destiny. Rogers summarized this perceptual reorganization.

Therapy is basically the experiencing of the inadequacies in old ways of perceiving, the experiencing of new and more accurate and adequate perceptions, and the recognition of significant relationships between perceptions. In a very meaningful and accurate sense, therapy is diagnosis, and this diagnosis is a process which goes on in the experience of the client, rather than in the intellect of the clinician (35, pp. 221-222).

From this line of reasoning Rogers dismissed diagnosis, noting that "it may actually be a detriment to the therapeutic process" (35, p. 220). It was logical for Rogers to have antipathy for the use of tests, given his overall theoretical stance. In an article written in 1946 Rogers stated his view.

Psychometric tests do not stand up well as a technique for client-centered counseling. If the counselor suggests the taking of tests, he is both directing the conversation and is implying, "I know what to do about this." To administer tests routinely or to have them administered at the beginning of the contracts is to proclaim in the strongest possible terms, "I can measure you, can find out all about you," and this implies to the client that the counselor can also tell him what he should do. For the counselor to interpret tests to the client is to say, "I am the expert, I know more about you than you know about yourself, and I shall impart that superior knowledge." In other words, when tests are used in the traditional fashion, they contradict almost completely the principles of client-centered counseling (37, p. 141).

From statements such as these, Rogers provided a workable and clearly defined psychotherapeutic approach applicable to guidance personnel, social workers, and educators alike.

Joel Kovel notes that Rogers was able to create a psychological system explaining human nature. This system became the basis for a subjectivistic therapy. Kovel speaks of this as having

a considerable emphasis on subjective awareness, yet extensively articulate with social, interpersonal factors along with being strongly rooted in a naturalistic base of an essentially, good human core. This base does not extend very far into biology or transcendence; the social dimension remains tied to the immediate human surroundings (27, p. 115).

This was an American approach to counseling and in the mid-1940's the times were right for new concepts and tools to aid the guidance worker.

The Impact of Client-Centered Counseling

Carl Rogers' influence on guidance personnel, psychologists, and educators, as well as the general public, has been enormous. His 1942 publication of Counseling and Psychotherapy was a radical departure from the then-current guidance and psychotherapeutic methods. In reviewing Rogers' achievement, A. L. Tolbert stated that Counseling and Psychotherapy "triggered a revolution" in all forms of guidance (50, p. 64). Guidance personnel "began to focus on pupils' own perception of needs" (32, p. 152). Miller noted that Rogers' contribution resulted in a closer relationship between guidance and psychology with the "clinical emphasis now an integral feature of guidance" (30, pp. 167-168).

Robert Harper viewed Rogers as a product of the American experience, his influence understood in a cultural context. Harper cites five reasons for Rogers' prominence.

1. Rogerian therapy fitted into the American democratic tradition since the client is treated as an equal rather than as a "patient."

2. Its optimistic philosophy emphasized the individual's potentiality for constructive change and was reflective of the optimistic American culture.

3. It appealed to young, insecure therapists as an easy approach.

4. It held promise of being a swifter route to personality change than did psychoanalysis.

5. It was better understood by American psychologists because of its philosophical postulates, its respect for research, and its lack of foreign terms and methods (23, pp. 83-84).

Bruce Shertzer and Shelley Stone underscore Rogers' impact on American guidance by noting that "an examination of the professional counseling journals makes abundantly clear the impact of Rogers' thinking" (43, p. 215). Before Rogers, the professional literature was very practical, dealing with such issues as testing, cumulative records, vocations, and placement. Much was written about the goals and purposes of guidance, but with Rogers a new emphasis on techniques and methods of counseling became the vogue.

The extent of this Rogerian Revolution in guidance is grasped by the overnight replacement of testing by counseling as the key guidance function. Commenting on this, Roger Aubrey declared,

Counseling would rise to such eminence in the next few years that it would compete and contend with guidance in regard to the use of counselors' time and overall purpose of counseling and guidance. What began as an adjunct tool of guidance would now rise for ascendancy in its own right (3, p. 291).

Donald Super went further, criticizing the enveloping and unquestioned acceptance of Rogers' work by the profession as a whole. For Super, guidance theory in the 1940's "was

simply too weak to assimilate and integrate the theory and research of Rogers without a resultant bandwagon effect" (49, p. 250).

It was clear that guidance had not yet reached a stage of development at which it could integrate new theoretical and practical procedures without being completely transformed by them as it was by Rogerian theory. Aubrey states that "guidance disappeared as a major consideration . . . and was replaced by a decade or more of concentration on counseling" (3, p. 192).

The National Vocational Guidance Association

The National Vocational Guidance Association experienced continued expansion, adding a thousand new members between 1940 and 1942 (50, p. 27). The debate begun in the late twenties over the name of the Association continued throughout the forties, as members challenged what many felt was the narrow focus on vocational concerns. With America's entry into the war, the NVGA and its branches sought ways to contribute to the defense program. During the war years, the Association sponsored activities on defense and vocational guidance as a means of utilizing manpower on the homefront. The years following the war required adjustment as the guidance movement as a whole, and the Association in particular, sought to respond to the forces unleashed by the demands of postwar America.

Continued Unrest over the Association's Title

In 1941, the controversy over the name of the Association broke into the open again. In revising policies and procedures for the Association, a Committee on Constitution and Organization, with Francis Cummings as chairman, had been appointed. While corresponding with local chapters, as well as national officers, trustees, and delegates to the last convention, the Committee uncovered a large block of members who continued to be dissatisfied with the purpose and name of the Association. The primary criticism remained the exclusivity that the use of the word vocational implied in the title of the Association. Many felt that the Association should not restrict itself to vocational guidance but should seek to represent the whole spectrum of guidance services. This required a name change for both the Association and its periodical as well as a redefinition of the purpose and functions of the Association (42, pp. 45-46).

The Cummings Committee felt that the 3,300 members of the Association were now faced again with an issue that could not be ignored. However, the times were judged to be too sensitive as the nation readied for war, so the committee suggested that further debate be postponed until the 1941 convention. The 1941 convention saw two meetings

devoted to the clarification and discussion of the underlying problems encountered by the committee as to the purposes of the Association, the name of the Association, the types of memberships, the kinds of

programs to be undertaken, and the appeal and name of the periodical (8, p. 289).

Finally the convention decided to appoint a special committee to reformulate the statement of the Association and to provide for such changes in the name and structure of the Association as might be necessary. These proposed changes were to be mailed to branches for consideration by May, with a revised draft finished by December 1, 1941. It was hoped this democratic procedure would allow for branch chapters to participate in the writing of the final document that would be presented to the 1942 convention.

The special committee was entitled the Committee on Purpose and Function and was composed of the following: Chairman Jerome H. Bentley and members Margaret E. Bennett, Anna L. Burdick, Francis Cummings, Rex B. Cunliffe, Harry D. Kitson, Warren K. Layton, Francis C. Rosecrance, and Barbara H. Wright. The committee met for two days in April in New York and reviewed all the national and local developments in the guidance movement. Discussion finally evolved into two propositions--(1) that the Association devote itself primarily to vocational guidance or (2) that it broaden its objectives to include areas usually included in the term "guidance and personnel." The committee recommended that the broader objective become the stated purpose of the Association and this was transmitted to the branch chapters in May, 1941, in the form of a ballot. However, only 21 per cent of the

membership returned ballots, a surprisingly low return. Of these, 75 per cent expressed approval for a change in name, and a slightly larger number favored the proposed statement of purpose (8, pp. 289-291).

In order to generate more interest among the membership the October, 1941 issue of Occupations published a fifteen-page "Symposium regarding Change of Name and Statement of Purpose of the National Vocational Guidance Association." Six essays were featured, three by persons desiring to change the name and purpose, and three by persons opposing the change (50, p. 27).

Arthur J. Jones, Barbara Wright, and Warren K. Layton, writing in favor of the change of name, argued that the present composition of the Association included a membership much more diverse than the name implied. Furthermore, the majority of branches were already known as "guidance and personnel associations" (50, p. 33). Arthur Jones summarized the views of those wanting to broaden the banner of the Association when he declared,

The cause of guidance can best be promoted by an Association composed of all those who are concerned with the guidance of youth; specialists in finding facts about youth, about jobs, about school, home, economic, and social situations; and specialists in guiding youth. A change in the name of the Association will merely recognize the present function of the Association (50, p. 32).

Writing in defense of the present name and purposes of the Association were John M. Brewer, Margaret E. Bennett,

and Robert Hoppock. Quoting the pioneers of the movement, John M. Brewer maintained that the original task of the NVGA was still valid. He wrote,

Even if we restrict the definition of guidance to help with decisions by individuals, we have the following kinds of guidance which young people need: selection of companions, selection of husband or wife; kinds of home to establish; location of home; investments; kinds of athletic interests, recreations, and hobbies; community activities; political party; selection of clubs; selection of diet and health habits; church and religious affiliation; purchases of all kinds. Can we obtain a unified personnel out of this array, without inviting and enrolling each and every person engaged in educating the young and old (50, p. 38)?

Robert Hoppock noted the rise of additional guidance organizations and used this as a rationale to justify the NVGA's unique existence. He calculated that with the war's end the vocational readjustment of millions of discharged soldiers would require the complete resources of the Association (50, p. 42).

The symposium achieved its designed purpose as measured by the letters to the editor. The anti-name-change forces were delighted at C. Gilbert Wrenn's change of stance and his letter of explanation printed in the November, 1941, issue. Wrenn's comments revealed the anguish that this controversy caused among Association members.

I have come to the conclusion that it would be unwise to change the name of the Association or broaden its functions any further. I have always taken a stand on the contrary position, namely, that the same should be changed and the function broadened, but I am willing to be labeled inconsistent and to state that I now believe that such a change would be unwise.

For several reasons, I believe we should attempt to maintain our organization a national organization of vocational guidance and do a bang-up job of it. One reason is that I am disturbed by the dangers of superficiality that go along with spread of functions. I am concerned about all of us attempting to "cover the world" in the field of guidance and doing no one part of it particularly well. I believe in many emphases in guidance but our present Association should keep its boundaries in order to develop a higher level of professional competence in at least one area (29, p. 131).

All six letters to the editor in the October Occupations were expressions of support or rejection for the name change.

Obviously, this remained the single most powerful issue within the Association.

Hoping to avoid fragmenting the NVGA, the special committee debated including in its December, 1941, final draft report a suggestion that the Association might be composed of two sections--one representative of the vocational viewpoint and the other representing a more general guidance personnel viewpoint. However, yielding to what was considered the majority view of the committee, the final draft proposal stated,

The committee then decided, because of its appreciation of the need for an organization concerned with vocational guidance and in the light of the traditions of this Association and the emotional attachment that was clearly evident on the part of many of its members to the term, "vocational" that the only clear-cut responsibility which it could recommend at present was a name and statement specifically denoting vocational guidance (8, p. 291).

From this the committee made two recommendations to the 1942 convention.

1. That the name of the Association remain the National Vocational Guidance Association, Inc.
2. That the purpose of the Association shall be to promote vocational guidance and occupational adjustment and to encourage the development of professional service in these fields (8, p. 291).

These were the recommendations presented to the Association meeting in convention in San Francisco in 1942. To the special committee's bewilderment, the convention decided that not enough local participation had been allowed in drafting the final report, and the issue of the name change was referred back to the original Committee on Constitution and Organization for further study (42, p. 52).

The demands of the war years forced the postponement of the 1943 convention. Finally, in 1944, at yet another convention the delegates were presented with the issue and took a stand for keeping the same name and purpose of vocational guidance and occupational adjustment by voting the necessary two-thirds approval. However, this was not to be the final word on an issue first raised in 1929, for the challengers were determined to be heard.

The War Years

With America's traditional allies Britain and France at war with Germany since the blitzkrieg by German forces into Poland on September 1, 1939, NVGA anticipated the very real prospect of America's involvement before long in another world war. Articles anticipating a war emergency began to appear on a regular basis, and publications during 1940

and 1941, prior to the declaration of war, included such articles as the following: "The Vocational Counselor's Part in National Defense" (54, pp. 3-8), "Defense News of Special Interest" (14, pp. 120-124), "Our Share in National Defense" (26, pp. 277-280), "New Defense Personnel Techniques" (41, pp. 403-408), and "Women in Defense Occupations" (55, pp. 509-511).

Once America had formally become involved in the war, articles appeared on such topics as "Uncle Sam Seeks Trained Personnel" (53, pp. 253-256), "Occupational Outlook and the War" (24, pp. 499-505), and "A Program for NVGA in Civilian Defense" (52, pp. 133-137). In an article published in September, 1942, "Counseling Youth for Wartime Jobs," advice was given on how the high school counselor should see each student against the larger backdrop of the war.

The counselor should view with special care the group who will presumably leave school within the next six months or year, since they will be of immediate importance to military or civil war effort. In examining this group the counselor will apply two criteria: (1) what are the places in civil or military life which need most to be filled; (2) which of these have such highly specialized requirements that only a few of the school-leaving group could meet them? For instance, if there is a demand for pilots the counselor will need to remember that these candidates must be boys, that they must have ability in mathematics and sciences, and, most important of all, they must have perfect physical condition, including 20/20 vision in each eye. In guiding youth from this graduation group the counselor's first care will be to supply persons for these highly selected categories (11, pp. 5-6).

The article went on to suggest that counselors demythologize the Selective Service Act, for too many youth feared it, not through cowardice, but because it was something mysterious. Youth were to be informed of the various types of service and the provisions for enlistment.

In preparation for future military and naval service all young men should be informed about the various branches of the Armed Services. There is a task of vocational guidance for war that is almost identical with vocational guidance for peacetime occupations. The Army and Navy include hundreds of specialties which are identical with those followed in civilian life. Accordingly, some who enter the Service will be able to follow their customary occupation, or one closely related to it. But many young men have no occupation, in which case the Army or Navy may give them one. Naturally we cannot hold out to every youth the prospect of service as a telephone lineman, automobile mechanic, cook, or cable splicer, for after all, some men must carry guns and pull lanyards. Nevertheless it is proper to regard the Army and Navy as a vast agglomeration of occupations, and their training centers as a great collection of vocational schools.

Vocational guidance of 1942 then must include orientation to Armed Services as well as to civilian occupations. This orientation will include more than mere information about types of service, however. It should look toward induction. For example, it should include information regarding the workings of the Personnel Classification System in the Army. Young men will be thrilled to hear how their individual assets will be considered in the Army, and how they can help in the appraising process (11, p. 6).

The article concluded by stating that even in wartime a democratic society always exercises concern for the welfare of its individual members.

In a content analysis of the topics found in Occupations for the period 1936 to 1945, Hope Daugherty characterized the

decade as one in which vocational guidance prepares for war. Her systematic examination of the articles found

Over 95 per cent of the articles dealt with a program suggestion for military-related occupations and employment opportunities for veterans. These programs dealt also with postwar reconversion; federal agencies and their handling of war-induced employment problems; training, placing, or reabsorbing the draft-age man or woman, and counseling the pre-inductee (13, p. 33).

She concluded her analysis by noting that articles concerned with the draft-age man and the war worker accounted for 44.4 per cent of this category's interest. This was the only decade in the history of Occupations in which "greater concern was exhibited for any group other than the junior worker" (13, p. 33).

In addition to using the periodical as a tool to advance the war effort, individual branches were encouraged to place themselves at the disposal of the local Office of Civilian Defense. This was done in some instances voluntarily; for example, in Cleveland soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Northeastern Ohio Vocational Guidance Association held an emergency meeting and passed a resolution pledging its services to the local Office of Civilian Defense. The Ohio Chapter undertook the classifying of volunteers occupationally and assigned them to fields of volunteer service (52, p. 133).

The national Association also cooperated with other professional organizations as well as agencies within the federal government. In October, 1940, the National Education

Association and the American Council of Education jointly sponsored a National Coordinating Committee meeting on education and defense. Fifty-five professional organizations participated, including the NVGA. The purpose was to coordinate all related educational activities with the overall defense program (21, p. 41).

One month later, the Chief of Occupational Information and Guidance Services, the Commissioner of the Office of Education, and the President of the NVGA called for a two-day conference on defense and vocational guidance. Leaders from the NVGA membership, state officials, and other leaders from government agencies and national organizations met to consider what they should do in the event of a war emergency. As a result of this meeting a special committee, with Florence E. Clark as chairman, was appointed to determine what in particular the NVGA should prepare itself to do. The committee published its report in the December issue of Occupations. The report was global, seeking to address problems of school dropouts, counselor certification, information on labor law, as well as occupations for defense. The article closed with a question: "Is the vocational guidance program of your high school making its maximum contribution to national defense?" (7, pp. 167-171).

Other activities in which the NVGA participated during the war years included a 1943 nationwide radio broadcast entitled "Back to School." The program was targeted to

teenage youth considering dropping out of school, and allowed youth the opportunity to question experts on the advantages of receiving a diploma. Another educational concern was the growing teacher shortage. By 1944 the problem was viewed as critical and NVGA President Margaret E. Bennett joined a national task force to recruit and retain qualified teachers (42, p. 54). Interestingly, these educational problems were accepted by guidance personnel as their problems too, for guidance was still viewed as an adjunct to the traditional educational establishment.

Publications, 1946-1949

The postwar years placed new demands on the vocational guidance movement as the NVGA responded to the educational hopes of millions of returning servicemen. By using its periodical, the Association began to address the readjustment problems that awaited servicemen eager to reenter civilian life. As early as May, 1942, Occupations carried an article, "Employment Opportunities after the War" (45, pp. 574-575). Editor Harry D. Kitson directed that each issue, beginning with volume twenty-three during the 1944-45 publication year, provide articles anticipating demobilization and rehabilitation. In February, 1945, a special issue of Occupations was published, entitled "Community Adult Counseling Centers," which focused on aiding communities in meeting the demands for vocational guidance (9, pp. 261-304).

As Occupations grew in stature it was decided that the term "magazine" was too limiting for a professional publication. In October, 1944, Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Magazine became Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Journal (44, p. 517).

By 1946 Americans had become aware of the devastation of Europe and Asia, and civic and professional groups sought ways to help in the postwar reconstruction. The Board of Trustees of the NVGA voted to send to needy countries surplus issues of Occupations. Individual members and branches were asked to collect and send guidance materials through the American Book Center (42, p. 58).

As the decade came to a close, the Association recognized that it was being looked upon for leadership in the whole area of guidance. In May, 1949, it published a manual, Counselor Preparation, which was undertaken at the request of seven professional organizations that were seeking to address the requirements for training qualified personnel. These included American College Personnel Association; American Psychological Association, Division of Counseling and Guidance; National Association of Guidance Supervisors; National Rehabilitation Association; Office of Education, Federal Security Agency; United States Employment Service; and Veterans Administration. The manual did not list specific courses for counselors, but rather general types of training considered beneficial. It was recommended that guidance

personnel in educational and vocational areas should have preparation in group methods, placement, follow-up techniques, and uses and methods of research and evaluation (12, pp. viii-37).

The May, 1949, issue of Occupations also contained the first NVGA Directory of Vocational Counseling Services. The Association felt that the time had come for objective information regarding agencies which offer vocational guidance. This review contained eighty-two agencies which had made application for evaluation by the Association's Ethical Practices Committee. Each agency listed had met certain minimum qualifications. The Directory stated, "It is important to note the services which the agency offers, and referrals to a particular agency should be made only according to such service as it may be able to provide" (32, p. 571). This was followed in 1950 by a one-volume Directory of Vocational Counseling Agencies, which contained data on 131 agencies (31).

The Postwar Crisis over Identity

There was little opportunity for NVGA members to meet on an annual basis during the war years, allowing the controversy over the Association's title and purpose to remain dormant. However, the war years had seen the introduction of Rogers' psychotherapeutic procedures, which had accelerated the call for a move away from an exclusive vocational guidance model to a more comprehensive clinical approach. At the Columbus,

Ohio, convention in 1947 the issue of a name change for the Association surfaced again after C. Gilbert Wrenn delivered the keynote address, "Trends and Predictions in Vocational Guidance" (42, p. 60). Feeling that the Association did not intend to broaden its professional identity, some dissidents began a movement in late 1947 to form a new association of school counselors.

By 1948 the debate over professional identity and institutional purpose had become a national concern. The March issue of Occupations carried Donald E. Super's article, "Charting Our Field," in which he showed by way of a diagram how members in the NVGA were affiliated with most aspects of the guidance movement. However, he noted that no organization existed to serve the special interests and meet the all-around needs of guidance workers in secondary schools and community guidance centers (48, p. 347). He also noted the exaggerated preoccupation among guidance personnel over the issue of psychological adjustment and diagnosis. Guidance personnel had abandoned interest in psychometrics for the new psychtherapeutic procedures. The problem with this emphasis, Super warned, was that few guidance personnel had the training and competence to deal with personality problems. He commented on this inadequacy,

The proposal that NVGA be changed to NGA is partly the result of guilt and inferiority feelings, a compensatory desire to pay even greater lip service to the concept of the unity of personality, and to acquire

the greater prestige and status now so often associated with the field of personality adjustment. It is a spurious solution to a professional adjustment problem (48, p. 348).

Super concluded by stating that the NVGA should not be considered all things to all people, but that it did make a unique contribution and, where there was a need, new organizations should be established.

In the 1948 convention in Chicago, 537 members heard President Warren K. Layton address the topic of the "NVGA: Its Status and Task." In his state-of-the-Association speech President Layton noted the internal and external pressures that were affecting the guidance movement in general and the Association in particular. He summarized the consequences of these forces in four statements.

1. We are holding our own with respect to membership though not growing as rapidly as the public interest in our field.
2. Our base of operations is about to be moved to a new and it is hoped more advantageous location.
3. We are as yet the only national organization at least nominally devoted primarily to the professional interests of counselors.
4. Our philosophy, the official statement of which has not been modified for eleven years, is essentially what it has been for 40 years, and while still acceptable to some of us, would, in the judgment of some of the rest of us, stand re-examination and restatement in the light of events (28, p. 471).

President Layton concluded by stating the task for the future should be

1. To initiate and carry out an immediate study of our fundamental objectives so that all may know the field in which we will strive to maintain and to augment our preeminent position.

2. To implement with all resources which can be made available a program of promotion designed to bring about growth and advancement at the national level and above all to strengthen the local branches affiliated with us (28, p. 471).

The Association had invited Daniel D. Feder, president of the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, to address the convention. This was an attempt to begin dialogue with newly formed guidance groups outside of the NVGA. Feder told the delegates that the most frequent complaint heard against the NVGA was the narrowness of the title of the organization. He declared,

In actuality, the members of the National Vocational Guidance Association have broadened their functions into many areas of student counseling other than those concerned with immediate problems of vocational adjustment. . . . The title is far narrower than the actual functions being performed by most persons bearing it (19, p. 7).

He concluded his remarks with the bold proposal that the next step in the personnel profession was the creation of a parent organization which would include the following major functional areas.

1. Counseling.--to be concerned with problems and techniques of educational, vocational, and personal problem counseling. This area would include disciplinary, religious, and other special phases of personal counseling. The possibility of subsections in terms of emphasis may be visualized.

2. Occupational information and training opportunities.--to be a basic service area to all counseling, especially educational and vocational.

3. Financial counseling.--to include problems of student self-help, loans and scholarships, part-time employment, and placement after graduation.

4. Extracurricular and recreational activities.--to be devoted to special problems of group work, social

fraternities and sororities, and other student groups and their place in the personnel program.

5. Articulation of high school and college.--to include admission officers and others concerned with the transition phases between the secondary school and college.

6. Administration of guidance and personnel programs.--to provide a means for the exchange of ideas and techniques among persons specifically charged with the administration and supervision of over-all programs of student services. The possibility of subsections dependent upon organizational type and structure has been suggested in this area.

7. Student housing.--to provide for those specially concerned with dormitory problems, provision of housing facilities in non-institutionally controlled housing, etc. (This is naturally a limited area of operation, and primarily of concern at the college level, but nevertheless one of the important areas of student personnel work that has been pretty much neglected.) (19, p. 9).

The 1948 convention must be viewed as one of the most historically significant in the development of both the NVGA and the future direction for guidance in the United States. The delegates brought into the open the single most divisive force within the Association--its purpose for being. At the close of the convention, the Board of Trustees and the Delegate Assembly appointed a policy committee, with Carroll L. Shartle as chairman, to evaluate for possible revision The Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance, and to determine the function of the NVGA in society (34, pp. 270-272). It was further decided in accordance with Layton's suggestion that the headquarters office would move from Teachers College, Columbia University, to Washington, D.C., by July of 1949 (42, p. 60).

The January, 1949, issue of Occupations carried the final report of the Policy Committee which was to be considered by all branches prior to the spring convention in Atlantic City. The report began with a list of points related to the future development of the Association. These were

1. The need in a democratic society for furthering satisfactory personal and social adjustment to the end that this society remain vital and strong.

2. The probability of increased appropriations for education at the national, state, and local levels and the necessity of adequate provision for guidance services in the expenditure of such funds.

3. The imperative need for team work and continuous liaison with other national associations and with government agencies concerned with guidance and related activities.

4. The need for unifying the forces in the field of guidance in order to further the aims of the movement and extend its development.

5. The development of standards for the professional training of guidance personnel and the improvement and extension of training programs in colleges and universities.

6. The necessity for developing improved guidance facilities, providing adequate conditions of work, initiating and pursuing research, and mobilizing civic resources and administrative support.

7. The importance of meeting the growing professional needs of school counselors in all phases of guidance service.

8. The necessity for providing continued and even greater leadership in vocational guidance and occupational adjustment.

9. The necessity of adequate assistance to branches in providing leadership in the community (34, p. 270).

From the discussions evolving out of the considerations of the above developments, the Commission recommended a revision in the Association's constitution, to include

The purpose of the Association shall be to foster educational, vocational, and social adjustment through professional guidance and personnel work and to establish and improve standards of professional service in these fields (34, p. 270).

Further, the Committee suggested the following as examples of guidance and personnel work.

1. Education guidance at all levels.
2. Vocational guidance and career planning for youth and adults.
3. Placement and employment selection.
4. Occupational adjustment.
5. Counseling on problems of personal-social development and adjustment (34, p. 271).

The report went on to endorse the branch structure and the delegate assembly. However, the constitution and bylaws were to be revised to effect changes in the reallocation of divisions and committees. To achieve this, the following was suggested.

The divisional system should be so structured as to meet most effectively the needs of the membership. The Policy Committee, for illustrative purposes, suggests the following three divisions: (1) school division, (2) college division, and (3) out-of-school division (34, p. 271).

Each division would set its own standard for membership, provided the standards were not below those of the overall Association, and could have dues, publications, officers, and committees.

The report specified how officers would be chosen and what their responsibilities would be.

1. If the number of divisions remains less than four or five, it is recommended that the chairman of each division be a vice-president of the Association and serve on the Board of Trustees.

2. The office of President-Elect should be established and the incumbent serve on the Board of Trustees for one year before automatically becoming President.

3. The present office of Vice-President should be abolished and the past President should no longer hold membership on the Board of Trustees.

4. With the enlargement of the Association, financial problems will become more complicated. Therefore, the committee recommends that the Treasurer be selected by the Trustees and become a member of the Board. The term of office of the Treasurer should be three years instead of one.

The report went on to endorse the relocation of the national headquarters to Washington, D.C. It recommended that the office

be headed by a full-time, highly qualified Executive Secretary who would be responsible for fostering the interests of the Association with important government officials, national organizations, and state and local organizations (34, p. 271).

Further recommendation was made that Occupations "be reconstructed to conform to the purposes of the Association" (34, p. 271). Finally, the Committee report proposed two possible titles for the Association: American Guidance Association or American Guidance and Personnel Association.

This broad, sweeping report was set before the delegates who met in convention in October, 1949. Although the report had been in members' hands for months prior to the convention, it was agreed that no final action on the report would be taken by the Atlantic City Convention. The delegates felt that too much was being asked in too short a time and that they were under no time limitations in considering such massive changes (42, p. 62).

The fact that the Convention did not ratify the committee report did not alter the fact that by decade's end the momentum for change was clearly on the side of those who wanted to expand the purposes of the Association. Too much had happened for the principal professional guidance association to maintain the status quo. The field of guidance was still evolving and the decade of the 1940's marked a time of transition.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT AT MIDCENTURY

American Personnel and Guidance Association

For nearly half a century the guidance movement in the United States was composed of a collection of associations each pursuing a singular purpose. This was the natural outgrowth of specific needs calling for specific responses. But the conditions within a society are always changing, and this was particularly true during the first half of the twentieth century as the twin revolutions of urbanization and technology transformed America. It was increasingly clear by midcentury that if organized guidance was to remain effective there needed to be a single national voice. By 1950, Robert Hoppock announced that the traditional view of guidance was crumbling, and in 1951 Donald Super called for a revision of the official NVGA definition of vocational guidance. Leaders and members alike believed the times were right for consolidation and a new national organization.

Formation of the American Personnel and Guidance Association

The formation of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) was not a spontaneous event. It would have been impossible for such an organization to have existed

prior to 1952, for the guidance movement needed time to differentiate those groups in society needing a particular guidance service. Growing out of this differentiation process, numerous guidance associations were formed beginning in 1913 with the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA). Next came the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) in 1916, and in 1924 the National Association of Personnel and Placement Officers (NAPPO), which became the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), these last two concerned with student personnel work at the college level. As early as 1929 these three professional groups began to meet together at convention time (21, p. 14).

The first serious attempt at unification came in April, 1933, when the National Occupational Conference (NOC) sought to bring together the then-existing guidance organizations. In a meeting in New York attended by members of separate associations a report was drafted calling for the formation of a coordinating council. It was the expressed view of those in attendance that a federation be created linking all the guidance services together while guaranteeing each association's autonomy (9, pp. 45-48). A final report was accepted by seven associations in March, 1934, bringing into existence the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations (ACGPA). The groups that were charter members included Institute of Women's Professional Relations, National Association of Deans of Women, National Federation of Bureau of

Occupations, National Vocational Guidance Association, Personnel Research Federation, Southern Women's Educational Alliance, and Teachers College Personnel Association. Affiliated organizations were also admitted. They were American Association of Collegiate Registrars and National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (23, p. 263).

The Council worked at coordinating annual conventions and reported its activities through the NVGA'S Occupations. Although the concept of a federation had been accepted, the Council had no staff, no money, and existed only out of the generosity of associations' members. Carl McDaniels' history of the period concluded that the Council "in actual practice did very little other than at conventions" (21, p. 17). In 1940 the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations changed its name to the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations (CGPA) (27, pp. 534-546).

During the 1940's the CGPA remained the best hope for professional unification among the many guidance associations. However, from the very beginning its authority had been limited, for its charter stated that the Council had no power to commit any constituent organization to any course of action (21, p. 18). With the onset of World War II, the issue of unification became less important as each guidance association sought to respond to the national crisis; but the war itself demonstrated the need for the guidance profession to coordinate its services. As the decade came to a close

Daniel Feder, the newly appointed dean of students at the University of Denver, delivered his now-famous speech to the NVGA.

Feder's review of the functions of the differing associations as well as areas of overlapping services made clear that the time had arrived for "a solidly established national organization that can provide institutional as well as individual standards of service" (13, p. 8). As a result of Feder's speech the CGPA appointed a commission to consider the advantages and disadvantages of unification. McDaniels noted that it was "the job of this CGPA Committee on Unification to shoulder the final and ultimate responsibility of working out a suitable plan of action for the new association that was to become APGA" (21, p. 23). In 1950, at the CPGA convention in Atlantic City, a proposed plan for unification was unveiled. The plan was favorably received, with only slight modification in wording, and forwarded to the three main groups studying unification, the NVGA, NADW, and ACPA, as well as being reported in the February, 1951, issue of Occupations (8, pp. 368-374).

The unification report was considered at the first meeting of the NVGA Board of Trustees in January, 1951. The Board recommended that the report be accepted by the membership meeting in convention later in the year. On June 13, 1951, the membership voted to change the NVGA's constitution in order that the oldest guidance association in America

could become a division in the new Personnel and Guidance Association (22, pp. 84-85). This action was soon followed by an affirmative vote by the ACPA at its annual convention. However, the NADW rejected unification at their convention by a vote of 222 against to 142 for (25, p. 146). Commenting on this, McDaniels states,

The "Deans" had been closely linked with ACPA and NVGA for more than twenty years in the ACGPA and CGPA but refused the new proposed association by forty-one votes out of a membership of over 1,000. NADW representatives voted to continue the study of the matter rather than to take any action for or against. Their action certainly must be seen as a strong blow against unification. The new association faced a possible loss of potential women leaders (21, p. 27).

Although only two of the three national guidance associations voted for unification, on June 14, 1951, the Personnel and Guidance Association (PGA) came into existence. Forty-three years had passed since Frank Parsons founded the Vocation Bureau of Boston, but by midcentury the guidance movement continued to demonstrate the innovation so necessary for a relevant social movement.

The first order of business for the new national organization was the election of a president, president-elect, treasurer, and two divisional representatives for the Executive Council of the Personnel and Guidance Association. Ballots were sent to the membership of the ACPA and NVGA, and read as follows.

Election Ballot

Personnel and Guidance Association of America

Members of the National Vocational Guidance Association and the American College Personnel Association have voted to establish the Personnel and Guidance Association. According to the provisions of the Plan of Organization a Nominating Committee has been appointed and you have been urged to send your nominations to the Chairman of this Committee. Members of ACPA received a notice about the nominations and members of NVGA were informed about it in the last issue of Occupations. The President of NVGA designated Willis Dugan and Glenn Smith and the President of ACPA designated Marcia Edwards and Robert Strozier to serve on the Nominating Committee. "Bill" Dugan was appointed chairman of the Committee and has reported that the Committee has met, has considered the suggestions which you sent in and submits the following slate of "candidates" for the consideration of the members.

Please vote for a president, president elect, and treasurer.

Send your ballot to me not later than July 31, 1951. If you are a member of ACPA and NVGA, please do not vote twice.

Clifford Houston, President, Board of Representatives, Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado (21, pp. 28-29).

The results of the election were reported in Occupations in October, 1951, and were Robert Shaffer, President; Donald Super, President-Elect; and Frank Fletcher, Treasurer (26, p. 60). The slate of officers served from their election through the first official year, 1952-1953. The officers and divisional representatives formed the Executive Council and began the organizational work necessary before the first convention scheduled for Los Angeles, March 30 through April 3, 1952. McDaniels' review of the Executive Council's preliminary activities focused on five decisions rendered (21, pp. 31-32):

1. It was decided that the formal beginning for PGA would be with the fiscal year starting on July 1, 1952.

2. The PGA would continue to invite the NADW to participate in the Association. President Shaffer was directed to write to the NADW officers and ask them to reconsider their position.

3. The Executive Council decided that there was confusion over the Association's name, for PGA was already established in the public's mind as the Professional Golfers Association. It was decided to add the word "American" to the title and so overcome the public's confusion. This was formally approved by the convention in 1952.

4. It was further decided that the CGPA would go out of existence with the 1952 Los Angeles convention.

5. Consideration was given to the request by school counselors for a new division; however, it was felt that creation of such a division so early in the Association's existence was premature, and action on the request was postponed until the convention.

By convention time in March, 1952, the new American Personnel and Guidance Association had four charter associations: American College Personnel Association (ACPA), Division One; National Association of Guidance Supervisors and Counselor Trainers (NAGSCT), Division Two; National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA), Division Three; and Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education (SPATE), Division Four. The

NVGA Board of Trustees voted to allow Occupations to become the official periodical of the APGA with the new name, Personnel and Guidance Journal (21, p. 33).

The organizers for a division of school counselors were able to bring the matter before the convention on April 3. The proposed title for the new division was the American School Counselor Association (ASCA). McDaniels reported that "there was much heated discussion" but that "the new Association was given tentative approval pending completion of the necessary formalities for division status" (21, p. 34).

From this Los Angeles convention, attended by 1,275 delegates, the APGA was born. Its internal organization allowed for autonomous divisions and reflected the necessary compromises required to bring under one banner the diverse guidance services. The merging of the several professional organizations enhanced the prestige of the guidance movement which was coming under increasing pressure from practitioners in the related fields of applied psychology.

Publications of the APGA

Since 1921 the guidance movement has had at least one professional periodical. It has been the function of such publications to promote the existence of a particular association, to further research, and to keep before the membership concerns of a professional nature. A review of a periodical over an extended period of time provides insight into what

was judged of value and interest. Concerning this Zeitgeist, Charles Osgood writes,

We may begin with the reasonable assumption that all of the events which occur in messages are causally dependent upon events or states in the human individuals producing the messages (24, p. 34).

A historical review of the Personnel and Guidance Journal provides an overall view of the developments in the guidance field and a means by which to chart the trends of the profession during the APGA's first decade of existence.

The Journal came into being at the Los Angeles convention when it was decided that it would become the successor of the NVGA's Occupations. William D. Wilkins, as first editor, sought to make the Journal as respectable as its predecessor. His statement of policy outlined his intentions and appeared in the October, 1952, Journal.

The Personnel and Guidance Journal, successor to Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Journal, is a professional periodical designed to meet the needs of the members of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, and others interested in the field.

It seeks to help personnel and guidance workers in education, vocational guidance agencies, industry, business, government, social agencies, and service organizations to do their work better.

The Personnel and Guidance Journal attempts to

1. Represent both the unity and breadth of the personnel and guidance movement;
2. Examine, report, and foster good personnel and guidance practices in the entire field;
3. Assist the various branches of the association to promote their programs by discussion of materials, problems, and accomplishments relating to personnel and guidance;
4. Keep its readers informed about major trends in the training and professional growth of personnel and guidance workers;

5. Report selected research studies in the field, particularly those which give promise of practical application;

6. Present news about people and events in the field;

7. Describe materials in other journals, books, and audio-visual media pertinent to the field; and

8. Serve as a medium for the interchange of ideas and for the exploration of new areas in personnel and guidance.

The Journal welcomes description of what guidance workers are doing on the job. It invites people active in the field to contribute to its pages. It succeeds a periodical with a history of service, and it hopes to continue to merit the distinction of being a useful, practical and thoroughly read Journal (38, p. 1).

However, Wilkins had served as a former editor of Occupations and, as McDaniels noted, "he felt a continued dedication to the principles of the NVGA's editorial position" (21, p. 89). This was reflected in Wilkins' Journal article of September, 1953.

A quite substantial part of the Journal continues to be devoted to vocational guidance. This is understandable since more than four out of five members of the Association are members of the National Vocational Guidance Association (37, p. 42).

An editorial bias toward vocational concerns remained in evidence until Wilkins' resignation in the spring of 1955. The new editor was Joseph Samler, Assistant Director of Vocational Counseling, Training and Adjustment, the Veterans Administration. Samler broadened and expanded the scope of the Journal, as indicated in a new statement of policy appearing in the October, 1955 Journal.

The Personnel and Guidance Journal is the official publication of the American Personnel and Guidance Association.

It seeks to help personnel and guidance workers in schools, colleges and universities, vocational counseling agencies, social agencies, business and industry, and government by keeping them informed of developments in the field.

The Journal is designed as a publication medium for articles dealing with significant practices in personnel and guidance work, current problems in the field, trends in training personnel and guidance workers, and theory and research that give promise of practical application.

As the official publication of the Association, the Journal presents Divisional and Branch news and programs, news about people and events in the field, and reports on Association activities (29, p. 61).

Two systematic studies of the Journal were conducted, examining its first decade of existence. Through content analysis Barry and Wolf reported in 1958 on the first five years of the Journal. This was followed by Shertzer and Stone's analysis of the last five years of the decade, which they reported in 1964. The general conclusion that both studies confirm was that under Samler's editorship the Journal expanded in both volume and subject matter reported.

Examination and analysis of the Journal articles over the period of the APGA's first ten years of existence revealed changes in emphasis within guidance. Barry and Wolf's study ranked articles according to frequency, and reported on topics in order of the decreasing number of contributions: counseling, occupational information, tests and test interpretation, and vocational guidance and planning (3, pp. 549-555). Using the same method, but reporting on articles appearing over the next five-year span, Shertzer and Stone's ranking disclosed test and test interpretation, counseling, personality and

behavior, with academic achievement and occupational information tied for fourth rank (31, pp. 958-969). If the two studies are combined, revealing the covering in the Journal between 1952 and 1962, the following eight areas in order of decreasing frequency are revealed: counseling, tests and test interpretation, occupational information, vocational guidance and planning, counselor training, personality and behavior, special students, and academic achievement.

Articles concerned with counseling remained a high priority throughout the decade. This supported Aubrey's contention that guidance was replaced by "the steamroller impact of Carl Rogers" (2, p. 292). The findings further showed a relationship between societal concerns and the profession's response, as demonstrated in the increased interest in personality and explanations of behavior. The interest displayed in occupational information and vocational guidance fluctuated as the decade progressed, reflecting economic changes affecting America. It is worth noting the strong comeback of psychometrics, which paradoxically coexisted during the fifties with Rogers' nondirective counseling.

McDaniels reported on a readership survey at the end of the Journal's first ten years. Based on a 10 per cent sample of the membership, 70 per cent usable returns were broken down into three main groups: (1) members in elementary, junior, or senior high school work: 476 (column one); (2) members in college and university work: 260 (column two);

and (3) all other members: 167 (column three). The responses of the readers indicated how successful the Journal had become. Some of the questions surveyed included the following:

For its interest and value to you, where would you rank the Personnel and Guidance Journal in relation to . . . other professional journals?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1. With the <u>best</u> ones	454	272	115	67
2. With the <u>good</u> ones	351	160	116	75
3. With the <u>fair</u> ones	70	29	21	20
4. With the <u>poor</u> ones	12	4	5	3
5. With the <u>worst</u> ones	5	3	1	1
6. No answer	11	8	2	1

How thoroughly do you read the Personnel and Guidance Journal?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1. All of it	125	73	32	20
2. Most of it	543	305	152	86
3. One or two articles or items	199	81	66	52
4. Glance through it	27	11	7	9
5. No answer	9	6	3	0

For whatever reading you do when the Journal arrives, do you read the articles and other sections in which you are interested?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1. Within a few days?	484	258	143	83
2. Within a month before the next issue?	283	154	71	58
3. When you can, which may be several months?	117	56	40	21
4. Really never do read it much if any?	13	3	5	5
5. No answer	6	5	1	0

How many of the Journal articles . . . do you read regularly?

	Total	1	2	3
1. Practically all of them	404	249	95	60
2. Practically none of them	63	26	18	19
3. Maybe about half of them	416	194	138	84
4. None	9	2	4	3
5. No answer	11	5	5	1

How much of the specialized sections (book reviews, Association news, etc.) of the Journal do you read regularly?

	Total	1	2	3
1. Practically all	434	238	114	82
2. Practically none	85	33	28	24
3. Maybe about half	353	191	106	56
4. None	13	6	5	2
5. No answer	18	8	7	3

Do you value some of the specialized sections more than others (that is, you would not want to do without them)? (Check either 1 or 2, or as many of 3 through 11 as you really value highly.)

	Total	1	2	3
1. Value all highly	321	188	82	51
2. Place low value on all	29	14	10	5
3. "Book Reviews"	421	206	132	83
4. "Who's Who"	155	57	59	39
5. Reports of Officers"	98	33	44	21
6. "Publications in Brief"	337	159	103	75
7. "Letters and Comments"	228	122	63	43
8. "Guidance in Practice"	372	227	84	61
9. "Testing the Test"	217	120	53	44
10. "Branches in Highlight"	53	28	12	13
11. "Other Association News"	59	27	22	10
12. No answer	27	10	10	7

The Journal articles can be classified according to content. During the publishing year 1961-62 the content categories appeared in the following rank order of frequency of occurrence. Will you rank the content categories as you would like them to appear in the column to the right. (One through 7, or beyond if you wish to add other categories.)

<u>Content</u>	<u>Rank Order</u>		
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
1. Educational adjustment	164	96	147
2. Counseling concepts and research	255	237	146
3. The counseling process	293	272	167
4. Tests and measurement	29	59	116
5. The counseling profession	103	114	163
6. Vocational development	25	57	82
7. Occupational information	23	42	64

Other than items already checked, what would you like to say about the Journal? Should changes be made? Does it meet your need? (Very free response.)

266 Good, excellent, satisfied, good job, valuable, etc.

39 Less statistics, please.

14 More practical articles.

7 Good job by Dr. Samler and editorial staff.

4 Is too broad.

3 Not broad enough.

Only about 350 members responded to this invitation to voice an opinion. Other than those that have been reported, responses were widely scattered. Two members did ask if humor was out of place in the Personnel and Guidance Journal and one asked for articles by Max Rafferty (21, pp. 103-109).

The efforts to make the Journal the primary publication of the guidance movement were proving successful as the fifties drew to a close; however, it was also becoming apparent that a newsletter or "house organ" was necessary solely for Association members. Approval for such a publication came from the APGA convention in St. Louis in 1958 (21, p. 110). As a monthly report, the "Guidepost" kept members informed on matters of interest within the Association. Reporting on legislative action, Association policy, professional

announcements, and publications, the emphasis was on news that members could find professionally useful, leaving to the Journal topics of broader concern. McDaniels noted the popularity of the "Guidepost" format when several of the Divisions began publishing newsletters (21, p. 114).

Policy Decisions of the APGA

In the view of history the real effectiveness of an organization's existence is measured by the principles for which it stands and the policies the organization pursues. The first decade of APGA's existence contained challenges that required decisions that shaped the growing guidance movement. Issues were raised within the APGA as divisions sought professional status necessitating guidelines for training and ethical standards. The Association also had to take positions on several public issues related to the profession, as well as to begin lobbying for legislation.

Historically the question of standards for counselor preparation has been viewed as the single most important policy statement by differing associations within the guidance movement. As early as 1921, NVGA published "Principles and Practices of Vocational and Educational Guidance Agencies." McDaniels referred to this as the "first attempt to set standards," although it was done through an indirect approach (21, p. 155). In 1949, NVGA issued Counselor Preparation, a small booklet summarizing the "consensus of thinking on the

subject of eight national organizations and federal agencies" (21, p. 156). The most comprehensive effort came in 1956 when NVGA joined with the National Rehabilitation Association (NRA) and issued a booklet entitled Rehabilitation Counselor Preparation. This booklet focused on the specific concerns of vocational and rehabilitation counselors (14).

The APGA recognized early that it had a responsibility to set minimum standards for entry into the profession. In 1956, the Executive Council created the Professional Training, Licensing and Certification Committee, headed by Lawrence Stewart, professor of education at the University of California. In October, 1958, the Committee published its report, Counselor Preparation, Recommendations for Minimum Standards. The purpose of the report was manifold.

1. To suggest minimum standards for various divisions of APGA concerned with training and certification,
2. To suggest minimum standards for state certification of school counselors,
3. To provide support to the efforts of the various states which are in the process of raising the present certification requirements or which are trying to establish some form of counselor certification,
4. To provide local communities with some indication of the preparation they should expect of counselors,
5. To encourage training institutions to re-evaluate their curricula and to encourage cooperation among institutions in program review and development (10, p. 162).

The report went on to state criteria for selection of counselor trainees.

There would probably be general agreement that it is desirable to select trainees who are intellectually

able, professionally motivated, emotionally and socially mature, and who are able to sustain intimate interpersonal relationships enriched by their experiences.

A common prerequisite to entering a counselor training program is evidence of work experience, usually a number of years in teaching, and a year or more in an occupation other than teaching.

Other selection devices include academic records, achievement and intelligence tests, interest inventories, personality tests, interviews, and letters of recommendation. Because of our present limited knowledge, it is more likely that these devices will screen out the obvious misfits than that they will identify potentially effective counselors. Screening at this level, however, is very important.

The undergraduate program of the prospective counselor should include prerequisites which will permit him to profit from his graduate training without necessitating a lower level of graduate instruction to conform to his lack of background (10, pp. 163-164).

As to graduate training, it was recommended that the Master's degree be considered minimum for counselor preparation. This recommendation was made for two reasons.

(a) Requiring the Master's degree increases the probability that the course work will be offered in an institution which has sufficient depth in faculty and facilities to offer a rich training program. (b) Requiring a Master's degree helps to insure an integrated training program (10, p. 164).

The Committee did not recommend the length of time to obtain the master's degree, but in considering the content of the master's program the Committee suggested eight broad areas: (1) personality organization and development, (2) environmental factors in adjustment, (3) individual appraisal, (4) statistics and research methodology, (5) counseling, (7) group guidance, and (8) supervised practicum (10, pp. 164-165). This set of guidelines for guidance practitioners represented a new phase of professional maturity. The

procedures for granting credentials to individuals seeking entry into the field aided in professionalizing the guidance movement and added status to the APGA.

Next in importance in the area of policy development was the formulation of ethical standards for the Association. One of the first to call for an ethical code, C. Gilbert Wrenn, stated two reasons for ethics in guidance. First, guidance was becoming a profession with responsibilities to society and the client. Secondly, guidance was becoming more personal with disclosures of self-information, attitudes, emotions, and self-concept (39, p. 162). As early as 1947 Wrenn had suggested a credo for counselors.

I will respect the integrity of each individual with whom I deal. I will accord to him the same right to self-determination that I want for myself. I will respect as something sacred the personality rights of each person and will not attempt to manipulate him or meddle in his life.

I will define my personal and ethical responsibility to my client as well as my legal and vocational responsibility to my organization and to society. I work for both the group to which I am responsible and for each individual that I serve as a client. This dual responsibility must be defined and understood by my employer and myself (40, p. 504).

The first call for a systematized code within the APGA was made by Executive Director Arthur A. Hitchcock in 1955. A committee was organized and given a special budgetary allotment of \$150 (21, p. 163). The committee held open meetings on ethical standards at the 1958 convention in St. Louis. A final report was sent to APGA branches for reactions before the Cleveland convention in 1959.

The proposed code of ethics was printed in the Journal in October, 1959, but was not accepted by the convention (11, pp. 168-170). A new committee was appointed to study the code of ethics and continue to get reaction from the membership. In 1961, the Denver convention finally accepted the APGA Ethical Standards (1, pp. 205-209). The adoption of a code of ethics was a major achievement in promoting exemplary behavior on the part of a broadly based membership and another characteristic of the professionalization of guidance.

The APGA code emphasized guidelines for professional conduct and was not a system of classification of misbehavior or a set of penalties. Shertzer and Stone noted that the fundamental consideration was to respect and protect the counselee, something that could only be done by counselors who manifested "honesty, integrity, and objectivity in their behavior" (30, p. 392). As a result, the APGA code was written in positive language and directed primarily to the membership rather than to the public served.

A major criticism of the code was that members were to rectify the unethical behavior of fellow members if such knowledge became available; however, the machinery for doing so was not established. The guidance worker was also caught in conflicting responsibility for the code emphasized the keeping of client information confidential, while reminding members of their loyalty to the institutions within which they served. In spite of these ambiguities, Shertzer and

Stone concluded that this first APGA code "established positive boundaries of responsible behavior" and provided "a valuable introspective stimulus for the practitioner (30, p. 396).

The third area of policy formation that the Association engaged in involved the issuance of position papers on areas deemed of primary importance to guidance, as well as legislative testimony before the Congress. The first general policy statement was issued in December, 1957, entitled A Statement of Policy Concerning the Nation's Human Resources Problem. This was the APGA's response to the national panic over the successful Russian launching of Sputnik I, which produced an inferiority complex among Americans. The technological triumph of the Soviet Union, coupled with the suspicions of the Cold War, caused many Americans to insist that American education undergo basic curriculum changes with the nation's youth directed into scientific and technical fields. The APGA's position paper reminded Americans of a basic freedom--freedom of occupational choice. It declared,

Faced by a tragic shortage of scientists and technologists, we are strongly tempted to solve the manpower problem by channeling outstanding high school and college students into scientific and technical careers. Here lies the danger of tampering with freedom of choice. If the top academic potentiality of this nation were to be forced into a single, selected career pattern, generations of youth would lose the privilege of freely choosing life careers--a privilege cherished by youth throughout the history of this nation. Such a course of action might not solve even part of the problem, for a lack of educated talent persists in all areas of our national life. The

solution, therefore, must be viewed from a broader perspective, and we must aim toward utilizing every available talent. Only then will the demand for scientists and technologists be met, along with the demand for educated talent in all fields (32, p. 454).

The report went on to state that the APGA "upholds freedom of choice in one's life work" with guidance services available to youth in order that they might "explore the best outlets for their talents" (32, p. 454).

In addition to taking public stands on issues of the moment, the APGA's executive council and annual conventions frequently expressed themselves on various issues by passing resolutions. Resolutions were proposed to the Resolutions Committee from various divisional, branch, committee, and other formal or informal groups, or from individuals. The Committee would present the resolutions to the appropriate body for consideration. The passage of resolutions represented the Association's views on national issues and were the basis for Congressional testimony. The first decade's resolutions passed by the Association were reported by McDaniel, and may be found on page 355 (21, pp. 253-265).

From its inception in 1952, the APGA has been involved in the political process, providing the Congress with testimony, as well as lobbying for its own interests. The APGA came to be viewed as the voice for the guidance profession, serving as the source of information for Congressional and Executive groups on request (15, pp. 340-341). Historically the federal government has been involved in education since

1787, when Congress decided to sell western lands to support a public school system. In times of national emergency the Congress has traditionally produced significant educational legislation--the Morrill Act during the Civil War, the Smith-Hughes Act during World War I, the Lanham Act during World War II, and the Federal Impact Laws during the Korean War. Although the nation was technically at peace during the fifties, the Soviet challenge and America's response had produced the Cold War, establishing the Zeitgeist to view the Russian success with Sputnik I, in October, 1957, as a crisis of confidence for America. The national response was passage of the historic National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter. The APGA played a particularly active role in gaining passage of this landmark educational bill, testifying in both House and Senate on proposed appropriations (21, p. 144).

The NDEA legislation spun off many general aid-to-education measures during the next several years, all of which won APGA support. In 1959 and 1960 the Association supported legislation for rehabilitation and special education as well as measures on aging (21, pp. 143-144). In 1962 the APGA organized support for the Manpower Development and Training Act, a measure providing funds for expanded institutional and on-the-job vocational training for the unemployed and underemployed (7, p. 62). The Association also lobbied on behalf of the Peace Corps and the General Education Bill

of 1963, forming a working alliance with other national associations.

Since 1958 the APGA has played an increasingly active role in the legislative process, regarding itself as the representative of the public in matters relating to guidance and personnel work. The growing membership has allowed the Association to speak with authority and gain the respect necessary to be a political force on behalf of the profession.

Responding to Sputnik: The National Defense and Education Act

The National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 2, 1958. The bill represented the nation's response to the surprise launching by the Soviet Union of the first earth satellite in the fall of 1957. The launching of Sputnik I made clear that the Russians had developed the technological expertise necessary for such a spectacular achievement. Various studies commissioned after the launch fixed on the idea that an educational response would be the best indication of the nation's readiness to compete actively in the space race. Under Title V of the NDEA, federal funds were spent on an unprecedented scale over a five-year period for guidance, counseling, and testing programs.

The National Defense Education Act--The Catalyst
for a New Era in Education

The groundwork for the enactment of NDEA in 1958 had actually begun before the flight of Sputnik I. Early in the fifties the nation had been seriously engaged in an inquiry into the manpower requirements for the future. Two studies were undertaken and published in 1954, the first entitled A Policy for Skilled Manpower, and the second America's Resources of Specialized Talent. These two monumental studies outlined a blueprint for the nation's manpower needs. Mc-Daniels reported that these studies contained "many items which were incorporated later into the National Defense Education Act." It was further noted that "these background studies gave NDEA a flavor that put more focus on the national needs rather than individual educational needs" (20, p. 5).

Another source of information that provided a basis for the NDEA was the blue-ribbon presidential Committee on Education Beyond the High School. This committee issued its final report shortly before the Soviet launch of Sputnik, and called for a national effort to encourage increased college enrollments (5, p. 474).

The legislation took nine months working its way through Congress, passing under a Republican president and a Democratically controlled House and Senate. The final version of the bill consisted of ten parts, or titles.

1. General provisions--purpose and definition;
2. Loans to students in institutions of higher education;
3. Financial assistance for strengthening science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction;
4. National defense fellowships;
5. Guidance, counseling, and testing; identification and encouragement of able students; counseling and guidance training;
6. Language development--centers for research and studies; language institutes;
7. Research and experimentation in more effective utilization of television, radio, motion pictures, and related media for educational purposes;
8. Area vocational education programs;
9. Science information service;
10. Improvement of statistical services of state educational agencies (35, p. 30).

This omnibus bill touched nearly every level of public and private education and for the first time specifically targeted funds for guidance purposes.

Title V: Guidance, Counseling, and Testing

Under Title V of the legislation assistance for guidance and counseling was divided into two principal parts. Part A authorized federal grants to state educational agencies to carry out guidance, counseling, and testing programs. In addition, there was a provision for assistance to programs of guidance in public secondary schools with a special focus on identifying students of outstanding aptitude and ability. Through a system of matching grants, federal and state expenditures were designed to add guidance personnel to local school systems, as well as to sponsor workshops "for short term upgrading of guidance" (20, p. 16).

The original Act in 1958 limited Title V-A activities to secondary school counselors exclusively. In 1964 the legislation was expanded to include all elementary grades, public junior colleges, and technical institutions. Verne Faust wrote that this congressional action "marked the beginning of modern elementary school counseling of any considerable dimension on a national level" (12, pp. 63-64).

Title V-B authorized the Commissioner of Education to arrange contracts with institutions of higher education for the operation of institutes intended to improve the qualifications of those engaged in guidance activities in secondary schools, or those about to enter the field. Specifically it called for spending 7.5 million dollars per year in support of short-term (summers) and long-term (academic-year) guidance institutes.

The Impact of the NDEA

The National Defense Education Act of 1958, particularly in Title V-B, was a pivotal event in the history of the guidance movement. During the five years of appropriations, approximately \$102 million in NDEA funds were spent for guidance, counseling, and testing (35, p. 30). Over 13,700 secondary school counselors and teachers in training participated in 416 institutes from 1959 through 1963, significantly altering the number of full-time guidance workers and the

ratio of guidance personnel to secondary school students.

Table I contains the information reported by the United States Office of Education.

TABLE I

FULL-TIME GUIDANCE PERSONNEL AND RATIO OF GUIDANCE
PERSONNEL TO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS*

Year	Secondary	Ratio	Ratio Difference from Previous Year
1958-59	12,000	1:960
1959-60	18,739	1:640	320
1960-61	21,828	1:570	70
1961-62	24,492	1:550	20
1962-63	27,180	1:530	20
1963-64 (estimated)	29,545	1:527	3

*Source: Commitment to Youth, a report on five years of progress in guidance, counseling, and testing under Title V of the National Defense Education Act, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1964.

This one piece of federal legislation did more to promote professional preparation of guidance personnel on a national scale than any other single event in the history of guidance. Robert Mathewson reported on a survey conducted by Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1961, which found a majority of sixty-three respondent directors of institutes conducted in the summer of 1960 reporting favorable effects of NDEA guidance institutes on counselor educational procedures, and on course content (19, p. 330). The directors of such institutes themselves became innovators. Meeting annually, they proposed the standardization of

counselor preparation programs and the offering of practicum as a laboratory experience. Many of their suggestions were reported in various APGA journals and became the basis for curriculum revisions (4, p. 111).

The availability of funds to establish guidance institutes made it possible for the first time to specify the nature and content of counselor education programs independent of the influence of state supervisors of guidance. Kenneth Hoyt noted that many counselor educators were "greatly dissatisfied with the course and technique approach to counselor education" (16, p. 505). Furthermore, the administration of Title V by the Office of Education was itself precedent setting, as decisions were made that had consequences for the entire guidance movement. Hoyt listed four (16, p. 506).

1. The Office of Education had to justify awarding Title V-B grants to some institutions and not others.

2. With limited funds standards had to be sufficiently high so that relatively few institutions could meet them.

3. The law stipulated enrollees had to be either counselors or teachers preparing to become counselors, making for a heavy emphasis on the counseling function.

4. An implicit preference for nondirective counseling was shown in training sessions as appropriate for a high school population.

It was inevitable that skills taught through such institutes and institutions favored to teach such skills would be viewed as the standard for counselor education programs throughout the country. The implications of the effectiveness of the institutes was measured by the fact that the retention of enrollees in secondary school counseling positions was particularly high. Over the first four years of operation, 96.7 per cent of short-term institute enrollees were employed in secondary schools in the first year following their training. In a three-year follow-up study, 87.2 per cent of the regular-session institute enrollees were counseling in secondary schools of the country (20, p. 17).

Clearly the federal government's involvement in education, and specifically Title V of the NDEA, benefitted the guidance profession quantitatively and qualitatively. The number of full-time counselors in secondary schools increased from 12,000 in 1958-1959 to over 29,000 in 1963-1964. The counselor-pupil load ratio fell from 1:960 in 1958-1959 to 1:527 in 1963-1964 (36, p. 4). State counselor certification standards were forced to begin meeting the more extensive standards established by the Office of Education which was charged with administering Title V-B. The Soviet success in space had produced such an uneasiness about the adequacy of the American educational system that guidance was called upon to play a strategic role in reestablishing America's confidence.

Major Advances in Theory Construction

In reviewing guidance in the 1950's, Roger Aubrey stated that the diversity of this period made the decade one of the most profound in the movement's entire history. In addition to establishing a new professional association and providing generous federal funds for guidance, Aubrey viewed the decade as producing major breakthroughs in theory construction (2, p. 292). The ongoing development of a number of theoretical models represented the intellectual commitment necessary if guidance was to be viewed as a respected contributing member of the social sciences.

The Emergence of Career Development and Adjustment Theories

In Thomas Kuhn's view, a science experiences three phases of theory construction. The first phase, preparadigmatic, is a kind of fumbling activity, in which the practitioners of the science search for a way of approaching the problem. The second phase, referred to as normal science, represented that period when a particular theory was accepted by practitioners for its problem-solving approach. Kuhn described this period as all inclusive, encompassing a particular set of assumptions and multiple theories of explanation. The third phase grew out of the "anomalies" not adequately dealt with during the normal phase, and which produced a "crisis," resulting in further theory construction and fundamental changes in belief (18). During the 1950's

theoretical guidance was transformed from a preparadigm set of propositions into a host of competing theories representative of the normal period of science.

The working relationship of the guidance practitioner rests on a conceptual model of personality development. Throughout the 1940's and 1950's Aubrey lists a number of advances in developmental psychology, learning theory, psychiatry, and sociology which "paved the way" for further guidance theorizing (2, p. 292). In 1951, Eli Ginzberg, Sol W. Ginsberg, John L. Herma, and Sidney Axelrad initiated this process with the publication of Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory. This developmental theory was influenced by Charlotte Buehler's life-stage concept, and viewed occupational choice as involving four stages.

1. Occupational choice was a long term process.
2. The process became increasingly irreversible.
3. The eventual choice represented a compromise between what the individual would ideally prefer and the available realistic possibilities.
4. The entire process occurs in a series of rather definitive stages (17, p. 47).

The developmental quality of Ginzberg's theory was seen in the fact that vocational choice was a cumulative process. Responding to the humanistic-existential emphasis on freedom during the sixties, Ginzberg reformulated the theory in 1971, making decision-making open ended and less dependent on development.

Also in 1951, Anne Roe evolved a theory of occupational choice drawing heavily from psychoanalytic theory. Stressing

the early satisfaction of an individual's needs, Roe held that need satisfaction coupled with parent-child experiences shape vocational choice. According to Roe,

Depending upon which home situation is experienced, there will be developed basic attitudes, interests, and capacities which will be given expression in the general pattern of the adult's life, his personal relationships, in his emotional reactions, in his activities, and in his vocational choice (28, p. 217).

For Roe, there was a direct causal relationship between the type of parent-child climate and the development of the individual's need hierarchy.

A third voice in 1951, that of Donald Super, also called for revision of the then-existing NVGA definition of vocational guidance. In that year Super defined vocational guidance as

. . . the process of helping a person to develop and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself and of his role in the world of work, to test this concept against reality, and to convert it to reality, with satisfaction to himself and to society (33, p. 89).

Stimulated by Ginzberg's efforts to formulate an overall theory of vocational choice, Super embarked on a longitudinal study to identify the developmental stages through which individuals pass in their career development. He synthesized the formulations of Buehler and Ginzberg to create a five-stage chronological model of career choice, matching each stage to an occupational task (41, pp. 51-52). However, Super was no determinist. Drawing from Rogers' phenomenological self-concept theory, Super, unlike Ginzberg and Roe,

placed great emphasis on the individual's internal frame of reference. Vocational development was ultimately implementing a self-concept in the context of work. Super declared, "The self-concept is not only in part a product of social roles, but also seems to be a major determinant of occupational role taking, that is of occupational choice" (34, pp. 47-48).

The decade ended with John Holland's publication in 1959 of "A Theory of Vocational Choice." Holland assumed that a person expressed personality through the choice of a vocation and that each person held a stereotypical view of the various vocations. Further, his research concluded that in our culture there were six types of individuals as well as six types of occupational environments. Through a matching of an individual's attitudes, values, skills, and abilities to an appropriate occupational environment, an individual would be "comfortable, satisfied, and stable" (6, p. 43).

A Brief Evaluation

Vocational theorists Ginzberg, Roe, Super, and Holland created the conditions necessary for guidance to enter Kuhn's normal phase period. Each presented a workable model impressive enough to attract the allegiance of practitioners who attempted to solve problems based on confidence placed in one or the other theory.

It is worth noting that all the theorists viewed human development as an unfolding and continuous process, one divided into stages of life periods for purposes of description and presentation. The developmental emphasis reflected the prevailing influence of such notables as Erik Erikson, Robert Havighurst, and Jean Piaget and an attempt at integrating their theoretical assumptions with the concerns of guidance in general, and occupational choice in particular.

The utility of the theories left much to be desired. During the next decade, guidance personnel trained in a particular school of thought often found themselves inadequately prepared to cope with the challenges of a youth revolution. The tranquil Eisenhower fifties had produced a milieu markedly different from the concerns of youth during the Kennedy-Johnson sixties. The very fact that emphasis on theory construction during the fifties focused on adequate occupational adjustment and the value associated with the Protestant work ethic represented the Zeitgeist of that decade only. What the sixties would call into question was the necessary lead time to research and articulate a complex, internally consistent set of theoretical assumptions.

But as the fifties came to a close the future looked bright; the guidance movement by midcentury had grown in organizational and professional stature. The influx of federal money made guidance a growth industry. Carl Rogers' influence still dominated the psychotherapeutic approach,

while guidance theorists concerned themselves with explanations of occupational choice and vocational development. The decade had been a time for both expansion and consolidation as the guidance movement readied itself for the remaining half-century.

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CHAPTER IX

THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT IN THE 1960'S: RESPONSES TO DIVERSITY AND CHANGE

Two themes, equality and achievement, emerged from the interplay of events that shaped the early years of the sixties. The ideal of equality for all championed by the federal courts and the Kennedy-Johnson administrations propelled the guidance movement to the forefront of an awakened social conscience. Confidence was placed in institutions, that through such agencies as schools the poor, minorities, and women could win equality and gain social mobility. Millions of middle-class Americans viewed liberation as freedom from consumer culture and affluent conformity. Responding to the vacuity of American life, humanistic and existential schools of guidance became increasingly popular.

By mid-decade, America's Vietnam involvement, the explosion of antiwar protests, the rise of militant social movements, and the challenges of a youth rebellion had changed the perspective from one of confidence to that of alienation and cynicism. Guidance itself seemed to lose its purpose, failing to develop a solid epistemological foundation. The culture's preoccupation with technology produced a corresponding concern for techniques within guidance, with

many in the profession preoccupied with the technical aspects of behavior modification.

Clearly, the decade was one of paradox. The depersonalization of American life and the loss of a sense of meaning, found through community, challenged the relevancy of guidance as it had been practiced. By decade's end it was clear that guidance had to expand its focus to encompass the development of a fully functional person capable of adapting to a complex social environment.

The Federal Government's Role in Manpower Policies and Vocational Guidance

Noneducation Manpower Legislation

When President Kennedy took office in January, 1961, the unemployment rate ran at 8.1 per cent and the nation was faced with its third post-Korean War recession. Kennedy had been shocked by the poverty he had seen in West Virginia during the 1960 campaign. He had also been influenced by Michael Harrington's The Other America, a small book that had a big impact. "The millions who are poor in the United States tend to become increasingly invisible," Harrington wrote. It required "an effort of the intellect and will even to see them" (16, p. 3). One of the President's first actions was to direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to commission a panel on vocational education.

In 1961, Congress passed the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA), which targeted funds to economically depressed areas while seeking to create new jobs through occupational training. This first "antipoverty" legislation was followed in 1962 by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), designed primarily for those victimized by automation. Amendments to the MDTA provided the first federal funding for guidance personnel who operated independently of an academic setting. It was decided that along with occupational training it was necessary to offer counseling and placement services (38, pp. 1-43). This marked a milestone in federal assistance for guidance; from 1962 on it was no longer considered adequate to expect school guidance personnel to be responsible for the demands of noncollege-bound students. Guidance was finally being viewed as a comprehensive social service. As Herr stated,

It had become obvious that people being retrained or being taught occupational skills needed the opportunity to relate these to their self-attitudes toward work, experiences in planning, and transition to new jobs (17, p. 35).

An additional MDTA amendment supported an outreach dimension as part of the guidance service.

On January 8, 1964, in his first State-of-the-Union message, Lyndon Johnson declared "unconditional war on poverty," continuing initiatives that were first explored by his predecessor (22, p. 137). Johnson took Kennedy's slowly emerging plan, revamped it, and drove it through Congress. The

Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 appropriated nearly a billion dollars for projects such as Head Start to help pre-schoolers, the Job Corps for dropouts, a work-study program to assist college students, a domestic peace corps, a Neighborhood Youth Corps, and a Community Action Program. Herr noted that the "EOA clearly considered education in all its forms as a first-line weapon against poverty" (17, p. 35).

Guidance concepts permeated many of the programs sponsored under EOA. Since passage of MDTA in 1962, programs were designed to meet both the affective and the skill development dimensions of employability. As an example, Job Corps counselors were provided the following recommendations when working with disadvantaged students.

Counselors in Job Corps settings should render equal time to self-concept development and not concentrate solely on vocational decision-making skills. Counselors in Job Corps settings must create stability for their meetings, and respecting the confidential aspect of each client's problem. Above all, counselors must be consistent in their relationship with Job Corps trainees (31, pp. 7-8).

In summarizing the experiences of guidance personnel from EOA and MDTA programs, Levine wrote in 1965,

As a minimum for the culturally deprived, educationally deficient youth, living in penurious circumstances, the first step, once rapport has been established, is intensive counseling involving diagnosis of his problems. . . . An important implication growing out of the Economic Opportunity Act, therefore, is the need to provide highly individualized customized service, specifically shaped and related to the needs of each youth (23, p. 9).

Herr also called attention to the "spin-offs" from the manpower legislation which focused on specific counseling agencies. For example, the United States Employment Service, which because of its broadened duties became the United States Employment and Training Service, was given the responsibility for testing and counseling all eighteen-year-old males unable to meet the "mental" standards for induction into the Armed Forces. As EOA programs became operational this same agency was charged with counseling Job Corps youth as well as supervisory personnel for Neighborhood Youth Opportunity Centers (17, p. 37).

Late in 1964, it had become standard procedure to integrate the guidance function into all social legislation that required the placement of persons in training and occupation centers. R. A. Ehrle viewed this reliance on guidance services as impacting labor policy in three areas.

1. prevention of long-term unemployment,
2. adjustment to rapidly changing labor market conditions, and
3. occupational rehabilitation of the marginally employable (10, p. 37).

Much of the noneducation manpower legislation of the early and middle sixties was targeted for those not exposed to school guidance, but who found themselves the recipients of vocational and personal guidance provided through federal agencies.

Educational Manpower Legislation

Although there were unprecedented expenditures of funds for the special needs of the out-of-school disadvantaged, the sixties were also the most productive period in the history of education manpower legislation. It was clear that as American society shifted to a knowledge economy the occupational structure required more advanced training and formal education. In 1967, John Kenneth Galbraith observed,

With the rise of the technostructure [which he portrayed as descriptive of the American society in the 1960's], relations between those associated with economic enterprise and the educational and scientific estate undergo a radical transformation. There is no longer an abrupt conflict in motivation. . . . Both see themselves as identified with social goals, or with organizations serving social purposes. And both, it may be assumed, seek to adapt social goals to their own. . . . Meanwhile, the technostructure has become deeply dependent on the educational and scientific estate for its supply of trained manpower. . . . The question remains as to how closely the educational and scientific estate, which owes its modern expansion and eminence to the requirements of the industrial system, will identify itself with the goals of the latter (12, p. 289).

The point of Galbraith's observations was seen early in the decade in two major education laws proposed by President Kennedy. In February, 1961, Kennedy set before Congress a \$2.3 billion aid-to-education program. The bill provided for (1) an increase in teachers' salaries, (2) aid to building classrooms, and (3) special aid to underprivileged children in depressed areas (37, p. 146). Kennedy intended a double educational thrust. Acting on the advice of his panel of consultants on vocational education, Congress

enacted into law the Vocational Education Act (VEA) of 1963, the first major revamping of vocational education since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. The effect of the VEA quadrupled aid in this area by 1967; never before had so much money been spent in this area of education. Sidney Tiedt cited the major revisions.

1. Vocational programs were vastly expanded in terms of facilities, staff, and classroom space.
2. The curriculum was updated to meet the newer job needs in such fields as computer programming and other highly technical occupations.
3. An attempt was made to pioneer new programs, one of which was the vocational boarding school.
4. The Act specifically stated that vocational guidance and counseling were to be provided to students enrolled in vocational courses (37, p. 154).

Historically, this bill represented a significant conceptual shift of emphasis from the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which had focused on the needs of employers for skilled labor. The 1963 VEA provided individual job seekers the formal preparation through guidance and training necessary for occupational adjustment in an increasingly technical and sophisticated economy.

In 1964, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was amended and extended through June, 1968. The broadened programs funded elementary school guidance for the first time, as well as providing funds for increased guidance in secondary schools, public junior colleges, and technical institutes. These amendments, according to Herr, resulted in three significant possibilities.

1. For the first time, effective models of guidance programs were developmentally focused from kindergarten to grade twelve and beyond.

2. Guidance services were able to develop a comprehensive range of services.

3. A continued reduction in the guidance worker-student ratio was possible, allowing for more than remedial procedures (17, p. 41).

One additional piece of legislation, the Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968, completed the vocational-guidance philosophy of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. The bill supported expanded guidance to teach job skills and discernment of placement opportunities. Herr noted that inherent in this approach was an "emphasis on needs for pre-vocational activity extending into the elementary school" (17, p. 44). This Act also served as the foundation for career education.

In evaluating the impact of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the 1968 Amendments, Kenneth Hoyt found that both pieces of legislation had a "general influence," but fell short of expected results due to the "lack of support for subsidizing counselor education programs" (19, p. 508). Hoyt contended that there was no serious attempt to finance the counselor-preparation programs responsible for producing the personnel to carry through on the legislation. He declared,

In the absence of such financial incentives, no great nationwide movement towards substantial change in counselor-preparation programs can be said to have resulted from vocational education legislation (19, p. 509).

Social Activism and Its Impact on Guidance

The decade of the sixties began with hope and confidence as the country elected its youngest president, John F. Kennedy. Combining idealism and pragmatism, Kennedy promised to "get America moving again," proposing to use national resources for social and human ills (22, p. 133). Kennedy's activism came at a time of rising expectations as communications technology contrasted the affluence and opportunity of many in society with the hopelessness of those unable to participate in the abundance of consumer culture. The early sixties witnessed a political shift as Americans accepted the liberal philosophy that the public must acquire responsibility for injustices suffered by individuals. Ginzberg noted that this attitude strongly influenced educational policy, particularly guidance and support services (14, pp. 549-554).

Throughout the decade numerous programs were enacted into law, producing what Edwin Herr called "a manpower policy revolution" (17, p. 33). The sheer number of programs had a profound impact on guidance, as the movement found itself at the center of legislation concerned with occupationally displaced adults, out-of-school youth, school children, women reentering the labor force, military veterans returning to civilian life, migrant workers, the physically handicapped, minority-group members, and economically disadvantaged persons. Herr commented on the precedent-setting social legislation and its impact on vocational guidance,

Since the beginnings of the twentieth century, vocational guidance or counseling had been essentially problem focused and treatment oriented. In other words, the implication of these services was essentially remedial or post hoc to a problem rather than anticipatory of or a priori to a problem. Vocational guidance and counseling were seen as services to be implemented after persons experienced an emotional crisis or trauma in their occupational adjustment. However, explanatory approaches to career development began to infuse a concept that some of these crises could be avoided by the provision of prevocational information and experiences designed to facilitate individual coping with choice or adjustment--to build strength rather than weakness (17, pp. 33-34).

To a degree unparalleled in the history of the guidance movement, the federal government consistently identified guidance as integral to the manpower policies of the sixties.

Elementary School Guidance

The economic stimulation provided by the federal government for education during the sixties resulted in the necessary funding for the establishment of the last major professional specialty within the guidance movement. Elementary school guidance had begun in the twenties but, unlike other movements within guidance, remained small and ineffective, drawing little attention from educators or the public at large. Then during the fifties a number of publications began to carry articles on the theoretical and practical implications of expanding guidance downward to the lower grades. By the middle sixties, graduate programs in elementary guidance were responding to the call for guidance personnel, as systematic guidance was finally being made

available to all students of public education in the United States.

The First Three Decades

Like earlier developments in vocational guidance, elementary school guidance can credit the contribution of a single individual, William Burnham, for formulating a rationale and launching the movement. Burnham was actively involved in mental hygiene during the movement's zenith in the twenties, and he noticed that little attention was being paid to children of school age. In 1926, he published Great Teachers and Mental Health, which established him as the father of what was to become modern elementary guidance. In this book Burnham called for using the teacher-pupil relationship as the basis for building a sense of psychological health in the child. Percival Symonds stated,

Burnham was the first to see that mental hygiene in the school is a matter of relationship--a relationship with two poles--the teacher and the pupil. His book Great Teachers and Mental Health showed that the teacher becomes the key figure in the dyadic relationship (34, p. 87).

Although Burnham recognized the uniqueness of the parental role in raising children, he believed teachers had a protracted influence on the development of a child's self-worth. He felt that teachers by their very role and proximity were involved in the guidance function. He wrote that teachers needed to know their own psychodynamic functioning in order to facilitate their relationships with children.

It is not necessary that teachers should be specialists in clinical psychology; it is not necessary for them to make mental measurements; as a rule this should be done by specialists, trained psychologists or psychiatrists; but teachers should have a knowledge of children and normal mental attitudes and interests, as well as a knowledge of the common mental mechanisms and the pitfalls that threaten human reason and mental health alike (8, p. 59).

Although Burnham integrated much of the data available on human behavior at the time, the 1920's were not to be the decade for launching a national elementary guidance movement. Verne Faust summarized the situation well when he wrote,

In the late 1920's and through the 1930's elementary guidance was in danger of being so absorbed into curriculum revisions in particular, and into the educational effort in general, that even a congressional investigating committee would not be able to recognize it as a function existing in its own right (11, p. 17).

The new decade began with a significant step forward for the concerns of children when in 1930 the White House hosted a conference on children's health, including the psychological health of the child. Unfortunately, publication funds were exhausted after the committee reports on medical matters were printed, so that the report on "Mental Hygiene in the School" by a committee of educators and psychologists was never published. Symonds examined the section titles that came out of the conference and found them to be positive and in keeping with Burnham's noncrisis-oriented focus (34, p. 2).

Although the mental health report was not made available to educators or the general public, the concept of elementary guidance continued to gather momentum. Symonds noted the

proliferation of books during the thirties which admonished educators to "treat the whole child" by introducing mental hygiene into the classroom (34, p. 3). In 1939, Symonds himself published a book in which he discussed the teacher in the role of the substitute parent (35).

As the decade came to a close, however, the momentum generated by the advocates of elementary guidance proved insufficient to launch the movement into the winds of the prevailing educative process. Faust's history concludes by declaring that elementary guidance "really went nowhere in the thirties" (11, pp. 18-19).

Prior to the 1940's, no formal efforts were undertaken by state departments of education to initiate elementary guidance in the public schools. The one exception was Wichita, Kansas, which had maintained teacher-counselors in the schools since the twenties. Janet Merrill's history of the elementary movement noted that this could hardly be considered systematic guidance for "little was done to supervise or coordinate the work of these two visiting teachers until the early 1940's when the force was enlarged in Wichita" (26, p. 51).

It was during the early forties that the first tentative commitments of support by state departments of education were made. For example, in 1942, the Vermont Board of Education developed an individual inventory for grades one through twelve "designed to prevent problems" (6, pp. 30-31).

However, specific personnel were not trained to administer nor interpret such instruments. In 1943, Pennsylvania's Department of Public Instruction organized a Division of Occupational Information and Guidance for both elementary and secondary schools, but again no specific training for personnel was required (5, p. 146). In the same year the Maryland State Department of Education suggested that the public schools within that state begin "to experiment with methods for guidance in elementary school" (3, p. 24).

World War II had a paralyzing effect on the movement, with few school personnel available for the extra training and duties required to perform guidance activities. Only with the war's end did urban school systems take the lead and introduce programs of elementary guidance. In 1946, Wichita, Kansas, began in-service meetings for all elementary staff, presenting guidance concepts and their applicability for the classroom teacher. Merrill reported that in order to make guidance an integral part of the classroom, teachers were encouraged to

. . . give pupils the opportunity to discuss experiences to develop pride and security in self and family, to listen to children's problems in private conversations, to plant construct ideas without preaching, to adjust classroom assignments to the individual differences, and to teach pupils to compete with themselves (26, p. 55).

In 1947, the City of New York developed a program of elementary guidance under the Division of Educational and Vocational Guidance. Guidance personnel were known as

coordinators and were assigned to each subdistrict within the system "to assist teachers in benefiting normal children" (26, p. 40). An interesting facet of the New York program was that the coordinators were handpicked and met once a week for a full day of training, which included the use of audio-visual feedback techniques.

Merrill's survey of the postwar years listed several large cities engaged in the establishment of some kind of elementary school guidance. Philadelphia had the most extensive program by 1948, with 104 counselor-teachers serving 99 of 177 schools (26, p. 41). Other city school systems that had some commitment to the concept included Baltimore; Chicago; St. Louis; Richmond, Virginia; and Bangor, Maine, as well as numerous other smaller towns in the North and Midwest. As with vocational guidance, the Deep South and West remained relatively isolated from the influence of the movement's first three pioneering decades.

Theoretical advances during the forties continued to convince educators of the necessity to expose children to guidance principles at an early age. In 1944, Kurt Lewin introduced the term "group dynamics," calling attention to the psychodynamic forces at work on the individual when placed in a group (25, p. 318). This social psychological view of group structure and process was to have a profound impact on the study of classroom interaction, just as Carl R.

Rogers' individual approach to psychotherapy sensitized teachers to the perceptual uniqueness of the child.

The concept of authority had a central place in Lewinian thinking about the group process. Under Lewin's direction, a classical experiment by Lippitt and White studied authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire classroom climates (24, p. 6). Symonds noted, "It was a natural sequence following this, to have discussions of classroom relationships in terms of instructor-centered and student-centered relationships" (34, p. 4). As the forties turned into the fifties, group dynamics and psychotherapeutic concepts were to contribute to the continued growth of the elementary guidance movement.

The 1950's: The Pre-Professional Decade

The fifties were a fertile period as numerous practical and theoretical developments established the conditions for the sixties and the final emergence of an independent elementary guidance practitioner. In order to understand why the fifties brought the movement to the verge of professionalization it is necessary to take note of the forces then altering American society. The most obvious was the burgeoning population, which guaranteed a steadily growing demand for educational services. The American population increased at an unprecedented rate during the post-World War II period. In the 1940's, the population grew by 19 million, more than

twice the increase in the previous decade, and a phenomenal gain of 29 million in the 1950's (27, p. 736).

In addition to the "baby boom" of the forties and fifties, the United States experienced the most extensive internal migration in its history. William Leuchtenburg has listed the main influences:

. . . practically universal car ownership, the expanding highway system, the dramatic increase in population, and most important of all, the availability of cheap homes and cheap financing after World War II. By 1950 there were 37 million suburbanites (22, p. 74).

While rapid changes were sweeping over the American scene as a whole, there was a steady growth of elementary guidance in the schools of large cities, in suburbia, and even in selected rural areas. Throughout the decade the function of guidance remained identified with the duties of the classroom teacher. For example, by 1950, teachers in Madison, Wisconsin, were integrating counseling and guidance into their teaching. While the Madison school system did employ guidance personnel, psychometrists, and case workers, every teacher was trained in guidance techniques (15, pp. 7-9). Rural areas also began organized programs; one of the most extensive involved thirteen primary schools in Vanderburgh County, Indiana. Funding began during the 1951-1952 school year and included orientation days for teachers and students as well as procedures in how to conduct child-teacher conferences (26, pp. 66-67). Rural areas within the South

experimented with the concept. In Kingsport, Tennessee, orientation programs for faculty were conducted during the early fifties, but according to Merrill "these efforts were not extensive" (26, p. 70). The development of elementary guidance in the South and West remained a limited educational service.

By mid-decade, enough had been learned so that many local and state boards of education felt reassured that the investment in elementary guidance was justified. In 1955, the Board of Education in the city of New York authorized ten full-time guidance workers for targeted schools. The Board even developed a handbook, Guidance of Children in Elementary Schools, resulting in a more systematized approach (26, p. 45). By 1956, the State Board of Education of Connecticut conducted the first statewide study, entitled "How About the Elementary School Counselor?" The results of the investigation led to several policy directives. First, the specialty area of "elementary school counselor" was created statewide. Secondly, funds were set aside for training adequate personnel and, thirdly, local school districts were assured of local autonomy in the placement and use of such personnel (26, pp. 36-37). Arizona also conducted a statewide survey in 1956 and found thirty-one elementary guidance programs in operation throughout the state. The final report of the Division of Guidance services recommended the use of

systematic testing and extensive cumulative record systems for elementary schools (2, p. 10).

A major advancement within the movement took place in October, 1957, when the City of New York administered the first examination for licensing (26, p. 45). This was soon followed by the introduction of two specialty programs administered and staffed by guidance personnel: Higher Horizons Program and Early Identification and Prevention Program. Higher Horizons was begun with older children, but experience with the program suggested that it be extended downward. Merrill reviewed the Early Identification and Prevention Program.

This program was developed for children in kindergarten and the first three grades (with an emphasis on grade two) for the purpose of meeting individual needs of children by identifying the problems and special abilities of young children. The guidance counselor was a member of the specialized team which attempted to attain this goal (26, p. 45).

Although there were other programs at some stage of development and receiving some degree of support, elementary school guidance remained largely a local concern. It was this fact of fragmentation coupled with the still-prevalent view that elementary guidance was not as important as secondary guidance that delayed the movement's final acceptance.

Even as late as 1960, textbooks on elementary guidance continued to emphasize the classroom environment, and so entwined the role of teacher with guidance practitioner. The teacher was viewed as the "key" to elementary school guidance.

Roy Willey was typical of those who advocated such an approach, as seen in his textbook, Guidance in Elementary Education, published in 1960.

At the heart of the guidance program is the teacher herself. Guidance in the elementary school is an integral part of the learning process. The teacher should not accept the premise that guidance concerns itself primarily with problems of serious maladjustment. With the possible exception of the child's parent, no single person has greater influence on personality development than the classroom teacher (39, p. 6).

Verne Faust notes, however, that by the late fifties shifts were underway that would gain momentum so that within the next decade elementary guidance would become a field in its own right. He cites the increased frequency of master's theses and doctoral dissertations as evidence that a new profession was coming into being (11, p. 29). The call for independent recognition was being organized by such pioneers as Columbia University's Raymond Patouillet. In 1957, he offered the following ideas of the professional role and functional framework of the guidance practitioner.

1. Guidance should be made available early due to the need to optimize development--the developmental approach necessitates elementary as well as secondary guidance.

2. Guidance's major responsibility is not remedial but should be preventative.

3. The guidance worker can no longer be primarily concerned with the relatively few but must be concerned with all pupils and must contribute to the maximum development of each.

4. Guidance must move away from testing and emphasize enriching experiences to stimulate development.

5. Schools should not be in the therapy business, but they should provide a therapeutic climate.

6. Guidance workers are consultants in human relations and should cooperate with all those who affect the development of the child (28, pp. 253-255).

In reviewing the literature of the fifties, Faust states that it "had little if any impact on shaping the modern guidance practitioner" (11, p. 38). Raymond Patouillet was the exception; much of what he advocated became a part of the guidance scene by 1965.

The 1960's: The Professionalization of the Movement

During the sixties it became easier to find fifty- to sixty-semester-hour graduate programs for those seeking training as elementary guidance personnel. In addition, much of the new theorizing was finding its way into practice, providing a more uniform rationale for the practitioners and giving the movement a claim to professionalization.

The decade began with practitioner-turned-theoretician Anna Meeks calling for a more radical break with guidance as found in secondary schools. She, like Patouillet, placed primary emphasis on the developmental focus, and in 1961 offered the following predictions.

1. Guidance will be centered primarily on problems that impact learning.
2. Children with severe emotional or adjustment problems will be referred to other specialists.
3. Guidance personnel will serve a positive function, rather than be a corrective force.
4. The focus will be on the developing child.
5. The guidance worker will work for greater insight on the part of the child.
6. Through inservice education the teachers will be brought into the guidance picture.

7. As much as 40 per cent of the guidance worker's time will be spent with teachers and parents (11, pp. 30-31).

Faust notes that five years later Meeks's predictions along with those of Patouillet were reflected in the statement of purpose of the joint Association for Counselor Education and Supervision and the School Counselor Association (ACES-ASCA) Committee.

The elements that so certainly have represented secondary school counselors over the years were, by and large, successfully left behind. Testing, program advisement, occupations and careers, crisis counseling--none of these were significantly represented either in Meeks's insightful comments or in the Committee's report (11, p. 31).

The stage was also being set by others who called for the emergence of a developmentally oriented elementary school guidance practitioner. In 1962, C. Gilbert Wrenn published The Counselor in a Changing World, in which he challenged those in the elementary movement to learn from the past.

The critical question is whether or not the elementary school will learn from the experiences of the secondary school and build a counseling program which is not crisis-oriented. Beyond this, there are a number of specific differences between the elementary school and the secondary school (4, p. 12).

Another original contributor who promoted the elementary school guidance movement significantly was Don C. Dinkmeyer. In addition to innovative techniques and the advocacy of an Adlerian theoretical approach, Dinkmeyer published the movement's first periodical, a step considered a prerequisite for professional status. In the fall of 1965, his single-handed

efforts brought forth the Elementary School Guidance News and Views which, by 1967, had become the official Journal of Elementary School Guidance and Counseling. Dinkmeyer was a particularly forceful apologist, avoiding, Faust stated, "vague, trite approaches in speaking of elementary school counseling" (11, p. 41). Bonk reported that it was around Dinkmeyer's use of the "scientific dialectic" in his writing and through the Elementary School Guidance News and Views and the Journal of Elementary School Guidance and Counseling that a professional image could be forged (7, p. 21).

In spite of the many voices calling for a developmental approach to guidance, federal legislation was necessary to launch the movement nationally. Late in 1964, Congress amended the National Defense Education Act of 1958, thus expanding Title V-A to allow guidance services in primary grades as well as secondary schools. Title V-B was also expanded, providing support for Short Term and Regular Year Institutes. Faust believed that the amendment "marked the beginning, the birth, of modern elementary school guidance of any considerable dimensions on a national level" (11, pp. 63-64).

The federal legislation provided for elementary training institutes, similar to those organized for secondary school guidance personnel. There was consensus from the outset by the managers of this program in the Office of Education that these institutes should not use the secondary school model

in training elementary personnel. Three Regular Year Institutes were held beginning in June, 1965, at Arizona State University and the University of Illinois, and in the spring of 1966 at the University of Missouri. Interest ran high, with 1800 applications for thirty positions at Arizona State; however, only thirty-eight of the applicants had been assured of guidance positions on their return (11, pp. 67-68). Nevertheless, as federal funds became available to school districts a market was created for the new professionally trained elementary guidance specialist.

A Cornucopia of Competing Guidance Methodologies

As the guidance profession expanded in numbers of personnel as well as areas of specialty, the movement as a whole suffered some identity loss by the mid-sixties. This came at a time when the entire nation experienced a remarkable eruption of life-style pluralism that challenged the traditional values of affluence and hard work, self-denial, and sexual repression. The emergence of a generation of young people endowed with a superabundance of worldly goods, angered by the draft and the Vietnam War, and aware of the increasing bureaucratization of society, had to impact a profession whose primary concern was the welfare and development of the individual.

The Rise of Humanistic-Existential Guidance

The roots of humanistic-existential thought run deep in the Western tradition, but the peculiar conditions of the 1960's provided the Zeitgeist for the emergence of this alternative model of guidance. Humanistic-existential guidance grew out of the search for identity that resulted from the material affluence and spiritual emptiness felt by millions. It was clear that guidance was not dealing with many critical aspects of human existence including love, creativity, values, meaning, and fulfillment.

The humanistic emphasis assumed that human beings were much more than a collection of traits or mobile learning machines and that guidance needed to offer more than psychological tests and adjustment to a not-too-healthy society. The contributions of Gordon Allport, Abraham Maslow, and Carl R. Rogers delineated the humanistic model by taking cognizance of the subjective experience of each individual. They emphasized the positive and rational faculties of human beings with the view of degrees of freedom and self-direction. Allport succinctly summarized his position.

Up to now the behavioral sciences have not provided us with a picture of man capable of creating or living in a democracy. . . . They have delivered into our hands a psychology of an "empty organism," pushed by drives and molded by environmental circumstances. . . . But the theory of democracy requires also that man possess a measure of rationality, a portion of freedom, a generic conscience, [personal] ideals, and unique values. We cannot defend the ballot box or liberal education, nor advocate free discussion and democratic institutions unless man has the potential capacity to profit therefrom (1, p. 100).

Allport's philosophical assumptions served as the basis for a reevaluation of the primary function of guidance. This intense interest in the subjective self and its capacity for renewal sparked criticism of a too-rigid guidance model. In reestablishing the goals for guidance, David Cook sought to express the humanistic aspiration for self-actualization. He stated,

1. Guidance should enable students to expand their awareness of life to the extent that a global comprehensiveness can develop.

2. Guidance should enable students to develop a sense of self-worth that liberates them to an acceptance of the full reality of both self and situation.

3. Guidance should facilitate the development of instructional approaches that enhance the full participation and the full development of potential in the learner.

4. Guidance should enable every youngster of school age to pursue an educational experience relevant to his needs and to the full limit of his interest and capacities (1, pp. 542-543).

For Cook and others advocating the humanistic approach, the crucial factor was developing a better understanding of self and the procedures for relating to others.

Although similar in many respects to the humanistic model, the existential focus tended to be on the depersonalization of the individual in a standardized mass society, and the loss of meaning in human existence. John Powell noted that not only was modern man lost in the new technopolis, but that he was afflicted with a sense of his own impotence and insignificance, producing self-hatred and self-alienation (30, p. 44).

One of the few attempts to articulate a philosophical rationale for guidance derived from the existential propositions of Carlton E. Beck whose book, Philosophical Foundations of Guidance, appeared in 1963. Beck offered thirteen propositions which he advocated as an existential credo for guidance.

1. Every man, not mentally incompetent, is responsible for his acts.
2. Man can do little to change most of the physical universe, the given, but he can predict it and make his life happier by facing reality.
3. Each man must aid others and try to understand their feelings, for mankind is left alone in an uncaring world.
4. Man creates his own nature. This is an individual choice.
5. Man should act toward others as he would want them to act toward him.
6. Decisions shall be made only by the criterion "What is the effect on humankind?" Man must be treated with dignity; his status as a past-and-future-experiencing being, the only creature so endowed, makes this mandatory.
7. Determinism applies to physical laws; choice is a fact of human existence within the framework of the given surroundings.
8. Man counsels because no man can meet all problems alone.
9. Choices must be made by the counselee, for the counselor cannot claim omniscience.
10. The end of counseling is enabling fellow creatures better to bear the buffets of life, better to seek happiness and individual fulfillment.
11. Man must operate as if he is alone in the universe with his fellows; it is futile to argue about supernatural creation; there is no proof.
12. Man's suffering can be relieved by suggestions from those who have traveled the road before, or a road like it.
13. It would be an act of cruelty not to try to benefit others; they are involved with us in life (4, pp. 124-125).

This existential view represented a radical openness and honesty that the protesters and searchers of the sixties seemed

to demand. Rejecting B. F. Skinner's ideas on behavior therapy, the existentialist sought to extend freedom without illusion. Guidance was more than a professional routine. It was a personal venture. Shertzer and Stone noted that during the sixties, with voices calling for candor, existentialism ceased to be a collection of abstract ideas and became a major concern of guidance. They wrote of the existential practitioners,

They have moved the philosophical issues of man's goals, values, and existence to the forefront of the helping relationship and postulated them as the source of conflict. They have emphasized that a person's identity, or awareness of himself, is a basic antecedent of his behavior. . . . They have emphasized the importance of the self of the counselor rather than his techniques (32, p. 228).

Within the conceptual umbrella of the humanistic-existential models numerous therapies emerged. For many, guidance became identified solely with a particular therapy while therapy itself became an institution. Joel Kovel reviewed the period and sought to put the phenomenon in historical perspective.

Therapies are organizations of therapeutic strategies, a peculiarly Western, post-Enlightenment experiment in tinkering with lives. And they are carried out by a new class of people, the therapists, who devote themselves to mastering the technique of this organization, and earn their livelihood by exchanging their time and expertise for some remuneration. In consequence the therapist has a relationship to the emotionally troubled person that is--in principle at any rate--highly specialized: intense and yet disinterested, different from personal intimates or the family by virtue of the mediation of the work relation (21, pp. 42-43).

During the 1960's, America experienced a babel of therapies, due in part to the attention given by the humanistic-existential emphasis to the private world of experience and the individual's potential for self-direction.

Social Guidance: The Group Approach

The quest for individual significance led to the phenomenon of using small-group methods as a vehicle of learning and growth experiences. It had long been held by sociologists and social psychologists that, in addition to the dimensions of body and mind, the group matrix with its transactions and communications profoundly affected behavior. The advocates of group guidance did not deny the necessity for reorganizing subjective experience, but they insisted that the subjective underpinnings must be seen within a social context and that guidance practitioners must develop sociotherapeutic skills.

From a practical standpoint, group guidance had an economic appeal. With the influx of huge student populations at all educational levels during the sixties, schools often had unrealistically high student-to-counselor ratios. This fact, coupled with the natural reliance on a peer group by children and adolescents, made group guidance an increasingly popular approach.

Many types of guidance were integrated into a group format. For example, Shertzer and Stone stated that among the major reasons for conducting group guidance were (1) the

providing of educational-vocational and personal-social information to students, (2) enabling students to discuss and engage in personal and career-planning activities, and (3) giving students opportunities to investigate and discuss common problems, goals, and solutions (32, p. 352). However, group guidance seemed to lose its way by the mid-sixties, and according to George Gazda the more remedial-oriented group counseling took its place (13, pp. 6-7). This reflected the societal shift to therapies of all kinds as students and adults experienced the dislocations resulting from accelerating change. Not until the mid-seventies would group guidance make a strong showing--particularly in the elementary grades.

Putting Technology to Use

Although much of the protest in the sixties was directed toward technology and its progeny, there were those who called for a broader enhancement of humanistic goals by adapting technology to education and guidance. Charles Pierce suggested,

An educator must never lose sight of the fact that he is preparing citizens for the future. He must feel that there is nothing more urgent than the proper accomplishment of this mission, and he must dare to hope for things that he can only begin to glimpse or that lie beyond both his comprehension and imagination (29, p. 13).

David Tiedeman believed that the future of guidance would, in fact, be determined by the movement's acceptance or rejection of technology. He wrote,

The survival of guidance as a vital and useful activity depends upon the recognition that a new day has dawned, a new individual has emerged, and a new way of life is upon us--that, consequently, the old methods and pre-technological ways of thinking are not longer viable (36, p. 381).

The use of technology for specific guidance functions actually began shortly before World War II. The earliest computers were used to score tests and tabulate statistics, providing data for classification of individuals. During the late forties and early fifties, firms commercially began to offer narrative interpretations of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and the California Psychological Inventory (CPI). These psychological interpretations became tools for clinicians who needed something more than numerical rankings.

As the computer revolution gained momentum in the sixties, information storage and retrieval systems were devised as alternatives to the traditional methods of guidance. Computerized informational systems were most frequently based on a theory of occupational classification. For example, the Computerized Vocational Information (CVIS) system utilized Anne Roe's two-dimensional classification of field and level. The system divided occupations into eight interest categories and six levels. (Levels were based on amount of training required and responsibility assumed by the worker.) JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey developed CVIS in 1966 while on the guidance staff of Willowbrook High School in Villa Park, Illinois.

The system was designed to meet two persistent needs: getting students interested in reading vocational material and in learning how to relate it to their own abilities and interests. By the end of the decade the system had become available to 250 schools nationwide, and was programmed to provide vocational information for over 400 occupational categories. It also contained a file on all colleges, a listing of current military opportunities, and possible apprenticeship positions in local community colleges (7, pp. 11-12).

Another widely publicized computer-based approach was the System for Interactive Guidance (SIGI), designed by Martin Katz of the Educational Testing Service. Katz was concerned with the problems related to career decision making and worked from the assumption that values were the major synthesizing force in the decision-making process. He contended that "the basic choice is essentially a choice between arrays of values, or value systems" (20, p. 116). The value stance of an individual was examined against a backdrop of three factors: information, prediction, and planning. Each factor required approximately one hour to investigate and provided the student with the opportunity to learn a strategy for relating each factor to their declared values. Students were able to use the system as often as they like, each time actively controlling the inputs. According to Katz, SIGI represented technology humanistically conceived by providing assistance to individuals to

1. understand the sequential nature of choice,
2. gain a knowledge of options in the domain of human values,
3. recognize that value systems can change,
4. become aware of the full array of conditions of work and attitudes toward work,
5. group the rewards and satisfactions characteristic of each specific option at each choice point so the individual can detect the fit of these characteristics to his own values as he perceives them at that time,
6. become aware of the cost and consequences of each decision,
7. know and understand the probabilities of entry and success in each option considered at any choice point, and
8. acquire information about ways and means of proceeding (20, pp. 122-123).

The matching up of computer technology with a free, valuing individual made the information-transfer process between technology and the individual unique to Katz's system. Guidance by interface with a programmed computer demonstrated it was possible to make students more conscious of the consequences of their free choices.

By the late sixties there emerged a new generation of computers built on the knowledge gained from projects such as CVIS. Going beyond information retrieval and file-search functions, JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey developed DISCOVER to meet the needs of students in grades seven through twelve. DISCOVER was based on the assumptions that a career guidance system should at least include the components of (1) self-information, (2) exploration of occupations in a systematic way, (3) teaching and low-risk practice of decision making, (4) relationship of self-information to occupational

natives, and (5) informational assistance with implementation of choice. The system provided twelve modules of content including materials on value clarification, decision-making skills, occupational classification, and an interest inventory which was a computerized version of a part of the Holland Self-Directed Search (7, p. 12). This computer-assisted approach was as systematic as any devised, since it allowed students to experience many facets of their personalities while seated at a computer terminal.

By the end of the decade it was clear that computer guidance systems were more than "libraries hooked to the person via the computer" (33, p. 105). Computer technology had evolved beyond the information storage-and-retrieval stage and had become a stimulus that facilitated decision making while highlighting the developmental nature of personality. Tiedeman viewed this expanding interface between the individual and the computer as both educational and therapeutic. He felt it absolutely necessary that the guidance movement use the very technology responsible for producing much of the change that left people disoriented, declaring,

We must come to understand the dissonance experienced by our young people who have "cut their teeth" on the "ring" of technology and are trying desperately to find a continuity in self compatible with what they are experiencing in time and motion so that they may launch and live their lives in an effective way. Therefore, effective guidance means developing a curriculum with one basic objective--learning to cope with rapid change (36, p. 395).

Although computer guidance had its champions in Tiedeman and Katz, the historical significance of electronic data processing techniques in the 1960's and 1970's remained in the formative stages, still awaiting integration into the guidance movement as a whole. The guidance movement had witnessed numerous innovations, some of which had been touted as the final breakthrough. In reviewing the short history of the application of computers within the movement, Edwin Herr and Stanley Cramer observe,

So far, they have failed to live up to that [revolutionary] promise. In the last ten years, there have been over three score projects that attempted to use computer technology. Few survive today. Some were merely information vehicles; others were more ambiguous, attempting something closer to an interactive counseling approach. Although the promise has not yet been fulfilled, the great potential is still there (18, p. 322).

The fact that there was so much interest in technology-based guidance during the sixties reflected the cultural belief that technology was the end product of rational activity. The challenge raised by such an assumption for the guidance movement was whether practitioners would be aided by technology or transformed by it into mere technicians.

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CHAPTER X

THE GUIDANCE MOVEMENT IN THE 1970'S: THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONALISM

The guidance movement in America came of age during the decade of the 1970's. Elements of Frank Parsons' and Eli W. Weaver's earliest vocational models were revived and modernized into a comprehensive concept of career education. Professionalism became a key concern as state legislatures considered licensing of guidance personnel. Special important issues such as (1) accountability, (2) women's rights, (3) the elderly, and (4) confidentiality challenged the guidance movement to once again define itself in an age of change.

Career Education: Expanding the Concept of Guidance

The historical development of American education contains many classic statements of educational philosophy. The fact that the guidance movement developed within the educational system made these philosophical pronouncements important, for the pragmatic implementation of such statements channeled the direction of the guidance movement. For example, in 1918, the United States Office of Education had published seven cardinal principles for secondary education, one of which was the clarification by all students of a

vocational interest (6). In 1938, the National Education Association suggested that among the purposes of education was self-realization and the development of positive human relationships (11). Each decade had its unique emphasis. For the sixties it was the technologically sophisticated System Analysis approach, a philosophy wrapped in the language of computer terminology while promising educational efficiency (19, p. 14). By the early seventies the emphasis had shifted to accountability and a greater desire to use the nation's human resources wisely. Responding to those who charged that American education had not adequately prepared its youth, Sidney P. Marland, Commissioner of Education, proposed a new educational philosophy--career education. This concept found fertile ground and became the major thrust of American education in the seventies.

The Need for Career Education

The conditions giving rise to career education and career guidance can be traced to the national debate begun in the 1960's about the causes of unemployment. Edwin Herr put the case simply by questioning whether the principal causes of unemployment were slow economic growth and a deficient rate of job creation or inadequate skills by those making up the work force in an economy of high-level employment (15, pp. 36-40). Fueling the debate was the experience of automation resulting from increased dependence on

technology. The majority of the work force followed service occupations, with an ever-shrinking number of workers in goods-producing occupations. Sociologist Daniel Bell declared the end of industrial society and the birth of a postindustrial culture. Specialized knowledge had replaced experience as the primary need of the effective worker (4, pp. 49-54).

In addition to the economic and employability factors underlying the concept of career education, another influencing factor was the psychological climate of American society. Commenting on the psychological forces shaping the belief of Americans about themselves, their country, and their future, Herr and Cramer observed,

The decade of the 1960's saw groups, which had previously controlled very little public attention or visible influence in shaping America's norms with regard to the distribution of jobs or opportunities, suddenly came alive. Assertions of Black Pride, Brown Pride, Red Pride, Women's Liberation, Gay Power, Gray Power, the youth counter-culture, in turn raised the questions of economic equality, of the meaning of work, of what values Americans should live by. Americans of many backgrounds were searching for new avenues of self-improvement and assurance that they were not simply cogs in a large amorphous machine. These persons frequently signaled, in their behavior and in their rhetoric, the need for new ways to gain access to the opportunity structures of this nation--education, occupational, economic, and social (16, p. 24).

Psychologist William Glasser described America as an "identity society," stating that Americans wanted a success identity, "to show responsible behavior and to have meaningful interpersonal relationships" (8, p. 158). This quest

for finding oneself was made all the more difficult by the changes--social, cultural, and economic--that produced information overload. Alvin Toffler viewed such overload as the psychological cost resulting from the death of permanence and the substitution of transience and novelty, a process he termed "Future Shock" (28, pp. 4-6).

Because of changes transforming American society during the sixties as well as the degrees of freedom allowed in selection of an occupation, many educators began to call for training youth in the necessary competencies to cope with lifelong decision making. The first evidence of a national competency-based educational policy was described in an internal memorandum circulated by the Exemplary Programs and Services Branch (EPSB) Division of Vocational and Technical Education, of the United States Office of Education. The EPSB was funded by the 1968 Amendments to the Vocational Education Act, and their memorandum cited

early attempts to structure operating models of what is now coming to be referred to as a K through 12 career education system! The roots for such a system go back into many years of basic research on career development theory (16, p. 38).

Throughout the late sixties, formulation of statements proposing career education were considered by government agencies and the educational community. In 1970, United States Commissioner of Education James E. Allen delivered a speech before the National Association of Secondary School Principals. He declared,

It is the renewed awareness of the universality of the basic human and social need for competence that is generating not only increased emphasis today on career education but a whole new concept of its character and its place in the total educational enterprise (1, p. 2).

Obviously the Zeitgeist was well established for launching career education as part of a more accountable educational philosophy.

Defining Career Education

The formal endorsement providing the impetus necessary to make career education a priority of the nation's educational agenda came in a speech delivered by the newly appointed Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland. At the national convention of the Association of Secondary School Principals in Houston, Texas, in January, 1971, the Commissioner asserted that about half of the three million students who graduated from high school were prepared for neither college nor work careers. About a third of those who went on to college dropped out before graduation. Furthermore, many more who earned degrees had no marketable skill and had made no career choice in college (5, p. 255). Although no specific legislation was proposed by Marland, nor was the Office of Education prepared at that time to carry through on meeting the challenge, Marland's speech marked the first serious commitment to support a concept designed to meet the needs of all American youth.

As the Nixon administration began to dismantle Great Society programs, and as local school boards experienced

the first resistance by taxpayers, critics of American education demanded an evaluation. It was argued that any good program established goals for itself. This specification of outcomes was known as accountability and required of educators and guidance personnel proof that their efforts achieved success. Tapping into this pragmatic criticism, Marland declared that it was possible to design a guidance philosophy to meet the needs of youth, community, school, and family. He stated,

All education is career education, or should be. And all our efforts as educators must be bent on preparing students either to become properly, usefully employed immediately upon graduation from high school or go on to further formal education. Anything else is dangerous nonsense. I propose that a universal goal of American education, starting now, be this: that every young person completing our school program at grade 12 be ready to enter higher education or to enter useful and rewarding employment (21, p. 188).

By 1972, the United States Office of Education began implementing the concept, including major improvements in vocational education programs to place emphasis in occupational areas that reflected national shortages and high future needs.

During the early 1970's, Herr reported that at least 60 per cent of the states had defined career education and had established the position of career education coordinator in the state departments of education (16, p. 36). In 1974, the United States Office of Education officially adopted a comprehensive policy statement on career education which included as its definition

Career education is the totality of experiences through which one learns about and prepares to engage in work as part of her or his way of living (17, p. 2).

In the same year, Congress passed the Education Amendments of 1974 which created the Office of Career Education and the National Advisory Committee on Career Education, authorizing the expenditure of funds to demonstrate and to evaluate career education. The legislation described career education as a process designed to accomplish the following.

1. increase the relationship between schools and society as a whole,
2. relate the curricula of school to the needs of persons to function in society,
3. provide opportunities for counseling, guidance, and career development for all children,
4. extend the concept of the education process into the area of employment and the community,
5. foster flexibility in attitudes, skills, and knowledge in order to enable persons to cope with accelerating change and obsolescence, and
6. eliminate any distinction between education for vocational purposes and general or academic education (16, pp. 36-37).

This legislation was followed in December, 1977, by passage of the Career Education Incentive Act which refined the definition of career education to be

the totality of experiences which are designed to be free of bias and stereotyping (including bias or stereotyping on account of race, sex, age, economic status, or handicap) through which one learns about and prepares to engage in work as part of his or her way of living and through which he or she relates work values to other life roles and choices (such as family life) (16, p. 37).

What the state and federal definitions emphasized was the ongoing relationship between the educational system and the community at large. The statements reflected a systematic

response to the broad-based educational needs of youth in facing occupational and personal adjustment in a technological society. In seeking to be accountable, career educators became conscious of their role in providing information and understanding of the occupational marketplace, while guidance personnel prepared youth in decision-making skills and value clarification necessary for career choice.

Career Education Models

The adoption of career education models during the seventies was rapid. This was due in part to the developmental nature of the career concept allowing for the incorporation of various strategies for the preschool years through adulthood. Four federally funded national models serving different assumptions, goals, and populations were undertaken.

The first was a school-based model begun as an attempt to revitalize education with career education themes from kindergarten through grade twelve. By involving business, industry, and community, students were exposed to the diversity of occupations as well as being given the opportunity to learn specific requirements for entry into an occupation. Emphasis was placed on the development of a self-concept within a particular frame of reference. Herr and Cramer describe this approach.

The school-based model was designed to reorient the educational system from within, by infusing it with

ideas, experiences, skills that have traditionally not been systematically provided to all students. Although the goals of the model have frequently been stated in educational philosophies, they have not been comprehensively carried forth in practice (16, p. 38).

The school-based model created a conducive climate necessary for further experimentation of the career education concept.

Students alienated by the formal educational structure found an alternative in the Employer-Based model. Targeted for students thirteen to eighteen years of age, this approach used the community as a learning laboratory providing students with direct work experiences. Basic skills were learned on the job along with heightened self-understanding and career awareness. Students experienced adult-centered work which was individualized for each student through the use of contracts, work-study, and cooperative education. Herr and Cramer state that the function of guidance in this model is twofold.

1. to mediate actively between students and the interaction of their work-education-community environments and
2. to assist in the mapping of an individualized learning program for each student (16, p. 42).

Because students chose freely to participate in this model, the active involvement of guidance personnel was critical to the model's implementation. Guidance workers became the vital link between the educational system, the student, and the employer.

The Home-Community-Based model was the first to address specifically the needs of the adult population involving

women who had been homebound while raising their children. In this model the home itself was used as a career education center in conjunction with three components.

1. A career-oriented educational television program, focused on building motivation in studying for a career, providing information about career opportunities, and some occupational competency instruction;
2. a home and community education system, using television, correspondence programs, and radio; and
3. career clinics in the community to provide career guidance and counseling (16, p. 42).

This model did not attempt to teach skills and attitudes directly, but rather served as a clearinghouse. Guidance personnel took on an outreach approach and had the opportunity to go beyond the traditional academic setting.

The fourth model was funded for only one site, the Mountain-Plains Education and Economic Development Program at Glasgow, Montana. The Rural/Residential-Based model was directed toward the entire disadvantaged family, offering day care, elementary and secondary education, career and technical education, parent education, medical and dental services, welfare services, cultural and recreational opportunities, as well as guidance and counseling. Targeting the entire family, guidance personnel worked with the head of the household as well as the spouse, providing basic academic, occupational, and interpersonal training. Guidance was offered to all children and included assistance on a core curriculum as well as individualized counseling. This approach viewed the

family as a system which assumed that career education was beneficial only if all members participated (16, pp. 43-44).

These four models demonstrated career education's flexibility. Job market demands and individual preferences merged to form a curriculum that was practical and personalized. Guidance personnel had to address the accountability issue while assisting students young and old to acquire and use employable personality traits. By decade's end, Kenneth B. Hoyt noted that "career education had forced guidance personnel to rethink why they were needed" (18, p. 9).

Professionalism

A sign of the maturing of the guidance movement in the seventies was the call for the establishment of autonomous guidance professionals. Declining student enrollments and cutbacks in federal funds required that guidance personnel search out new groups, circumstances, and settings. Psychologists and state boards of examiners forced the issue in many states, while new coalitions within and outside the movement intensified demands for licensure.

Accreditation and Certification

At the center of the issue over professional development was the question of standards of preparation. In 1972, the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES) presented to its membership a report on standards for the preparation of counselors and other personnel services

specialists. The standards subsequently were approved by the Board of Directors of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). These standards related only to entry programs of preparation.

Minimum study in counselor education will increasingly extend beyond the one-year program of graduate preparation. Such programs might include (1) a combination of an undergraduate major in guidance with a year of graduate studies in counselor education, (2) two years of graduate study in counselor education, or (3) other models which include a minimum of one year of graduate study.

All counselor education programs are not expected to prepare counselors and other personnel services specialists for all the work settings encompassed by the standards. Institutions should offer preparation programs only in those areas where sufficient qualified full-time staff and other resources are available (27, p. 609).

This was followed in 1977 by APGA approval of guidelines for doctoral preparation in counselor education. The guidelines stated that the "primary objective of the doctoral program in counselor education is to prepare leaders for all areas of counseling, guidance, and student services as well as counselor educators." Through didactic work and supervised experiences at advanced graduate levels, doctoral students would develop strong competencies in "core areas of preparation: counseling (both individual and group), consulting, and research." Other areas in which students may elect to develop high degrees of competency might be "supervision, management/administration, and facilitative or clinical teaching" (14, p. 163).

Since accreditation is nongovernmental and voluntary in America, there has been confusion over this process which began in the late 1890's. Over 95 per cent of the counselor education programs in the United States are under the control of colleges, schools, or departments of education (27, p. 609). As a result, the accrediting agency for counselor education is the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). Not until 1974 did NCATE recognize the need to obtain information from APGA in evaluating counselor education programs. Thereafter NCATE sought APGA standards as well as counselor educators to serve on NCATE visiting teams.

Robert Stripling noted that NCATE accredited only programs preparing personnel for elementary and secondary schools. This has resulted in confusion due to the fact that many counselor education programs prepared a large percentage of their students for positions outside elementary and secondary education. Stripling stated, "What agency should accredit counselor education becomes increasingly confusing" (27, p. 610).

Stripling proposed in June, 1978, that APGA establish an independent accreditation body relating directly to NCATE. In the interim he suggested the following action.

1. Press NCATE for an accreditation procedure that will include programs of preparation in counselor education for nonschool settings.
2. Develop within APGA a clarification of the role of the APGA member on NCATE visiting teams.

3. Become more aggressive in providing leadership in the application of both APGA standards and NCATE standards.

4. Provide financial support to NCATE and thus gain a stronger voice in the accreditation procedure (27, p. 611).

In 1979, APGA sponsored a pilot project of ACES which began on-site accreditation visits of counselor education programs (18, p. 8).

Closely related to accreditation standards were the certification requirements of each state. Gerald Dudley and Eldon Ruff's survey conducted in 1970 indicated that the fifty states varied widely with regard to regulations governing certification of individuals (16, pp. 304-311). However, by mid-decade standardization was well under way, as reported by Lawrence Jones in his survey of 1976, which found that 50 per cent of the states had or were planning competency-based programs (20, p. 176). Guidance personnel could be certified at three levels of competency: preparation, initial, and continuing. The initial-level competencies were the type developed in masters-level programs. Shertzer and Stone in 1976 called for a national system of accreditation by an organization such as ACES or NCATE (26, p. 474).

Licensure

The primary development leading to greater professionalization in the 1970's was the burgeoning movement to license guidance personnel. Whereas certification laws regulated the use of the title "counselor" and stipulated the training

required for practice, the advocates of licensure legislation called for identifying practitioners and the enumeration of their unique services. The need for state licensing laws came as a result of the guidance movement's expansion beyond its traditional educational boundaries, as well as external pressures emanating from state boards of examiners in psychology. As increasing numbers of guidance practitioners chose community settings and private practice, a clash developed in several states over existing state licensure laws designed to regulate the practice of psychology. Harold F. Cottingham and Richard W. Warner found in a national survey that most state psychology licensure laws had incorporated in them the following definition of the practice of psychology.

Within the meaning of this act (psychology) is defined as rendering to individuals, groups, organizations, or the public any psychological service involving the application of principles, methods, and procedures of understanding, predicting, and influencing behavior, such as the principles pertaining to learning, perception, motivation, thinking, emotions, and interpersonal relationships; the methods and procedures of interviewing, counseling, and psychotherapy, of constructing, administering, and interpreting tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests, attitudes, personality characteristics, emotion, and motivation; and of assessing public opinion.

The application of said principles and methods includes, but is not restricted to diagnoses, prevention, and amelioration of adjustment problems and emotional and mental disorders of individuals and groups; hypnosis; educational and vocational counseling . . . and the resolution of interpersonal and social conflict (9, p. 604).

Although the definition included activities in which guidance personnel were engaged, it was used to prohibit such personnel from performing those activities.

Responding to this restrictive definition, the Board of Directors of APGA adopted on July 14, 1974, "a position in favor of vigorous, responsible action to establish provisions for the licensure of professional counselors in the various states" (9, p. 604). To implement this policy, the first APGA Licensure Commission, chaired by Thomas Sweeney, was established with the declared philosophy to change the attitude within APGA "from a reactive to an active position" (9, p. 604). Moving on several fronts, the Commission began work on a national registry, a model licensing bill, a third-party payment bill, a national licensure network, regional and state workshops, establishment of a procedure for handling complaints, and dialogues on credentializing and licensure with other professional organizations.

In 1975, Texas passed legislation providing for the licensing of "social psychotherapists," followed in 1976 by Virginia, which became the first state to pass a professional guidance licensure law. The Virginia legislation created a behavioral sciences board, with separate subboards for counselors, psychologists, and social workers. In turn, the counselor licensure subboard licensed several types of professional counselors and certified alcoholism and drug counselors (3, p. 584). It became clear as the decade progressed that the movement to license counselors in the individual states required the concerted efforts of the

states' guidance personnel population over a two- to three-year period of intense legislative activity. In the states of Florida and Alaska, when it became clear that lobbying for legislative action failed, guidance and marriage counselors, along with social workers, joined forces to have state legislatures exercise the sunset provisions of their licensure laws, jettisoning licensure for psychologists (18, p. 8).

As the decade closed, it was generally agreed that licensing was inevitable and a sign of the professional status of the guidance movement. However, there were those who cautioned against a bandwagon psychology in promoting licensing as the only way to legitimize the field. Dugald Arbuckle noted that historically the licensing boards of both the American Psychological Association and the American Medical Association had hardly been leaders in the advancement of the profession; instead "they have tended to measure what was, rather than what is, let alone what might be" (3, p. 584).

Although a case could be made for either side of the licensing debate, the fact remains that few issues within the guidance movement have become as important as licensure in such a short time. The issue was not created by APGA, but with the Association's support aggressive action was begun. Any future definition, practice, and regulation of guidance will result from the conclusions of the licensure issue, which potentially could become a unifying catalyst

for the heretofore warring divisions within the mental health professions.

Contemporary Guidance

The optimism about America's future that marked the 1960's was barely in evidence in the America of the 1970's. National self-confidence disappeared, replaced by self-doubt and cynicism. Journalist Walter Cronkite observed,

Americans are developing what someone has called the lifeboat ethic, a tendency to take care of ourselves and let the rest swim. The rest, of course, disproportionately are black, Hispanic, or members of other minorities (24, p. 1).

Indeed, there was evidence to support Cronkite's view that Americans were more self-centered in the seventies. But if the trend was toward a narcissistic individual recognition of uniqueness, there were also signs of an expanded sense of personal freedom in life styles. This in turn produced an insistence by many to fashion their own values, declaring ideology to be dead, replaced by existential action.

Responding to the numerous liberation movements, guidance personnel found themselves having to address complex social and personal problems. Often viewed as agents of a depersonalized bureaucratic system, guidance consultants had to establish a more personal rapport with those whom they served. More than ever it became necessary for those in the profession to read the latest literature and see the latest films if they were to keep informed about emerging life styles.

The Women's Movement

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's had emphasized the worth of the individual and in so doing focused public attention on women, who in many respects were being treated as members of a minority. During the late fifties, APGA sponsored programs in continuing education for women revolving around the "intermittency concept"--that women would marry, have children, and then, when their youngest child was in school, resume education or training or work outside the home (7, p. 66). In 1963, President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women issued American Women, which gave priority support to the continuing education of women (20, pp. 3-6). Placement information, vocational guidance, and personal attention to the problems unique to women became new challenges for the guidance movement.

It had become fashionable for many to support the goals of feminists while simultaneously maintaining conventional thinking. Nancy Friedersdorf's study of guidance workers' attitudes concerning the further educational and vocational plans of high-school girls found that male guidance personnel tended to view college-bound females first as females and secondly as college bound. She reached four conclusions from her study which had implications for guidance training and practice.

1. Male counselors associated colleg-bound girls with traditionally feminine occupations at the semi-skilled level; female counselors perceived the college-bound girl as interested in occupations requiring a college education.

2. Male counselors tended to think of women in feminine roles characterized by feminine personality traits.

3. Female counselors tended to extend the traditional image of female work roles and projected women's roles into careers presently occupied predominantly by men.

4. Male counselors perceived the college-bound girl as having positive attitudes toward traditionally feminine occupations regardless of the classification level of the occupation (12, pp. 97-100).

Since the turn of the century and particularly since 1941, there has been an increasing trend for women to find both full-time and part-time work outside their homes. In 1940, only 12.5 per cent of white females held occupations outside the home; by 1978 this proportion had jumped to 44.6 per cent (22, p. 234). The goal of guidance in the seventies required that vocational information and career education treat males and females the same. Harold Bernard and Daniel Fullmer wrote,

Guidance and counseling professionals must now offer services and training from the new perspective of equality of opportunity, without regard to sex. The guidance function is to remove the former compartmentalization and restore the social circuitry for women and men alike (5, p. 286).

The women's movement forced those in the guidance profession to examine their own internalized values and confront the issues involved in providing for full sexual equality. This was in keeping with the guidance movement's own historical

tradition of fostering individual growth while constructing a nonexploitive society.

Guidance and the Aged

Americans in the 1970's, criticized for being overly preoccupied with a psychology of self, nevertheless demonstrated an intolerance of many forms of overt discrimination. This increased awareness of unmet human needs and rights focused attention on the elderly American, a minority group that cut across all strata of society. The advances in medical technology allowed for a longer life span while the affluence of American society resulted in the segregation of the young from the old, and a rapid growth of retirement communities, nursing homes, and sanitoriums for the aged.

An understanding of the importance of the increasing ratio of elderly Americans is contingent upon the consideration of certain demographic facts. First, the older population is generally defined as persons sixty-five years of age or older. Secondly, this group has experienced sustained growth in numbers during this century. In 1901, this group included 3.1 million persons, or 4.1 per cent of the total population. The proportion of the elderly has steadily increased through the first three-quarters of this century, so that by 1975 this category included 22.4 million individuals and was estimated to be growing by approximately 460,000 persons per year. This age group currently comprises

approximately 10.5 per cent of the United States population. The Bureau of the Census estimated that the number of older persons would peak at approximately 52 million in the year 2030 (13, p. 5).

As the numbers of the elderly increase, they may be expected to demand more of the nation's goods and services. It was this fact that helped to increase awareness of the older population in the seventies. The increased numbers of older people, in combination with a general increase in social consciousness regarding "special" groups, and an awareness of declining school enrollments, made those in the guidance movement take notice of the potential service opportunities.

William and Arline McCord's study on the elderly in America noted that with retirement, usually at sixty-five, the aged faced a multitude of problems. They observed,

Because of discrimination, the aged probably suffer the greatest loss of income, self-esteem, and a basic sense of dignity than almost any other of the minority groups in America (22, p. 249).

In addition to losses in social and personal stature, the elderly face the imminence of death. In the seventies discussions of death and dying became more fashionable after Elisabeth Kübler-Ross's pioneering study of the psychological needs of the dying launched the thanatology movement.

Several training workshops sponsored by APGA were designed to sensitize guidance personnel to the needs of the aged. It further developed and disseminated training

materials which included guidance models applicable to the elderly. In 1979, APGA issued Counseling the Aged: A Training Syllabus for Educators, a text placing major emphasis on aspects particularly relevant to guidance personnel who had contact or who were developing programs for the elderly. The text contained a module providing suggestions for guidance programs using peer and paraprofessionals as well as extending guidance services to nontraditional settings (13, pp. 173-219).

Robert N. Butler, Director of the National Institute on Aging, stated that the contributions of APGA led the way in focusing collective expertise on the needs and problems of the aged. He noted that the Association's efforts pointed to the fact that the aged needed to have guidance services available to them, that one can benefit from guidance regardless of age, and as the population grows older more qualified guidance personnel were needed (13, p. v). Given that aging and death are the last development stages to personhood, it was fitting that in the seventies American society and the guidance movement matured and responded to the challenges of the aged.

Confidentiality and the Buckley-Pell Amendment

During the 1970's, the issue of privacy or confidentiality became a legal and professional area of concern. It had long been common practice among guidance personnel to mark clearly materials deemed confidential and to restrict access

to such materials to other relevant professionals. The consensus among guidance professionals was that students and clients were not to be allowed to review such materials for fear of possible misinterpretation and misunderstanding. This practice was endorsed by the various codes of ethics. Ethical Standards of APGA spoke specifically to this practice.

The counseling relationship and information resulting therefrom must be kept confidential, consistent with the obligations of the member as a professional person. . . . Records of the counseling relationship including interview notes, test data, correspondence, tape recordings, and other documents are to be considered professional information for use in counseling, and they are not part of the public or official records of the institution or agency in which the counselor is employed (2, p. 491).

Growing out of a number of court cases challenging institutional and professional claims to privacy, the Congress in 1974 passed the Family Right of Privacy Act containing the Buckley-Pell Amendment. This amendment protects the rights and privacy of students and parents in regard to files and records. Personal matters that come to a guidance worker's attention are not in the public domain. Any revelation of such material could be determined by a court to be an invasion of personal privacy and result in litigation against the professional involved. The amendment specifies that the individual has these rights.

The right to inspect and review any and all official records, files, and data directly related to their children, including all material that is incorporated into each student's cumulative records folders, and intended for school use or to be available to parties

outside the school or school system, and specifically including, but not necessarily limited to, identifying data, academic work completed, level of achievement (grades, standardized achievement test scores), attendance data, scores on standardized intelligence, aptitude and psychological tests, interest inventory results, health data, family background information, teacher or counselor ratings and observations, and verified reports of serious and recurrent behavior patterns (23, p. 554).

Clearly, the Buckley-Pell Amendment was in direct conflict with the preexisting statutes and codes of ethics. In 1976, a professional committee of APGA supported the practice of limiting the kinds of information obtained in the course of a professional relationship "only to other concerned and trained professionals who can competently interpret the information with adequate reservations" (23, p. 555). However, John McGuire and Thomas Borowy's study of the ethical and legal considerations of confidentiality led them to believe that what in fact is part of a student's educational record hinges not so much on the nature of the materials as on the primary purposes or uses of the material and accessibility to them. They state,

Psychological records, test results, evaluative or diagnostic reports, therapy or counseling notes, letters, etc., appear to be generally excluded from the definition of educational records, provided they are obtained and maintained solely for the purpose of providing professional diagnostic or counseling services to students. Additionally, records that are accessible only to those professionals and support individuals (e.g., secretaries) who are directly related to the treatment of the student are excluded from the definition of educational records. Thus, such materials would not be required to be made available to students or their parents. In this respect, the Buckley Amendment is

consistent with established ethical principles and professional practices (23, p. 556).

Such legislation protecting the individual's right to know as well as individual privacy reflected the growing concern to restate basic constitutional rights in an increasingly casual and open society.

Summary

Internal and external forces transformed the guidance movement in the seventies. Responding to criticisms over the role, function, identity, and purpose of guidance, the movement sought to become a total social service. Career education broadened the traditional curriculum to include skills for living which encompassed practical and academic needs of all students while promoting accountability among guidance practitioners. The decade brought a serious challenge to the claim of professional service as training criteria and competency were questioned by psychologists and state boards of examiners. This resulted in actions within the guidance movement to upgrade counselor education programs and to seek independent licensing laws. Most importantly, guidance practitioners began to see themselves as professionals serving many publics and offering more than remedial correction. These multiple challenges of the 1970's offered the possibility for new beginnings as the guidance movement renewed itself and prepared for a new decade.

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

History without interpretation is mere chronology, a series of random happenings. To explain history requires a depth of knowledge allowing the events to be connected into a pattern so that the occurrences of time, circumstance, and place become related. The present study retraces the steps that led to the development and growth of the guidance movement in the United States. As a complex social movement, guidance was affected by cultural, economic, and intellectual conditions and did not emerge as a unified concept. Numerous subcurrents contributed to the movement's growth; when these tributaries are viewed whole the guidance movement emerges.

Guidance, An American Invention

Conditions leading to the rise of guidance as a peculiarly American innovation existed long before guidance became an organized social and educational enterprise. At the core of the guidance movement is the basic American belief in the importance of each individual to have ultimate authority over his own life. The Puritan ethic of hard work, coupled with the Enlightenment philosophy of natural rights, exalted individual freedom of choice. It was this preeminence given to

individual dignity that made America rich with possibility for countless immigrants.

The economic theory of laissez-faire advocated for trade and business supported this doctrine of individualism. Early capitalism quickened the commercial impulse and required of Americans that they learn the requirements for entry into occupational specialties. Entrepreneurs financed inventions which in turn produced the Industrial Revolution. By mid-nineteenth century this revolution was transforming American society, providing a standard of living that became the envy of the world. In the process, however, individuals lost their sense of autonomy and found themselves either unprepared to adjust to industrialization or exploited by the increasingly complex rules governing the market place. Guidance as a social service was begun as a means to rescue individuals trapped by such conditions.

Guidance from the Vocation Bureau
to Public Education

Although individual lives are lost against the sweep of history, what ultimately makes history unpredictable is the emergence of those rare individuals who shape events while responding to them. The coming of a mind that saw that America was at a watershed, that industrial sophistication required individual sophistication--that was the genius of Frank Parsons. Parsons' contributions were both practical and theoretical. The Vocation Bureau of Boston reached into

the community, offering guidance services directly to the general public. Seeking to give guidance a scientific basis, Parsons' formulation of a three-step schema became the first widely accepted theory of vocational guidance. The visionary scope of Parsons' thinking was reflected in his advocacy of vocational education, a concept expanded in the 1970's by educators and guidance professionals into career education. Ultimately Parsons must be viewed as the creator of a philosophy more than a program.

Organized guidance began with Parsons' activities in Boston, but social movements are not sustained by solitary men of genius. It was necessary for others to transform the concepts of Parsons into a working movement. Bloomfield and his associates made a momentous decision for the future of American guidance when in 1909 they agreed to assist the Boston schools in the training and placement of guidance workers. Parsons had conceived of guidance as a broadly based social service, operating through institutions such as the public schools but maintaining independent community-based bureaus. However, leaders in American education had long been calling for a pragmatic program to provide occupational information and placement services. Vocational guidance was seen as a much-needed reform in the name of social and economic efficiency.

As the Parsons years receded, guidance was absorbed by the schools; even the leadership of the National Vocation Guidance Association passed to educators. This fundamental shift away from the original innovators to educators--who controlled the budgets, role expectations, and even indirectly the college and university training programs--cost the guidance movement its autonomy. Although the function of guidance in the schools continued to broaden and change, the tendency to institutionalize and formalize the role within the educational bureaucracy remains. By the 1970's it was clear that those entering the profession as well as many serving in the public schools sought to expand professional markets. Within the schools themselves guidance personnel sought to return to their original role while dropping the quasi-administrative functions that had been assigned them by administrators. A major challenge for guidance in the remaining decades of this century will be ensuring that Frank Parsons' dream of a socially versatile guidance professional becomes a reality.

Exogenous Influences and Historical Explanations

The progress of guidance was immensely sporadic. The growth curve of the movement is full of plateaus and sudden spurts, reflecting an irregular pace and an unordered manner. First, there is the long period of simple faith in the American dream rooted in individual initiative and exemplified

By the popularity of success literature. This period occupies some two hundred fifty years. Then the first two decades of the twentieth century launched guidance as an organized movement. By the early 1920's, the focus in the guidance movement shifted again. Although vocational guidance remained a vigorous part of the movement, developments in psychological and educational measurements, the birth of the mental hygiene movement, and the introduction of child guidance clinics increasingly shaped the nature of guidance in the public schools. Measurements of all kinds grew out of the first standardized achievement tests and reflected the basic pragmatism of Americans to simplify complexity while seeking to provide workable solutions. Mental hygienists brought to the attention of guidance personnel issues beyond the scope of vocational adjustment, and child guidance emphasized the need for early intervention. The emergence of these parallel movements and their impact on guidance underscores the fact that guidance has been influenced by several exogenous factors.

What becomes clear is that guidance has not been built systematically one brick at a time. It could be stated that the conflict arising out of the clash between what was established guidance at any one time and new innovative ideas led ultimately to a synthesis. This seemed to be the case as the movement struggled to create a national organization, with new groups being formed and challenging the established

order. Eventually a synthesis resulted, culminating in a parent organization, the American Personnel and Guidance Association, which represents a diverse membership. Yet it is also possible to compare the movement's history to a pendulum swinging from one direction to another, from one extreme to another, such as the preoccupation with tests and measurements in the 1920's and the insistence in the 1950's on using almost exclusively Rogerian nondirective techniques. Historical knowledge of the movement's past may provide the vital clues necessary to judge when conditions are right for the integration of new concepts with present knowledge or when the guidance movement is overreacting to a single trend.

The Federal Government's Impact on Guidance

No movement as comprehensive as guidance could escape a relationship with the federal government. Since passage of the George-Dean Act in 1936, the federal government has played an increasingly important role in the history of guidance. A national commitment was clearly in evidence when the Occupational Information and Guidance Service was organized in 1938 in the United States Office of Education. The George-Barden Act of 1946 expanded federal activity by liberalizing the use of federal funds for vocational guidance. With the launching of Sputnik in 1957, Congress accelerated the growth of guidance with the passage of Title V-A and Title V-B of the National Defense Education Act of

1958. Between 1958 and 1965 the number of full-time equivalent guidance practitioners in secondary schools increased by 12,000, and the number of students per full-time equivalent guidance practitioner decreased from 960 to 510. In addition, special programs and special guidance services have been developed for targeted subpopulations.

The role of the federal government in financially supporting guidance and charting new frontiers is a historical trend that appears to be permanent. But just as guidance struggles to free itself from the role expectations and institutional demands of public education, so too questions must be raised as to the degree of influence that the federal government should be permitted to play in regulating the guidance profession. It has been noted that American guidance arose as a protest against standardization, and yet the powerful influence of government support and regulation poses a potential threat by restrictions that go hand in hand with federal monies.

It is incumbent upon guidance personnel that they be alert to the possible consequences that flow from bureaucratic management. The federal government has certainly been a friend to the guidance movement, but vigilance remains the watchword of professional liberty.

The Emergence of New Trends

The 1960's and 1970's have provided Americans with an expanding concept of guidance. Although attempts have been

made to build comprehensive systems of guidance, it has proved impossible to unify the field. Efforts at synthesizing have appeared utopian at best. For many, the signs of the movement's actual broadening required the postponement of an integrating theory. What can be stated with certainty is that, during these last two decades, common themes have emerged such as guidance as therapy, guidance for minorities, the guidance practitioner as change agent, the utility of group work, licensing, and the legal aspects of confidentiality. Interpretations of these events now transforming guidance are diverse, another indication of the movement's complexity.

Seeking to find their professional identity in such a complex domain, contemporary guidance practitioners, in contrast to practitioners in the past, are more cautious before giving allegiance to one exclusive viewpoint. Having lived through the challenges of the sixties and seventies, guidance personnel are more self-critical and tolerant of diversity, willing to listen to others, and to explore promising avenues. It appears that a radical reorientation of the whole field of guidance is underway, as the guidance spectrum continues to broaden. Guidance seems now to be taking all behavioral and experiential aspects of human experience for its study.

The Future

What does the future hold for guidance? The study of the guidance movement's past may uncover the answer to that question. If history is more than individual and isolated acts, if indeed history is composed of recurring factors which are present at all times, then we should look to the past to prepare for the future. The most obvious historical fact is the rapid and spectacular growth and acceptance of the guidance movement in this century. Its continued expansion in many directions forecast that guidance professionals will be increasingly versatile as they seek to apply guidance concepts to all of life's areas. As the number of publics increase, guidance personnel will be expected to supply needed services. With professional diversity, the challenges associated with specialization will have to be faced; for instance, those who target their skills run the risk of communicating only to fellow specialists. If one of the goals of guidance is to make persons whole, then even the profession will have to guard against the esoteric language that becomes increasingly common in those fields where knowledge is specialized.

The ultimate challenge posed by the future to guidance will be the fundamental task of aiding in the humanization of society. As the industrial revolution becomes the technological revolution with its microchips and knowledge explosion, the core human needs of individuals will become

all the more acute. In that sense, the conditions that sparked the pioneers to launch the guidance movement will become even more complex and urgent. It will fall to those in guidance to voice those human needs. If guidance professionals respond, it is possible that the legacy of guidance might well become a nonexploitative society.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

AN ANALYSIS OF APGA RESOLUTIONS

BY MAJOR SUBJECT 1954-1963

A. Elementary School Guidance

WHEREAS, The school drop-out problem may originate during elementary ages; and
WHEREAS, The motivation toward excellence in education is established in the student during the elementary years; and
WHEREAS, Attention is being directed toward the role of the public junior college with emphasis toward both terminal and continuing education; therefore,
BE IT RESOLVED, That this assembly go on record as favoring the extension of Federal support to include provision for assistance in improvement and expansion of guidance and counseling activity in the elementary and post-high school education and authorization for adequate funds to support this expansion and improvement. (1962-2*)

WHEREAS, We recognize the potential impact of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 upon the direction and emphasis of the American educational program; and
WHEREAS, We express appreciation to the Congress of the U.S.A. for its foresight in the encouragement of a higher quality of educational achievement; and
WHEREAS, We believe that guidance services should be provided for pupils regardless of scholastic level or ability; therefore,
BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Convention at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 11-14, do hereby recommend that in future legislation the

*The first figure indicates the year the resolution was passed. The second figure indicates the position of the resolution in the total group of resolutions passed for that year. Thus, 1962-2 is the second resolution passed in 1962.

provision for aid to guidance services should be extended to include all pupils in public elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, and that appropriate funds be provided for evaluative study of the efficiency of such programs; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That APGA endorses the principle of federal aid to public education which includes adequate safeguards for local and state control of educational programs. (1960-1)

B. Secondary School Guidance

WHEREAS, The original NDEA Title V authorization has stimulated substantial growth and improvement of secondary school guidance and counseling programs; and

WHEREAS, The present programs of guidance and counseling need to be doubled in counseling personnel and improved in quality to meet current needs; and

WHEREAS, Secondary school population has increased approximately 30% since NDEA inception; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That Congress be urged to authorize increased appropriations proportionate to current needs. (1962-3)

WHEREAS, Education is the bulwark of democracy and is vital to children and youth throughout the United States,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association go on record as supporting S 1021 and HR 4970 which provide general aid to public elementary and secondary schools, and S 1241 and HR 5266 which provide aid for the construction of college facilities and for undergraduate scholarships. (1961-11)

WHEREAS, We recognize the potential impact of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 upon the direction and emphasis of the American educational program; and

WHEREAS, We express appreciation to the Congress of the U.S.A. for its foresight in the encouragement of a higher quality of educational achievement; and

WHEREAS, We believe that guidance services should be provided for pupils regardless of scholastic level or ability; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Convention at

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 11-14, do hereby recommend that in future legislation the provision for aid to guidance services should be extended to include all pupils in public elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, and that appropriate funds be provided for evaluative study of the efficiency of such programs; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That APGA endorses the principal of federal aid to public education which includes safeguards for local and state control of educational programs. (1960-1)

WHEREAS, The National Defense Education Act is regarded as one of the most significant advances made in educational legislation at the federal level in recent times,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association commends the 85th Congress for the passage of the Act, and urges the 86th Congress to make available the full appropriation authorized by the Act.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association commends the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare in general and the Guidance and Student Personnel Section in particular. (1959-1)

WHEREAS, Enrollments are increasing rapidly in our elementary and secondary schools necessitating a greater demand upon the facilities of colleges and universities as well; and

WHEREAS, Automation is requiring an increasing need for a more highly trained labor force, and greater numbers of our labor force are displaced by rapid technological changes;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association urges that the U.S. Office of Education recognize the pressing need for adequate guidance and personnel service to such groups as young adults, technologically displaced, and older workers on national, state and local levels. (1956-3)

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association records its support of pending federal legislation which would extend financial aid for the construction of school facilities and for loan funds to facilitate the construction of college housing. (1955-1)

WHEREAS, Delinquency among American youth is a recognized concern of the American people; and

WHEREAS, Society is becoming increasingly complex and challenging; and

WHEREAS, It is increasingly difficult for youth to adjust to the problems and complexities of today without adequate guidance and assistance in facing and solving personal education and vocational problems;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Federal Congress give careful attention and consideration of appropriation of a suitable sum to be used on a matching basis in the several states and territories to encourage a more rapid growth of this important service to youth and an improvement of the professional service rendered by guidance personnel. (1954-2 Part B only)

WHEREAS, Guidance and counseling is becoming increasingly important in education; and

WHEREAS, The development of an adequate program of guidance and counseling services is handicapped in many schools because of lack of funds and trained personnel; and

WHEREAS, The guidance and counseling movement is and will have a wholesome influence at all levels of education;

BE IT RESOLVED, That APGA take steps through a committee or other means to establish effective working relations with other national organizations concerned with federal legislation and financial support for the extension of guidance and counseling services. (1954-3)

C. Higher Education

WHEREAS, Rapidly increasing enrollments on the college level pose great financial problems for institutions of higher learning; and

WHEREAS, Provisions for the education of our young people must be maintained on a high level; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association actively supports the program of federal assistance for the development of academic facilities in higher education and broader financial aid for individual college students. (1963-6)

WHEREAS, The school drop-out problem may originate during elementary school ages; and

WHEREAS, The motivation toward excellence in education is established in the student during the elementary years; and

WHEREAS, Attention is being directed toward the role of the public junior college with emphasis toward both terminal and continuing education; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this assembly go on record as favoring the extension of Federal support to include provision for assistance in improvement and expansion of guidance and counseling activity in the elementary and post-high school education and authorization for adequate funds to support this expansion and improvement. (1962-2)

WHEREAS, College enrollments are increasing each year; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing need for improved and expanded physical facilities; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association support the idea of federal support for the development of physical facilities for colleges and universities. (1962-5)

WHEREAS, The need for better prepared persons in our society is well established and becoming increasingly important; and

WHEREAS, Some provision for financial aid for worthy individuals is necessary for their obtaining education beyond high school; therefore;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association endorse a program of Federal Scholarships and loans. (1962-6)

WHEREAS, Present and future college enrollments will include a greater diversity of student talent and achievement than ever before;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association recommends that continued emphasis be placed on the areas of Counselor Preparation and Student Personnel services on the college level. (1961-2)

WHEREAS, Education is the bulwark of democracy and is vital to children and youth throughout the United States;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association go on record as supporting S 1021 and HR 4970 which provide general aid to public elementary and secondary schools, and S 1241 and HR 5266 which provide aid for the

construction of college facilities and for undergraduate scholarships. (1961-11)

WHEREAS, The need for college-prepared persons in our society is well established; and

WHEREAS, Some provision for financial aid for worthy individuals is necessary for their obtaining a college education;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association endorses an expanded Federal program of scholarships and loans for both undergraduate and graduate students. (1961-13)

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association records its support of pending Federal legislation which would extend financial aid for the construction of school facilities and for loan funds to facilitate the construction of college housing. (1955-1)

D. Education in General

WHEREAS, The future of the United States depends upon the education of its youth;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association urges the President and the Congress to establish the Office of Education as a department of Cabinet rank. (1961-4)

WHEREAS, Significant progress has been made in the area of secondary school guidance in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The United States Office of Education has provided commendable leadership in this field;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association recommends that the United States Office of Education increase the potential for leadership and service in guidance in elementary and higher education. (1961-5)

WHEREAS, Counseling insures a more appropriate use of public funds in the education of veterans;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association strongly reaffirms its position that mandatory counseling should be included in any legislation relating to veterans' educational benefits. (1961-6)

WHEREAS, We recognize the potential impact of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 upon the

direction and emphasis of the American educational program; and

WHEREAS, We express appreciation to the Congress of the U.S.A. for its foresight in the encouragement of a higher quality of educational achievement; and

WHEREAS, We believe that guidance services should be provided for pupils regardless of scholastic level or ability; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Convention at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 11-14, do hereby recommend that in future legislation the provision for aid to guidance services should be extended to include all pupils in public elementary schools, junior and senior high schools, and that appropriate funds be provided for evaluative study of the efficiency of such programs; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That APGA endorses the principle of federal aid to public education which includes adequate safeguards for local and state control of educational programs. (1960-1)

WHEREAS, Excellence in education is dependent upon the quality of the personnel, as well as the adequacy of physical facilities; and

WHEREAS, Increased support for education is needed from sources other than the local level, if excellence in education is to be achieved generally;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association respectfully urges the state and federal government to include further appropriations for personnel, and physical facilities wherever legislation for the support of education is under consideration. (1959-3)

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association strongly supports federal legislation under consideration which proposes to strengthen and promote guidance and counseling services, and that the Executive Secretary of the American Personnel and Guidance Association be instructed to send copies of this resolution to the appropriate committees in the Senate and House of Representatives. (1958-3 Resolution only)

WHEREAS, Enrollments are increasing rapidly in our elementary and secondary schools necessitating a greater demand upon the facilities of colleges and universities as well; and

WHEREAS, Automation is requiring an increasing need for a more highly trained labor force, and greater numbers of our labor force are displaced by rapid technological changes; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association urges that the U.S. Office of Education recognize the pressing need for adequate guidance and personnel service to such groups as young adults, technologically displaced, and older workers on national, state and local levels. (1956-3)

WHEREAS, There is a great need for the conservation of all our natural resources and our greatest natural resource is our young people; and

WHEREAS, Many areas lack the necessary physical facilities and personnel for developing these resources to their optimum; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association urges the U.S. Office of Education to assume the leadership in encouraging the necessary research to determine the areas of most critical need.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Association pledges its cooperation to the U.S. Office of Education to assist in any way possible to carry out such research projects as may be determined. (1956-4)

WHEREAS, Guidance and counseling is becoming increasingly important in education; and

WHEREAS, The development of an adequate program of guidance and counseling services is handicapped in many schools because of lack of funds and trained personnel; and

WHEREAS, The guidance and counseling movement is and will have a wholesome influence at all levels of education; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the APGA take steps through a committee or other means to establish effective working relations with other national organizations concerned with federal legislation and financial support for the extension of guidance and counseling services. (1954-3)

E. Vocational-Technical Education

WHEREAS, There is a growing concern in this country for the continuing education of the individual because of advances in technology; and

WHEREAS, The individual, social, and economic needs demand an increasingly higher level of education and understanding; and

WHEREAS, Independent, successful, purposeful individuals are a major objective of education and guidance, and insure the greatest protection to a free society; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association supports active programs of school systems, states, and the federal government which aim to increase the holding power of schools, and to expand and to update vocational and technical educational opportunities, and to provide employment opportunities for youth in gainful positions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a part of any such programs and provisions shall include counseling and other guidance services to individuals through adequately trained and competent personnel adhering to recognized standards and ethics of the profession. (1963-3)

WHEREAS, The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 represents a constructive step forward in providing broad educational and job opportunities for unemployed and other eligible citizens; and

WHEREAS, Guidance and counseling activities are an integral part of the screening selection and placement for all such vocational opportunities; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That those involved in the administration of this program take action to insure that counseling in the program meets acceptable professional standards.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That enrollees in the program at all levels be provided with adequate counseling and broad freedom of choice in the selection of their training and employment. (1963-7)

WHEREAS, There are approximately one million young people, ages 16 to 25, who are out of school and out of work in all parts of the United States; and
WHEREAS, The need is critical for the provision of job opportunities, training and guidance for these young people; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association strongly support the passage of the Youth Employment Opportunities Act of 1962 (HR 10682), a measure now being considered by Congress to help solve the growing problem of unemployed youth. (1962-1)

WHEREAS, The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 has definite implications for American educational institutions; and

WHEREAS, Guidance and counseling activity is an integral part of the American educational institution; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That those responsible for the administration of this Act take steps to assure appropriate involvement of guidance and counseling in the training institutions. (1962-4)

F. Veterans Education and Orphans

WHEREAS, Counseling insures a more appropriate use of public funds in the education of veterans;

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association strongly reaffirms its position that mandatory counseling should be included in any legislation relating to veterans' educational benefits. (1961-6)

WHEREAS, The interests of the individual and of the nation are best served when the developmental processes are geared to appropriate individual interests and abilities; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in Convention at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 11-14, do hereby recommend to the Congress of the U.S. that in any future legislation relating to the provision of educational benefits to veterans, such legislation should provide educational or vocational counseling to the recipients to assist them in the selection of their education, vocational, or professional objectives and in the development of their programs of education. (1960-3)

WHEREAS, The American Personnel and Guidance Association recognizes the importance of the optimum development of all citizens as a means of national defense; and

WHEREAS, Counseling contributes to effective planning, job satisfaction and personal adjustment; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the APGA respectfully recommends to the Congress of the United States that any legislation offering educational assistance to veterans, and the orphans of veterans, include provisions for counseling as contained in Public

Law 634 as a requirement for all applicants seeking aid under the proposed forms of legislation. (1959-2)

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Association records its support of pending federal legislation which would extend appropriate financial assistance for educational training to current members of the armed forces upon termination of their duty. (1955-4)

G. Juvenile Delinquency

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has shown concern for assisting the states to prevent and control juvenile delinquency; and

WHEREAS, Any effective program in this area should involve a vital role by guidance; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association recommends passage of legislation which emphasizes federal grants to educational institutions for both projects and the education of personnel including guidance counselors in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention and control. (1959-4)

WHEREAS, Delinquency among American youth is a recognized concern of the American people; and

WHEREAS, Society is becoming increasingly complex and challenging; and

WHEREAS, It is increasingly difficult for youth to adjust to the problems and complexities of today without adequate guidance and assistance in facing and solving personal education and vocational problems;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a strengthening of these services in present institutions is important in combating the rise of delinquency among youth through training which develops better attitudes, improved basic social and economic understandings and through learning the processes involved in solving the problems faced in modern society. (1954-2 Part C)

H. Peace Corps - Service Corps

WHEREAS, The development of National Service Corps provides desirable opportunity for volunteer service in this country; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association endorses the principles of the National Service Corps involving adequate selection, training, and placement of volunteers; and the Association places its professional resources at the disposal of the National Service Corps for the implementation of the Corps' purposes.
(1963-4)

WHEREAS, The Peace Corps established by the President of the United States has generated wide enthusiasm and interest; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association endorses the principles of the Peace Corps and places its professional resources at the disposal of the Peace Corps for the implementation of its purposes. (1961-9)

I. Discrimination

WHEREAS, The national welfare and world esteem of the United States depend greatly upon its commitment to the basic worth and dignity of the individual; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association reaffirms its long standing policy that there shall be no discrimination in any of its activities or organizations on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin.
(1961-10)

J. Mental Health - Mental Retardation

WHEREAS, The basic security of a child lies in an emotionally stable family life; and

WHEREAS, The impairment of educational progress is evident in the case of emotionally disturbed children; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association supports an expanded and enlightened program of state and federally aided mental health care services and facilities, and urges that a stronger effort toward early identification and treatment of mental illness be activated.
(1963-5)

K. Counselor Preparation

WHEREAS, Several Divisions of the American Personnel and Guidance Association are engaged in the development of policies and standards relative to counselor preparation and role; and

WHEREAS, The Professional Preparation and Standards Committee has been instructed to serve a stimulating, coordinating, and liaison function in connection with this work; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Professional Preparation and Standards Committee be encouraged to continue in this capacity, receiving from and making available to the appropriate officers of each Division reports and information relative to progress and problems in these undertakings, and making such recommendations to the Executive Councils of the American Personnel and Guidance Association and its Divisions as in its judgment are needed.
(1963-10)

WHEREAS, The American Personnel and Guidance Association commends the Congress of the United States for its foresight in including in the National Defense Education Act of 1958 provisions for improving the quality of preparation of secondary school counselors and for encouraging the states to develop counseling and guidance services in secondary schools. This legislation has not only made a significant contribution toward the accomplishment of these objectives, but it has also encouraged the states to revise and upgrade standards for the certification of secondary school counselors, and has encouraged local school boards to make provision for their employment. Furthermore, it has increased public awareness of the potential value of counseling and guidance services, not only for secondary school youth, but also for elementary and college youth. However, the needs of our youth for such services are yet far from being adequately met and in the immediate future these needs will be even greater. Thirty million young people will enter the work force of our country during the next decade. This represents a 40% increase over the last decade. The Association feels that each youth deserves the best counseling, guidance, and student personnel services to assist him in identifying and realizing his potential as a member of our society. This is in the interest of the individual as well as the Nation; therefore,

- BE IT RESOLVED, That the Congress be strongly urged to make provisions for professional preparation of guidance, counseling, and student personnel workers for all youth in all elementary schools, secondary schools, junior colleges, colleges and universities, special training programs supported by the Federal and State governments, and for all school age youth not in school.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support for the professional preparation of counselors and student personnel workers in educational institutions of local, state and national levels.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support to insure quality preparation for college teachers who prepare guidance, counseling, and student personnel staff who work with American youth.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support to encourage the development of college programs, curricula, and facilities, and to insure sound preparation for guidance, counseling, and student personnel staff to work with youth in all parts of the Nation.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support to assist the college student and to insure adequate housing and other needed facilities at the college level.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support for the development of demonstration centers in selected colleges and universities in different parts of the country to demonstrate advanced and improved methods of educating counselors and to demonstrate best practices in counseling, guidance, and personnel services for American youth.
- BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Congress establish financial support to the states for establishing or extending programs to insure adequate counseling, guidance, and personnel services for all school age youth. (1963-11)

L. Miscellaneous

WHEREAS, The use of educational and psychological tests in our culture is currently under criticism; and

WHEREAS, The professional use of such instruments continues to constitute an important part of counseling and guidance; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association, through its National Office and its various Divisions, reaffirms its commitment to the professional and ethical use of such tests, and to the professional safeguards against the development and use of improper tests. (1963-2)

WHEREAS, Responsible counseling agencies and professional workers subscribe to particular ethical codes and practices; and

WHEREAS, The American Board on Counseling Services exists and is subscribed to by responsible counseling agencies; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association condemns those agencies and those counselors operating without a clearly stated code of ethics which is subscribed to by the profession. (1968-8)

WHEREAS, The American Personnel and Guidance Association Senate and the Executive Council have affirmed the need for the American Personnel and Guidance Association to assume a position of leadership in developing policy statements relative to counselor education, and role based upon the recommendations and suggestions of the membership; and

WHEREAS, The Professional Preparation and Standards Committee has prepared a tentative draft of a Policy Statement on Counselor Preparation and Role; therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That this Statement, as printed in the January 1963 issue of the Personnel and Guidance Journal be received as a progress report.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Professional Preparation and Standards Committee be requested to make such revisions in this Statement as it deems desirable in view of reactions and suggestions from the American Personnel and Guidance Association membership, and that the revised Statement shall be submitted to the 1964 Senate with recommendations concerning action which should be taken at that time; provided however, that before any statement of policy shall be accepted by the American Personnel and Guidance Association Senate such statement shall have been circulated at least 60 days prior to the Convention. (1963-9)

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