

A Brief History of Career Counseling in the United States

Mark Pope

The author presents the 6 stages in the development of career counseling in the United States. In the 1st stage (1890–1919), placement services were offered for an increasingly urban and industrial society. In the 2nd stage (1920–1939), educational guidance through the elementary and secondary schools became the focal point. The 3rd stage (1940–1959) saw the focus shift to colleges and universities and the training of counselors. The 4th stage (1960–1979) was the boom for counseling and the idea of work having meaning in a person's life came to the forefront; organizational career development began during this period. The 5th stage (1980–1989) saw the beginning of the transition from the industrial age to the information age and the growth of both the independent practice of career counseling and outplacement counseling. The 6th stage (1990–present), with its emphasis on technology and changing demographics, has seen an increased sophistication in the uses of technology, the internationalization of career counseling, the beginnings of multicultural career counseling, and the focus on the school-to-job transition.

The birth and subsequent development of career counseling in the United States (U.S.) has occurred during times of major societal change (Brewer, 1942). Reviewing such societal changes led Pope (1995) to develop a social transitions stage model to describe the development of the career counseling profession in the U.S. This article expands and clarifies that model. The stages of the social transitions model have been identified from the author's historical

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research and are an extension of the work of Savickas (1993), Newcombe (1993), Whiteley (1984), Schwebel (1984), Aubrey (1977), Herr (1974), Borow (1964, 1974), Ginzberg (1971), Stephens (1970), Williamson (1965), McDaniels (1964), Super (1955, 1974), Norris (1954a, 1954b), Brewer (1919, 1942), and Bloomfield (1915). In an extension of this model, Zhang and Pope (1997) have applied this model to the development of career counseling in China and Hong Kong.

Some of the above authors have identified stages in the development of career counseling and related such development to the social issues of those times. None, however, have looked at the history of career counseling from an organizational perspective (i.e., the beginnings of organized professional associations), over this particular period of time (i.e., the late 1800s to present), and from an economic-political perspective. Savickas (1993), for example, identified general social stages from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries and related them to changes in a societal work ethic along with specific suggestions for conducting career counseling in the postmodern era. Aubrey (1977) identified social themes in 10-year spans for the guidance and counseling movement, although not specifically for career counseling. Brewer (1919, 1942) described the early history of the profession focusing on the rise of the vocational guidance movement in the U.S. The current article provides important details, extends chronologically the previous publications, and integrates social and organizational history.

It is also important to note that the terms *career counseling*, *career development*, and *vocational guidance* have distinct meanings that are time and culture specific. *Vocational guidance* was the original term used in the U.S. and was generally used throughout the world at the beginning of the development of a guidance movement. The terms *career counseling* and *career development* came into more common usage in the 1950s through the work of Super (1955) and were institutionalized when the name of the National Vocational Guidance Association (1913–1983) was changed to the National Career Development Association in 1984.

In the first stage of the development of career counseling in the U.S. (1890–1919), placement services were offered for an increasingly urban and industrial society. In the second stage (1920–1939) educational guidance through the elementary and secondary schools became the focal point. The third stage (1940–1959) saw the focus shift to colleges and universities and the training of counselors. The fourth stage (1960–1979) was the boom for counseling, and the idea of work having meaning in a person's life came to the forefront; organizational career development began during this period. The fifth stage (1980–1989) saw the beginning of the transition from the industrial age to the information age and the growth of both the independent practice of career counseling and outplacement counseling. The sixth stage (starting in 1990), with its emphasis on technology and changing demographics, has seen an increasing sophistication in the uses of technology, the internationalization of career counseling, the beginnings of multicultural career counseling, and a focus on the school-to-job transition.

FIRST STAGE: JOB PLACEMENT SERVICES (1890-1919)

Career counseling (then called "vocational guidance") in the U.S. was developed in the latter part of the nineteenth century out of societal upheaval, transition, and change (Brewer, 1942). This new profession was described by historians as a "progressive social reform movement aimed at eradicating poverty and substandard living conditions spawned by the rapid industrialization and consequent migration of people to major urban centers at the turn of the 20th century" (Whiteley, 1984, p. 2). The societal upheaval that gave birth to career counseling was characterized by the loss of jobs in the agricultural sector, increasing demands for workers in heavy industry, the loss of "permanent" jobs on the family farm to new emerging technologies such as tractors, the increasing urbanization of the country, and the concomitant calls for services to meet this internal migration pattern, all to retool for the new industrial economy. Returning veterans from World War I and those displaced by their return also heightened the need for career counseling.

The focus of the first stage was job placement. Parsons (1909) is often called the parent of career counseling and began as a social worker heavily influenced by the work of Jane Addams in Chicago. In Boston, Parsons established a settlement house for young people who were either already employed or currently unemployed, or had been displaced during this period of rapid change. The placement of these young people into new jobs was one of the initial and most important purposes of the new agencies that had arisen during this period.

Parsons's (1909) model of career counseling was largely without theoretical foundations at this stage and was grounded in "simple logic and common sense and relied predominately on observational and data gathering skills" (Aubrey, 1977, p. 290). He stated that "in the choice of a vocation there are three broad factors: (1) a clear understanding of yourself . . . (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions for success . . . in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relation of these two groups of facts" (Parsons, 1909, p. 5). This largely intuitive and experiential foundation of career counseling formed the basis for Parsons's establishing the Vocation Bureau at Civic Service House in Boston in 1908. This was the first institutionalization of career counseling in the U.S. (Ginzberg, 1971).

During this first stage, an important factor in the establishment of career counseling was the increasing involvement of psychological testing with career counseling. Psychological tests became an important and necessary part of the first functional stage in career counseling, that is, self-assessment. Testing gave career counseling respectability in American society (Super & Crites, 1962; Whiteley, 1984). Without a scientific procedure to justify this first step of career counseling, it is unlikely that career counseling would have been so popularly accepted. In the late 1800s, Francis Galton, Wilhelm Wundt, James McKean Cattell, and Alfred Binet made important contributions to the newly emerging field of psychological testing

and, indirectly, to career counseling. It is important to note that many of the early founders of career counseling were quite hesitant in prescribing psychological tests because many such popularly available tests had not been rigorously studied and researched for specific application to vocations (Bloomfield, 1915; Brewer, 1919).

Another important factor in the establishment of career counseling was the early support for vocational guidance that came from the progressive social reform movement. "The linkage between this movement and vocational guidance was largely built on the issue of the growing exploitation and misuse of human beings" (Aubrey, 1977, p. 290). Child labor laws provided much impetus for such collaboration as this crusade to prohibit the exploitation of children grew. Although some states, beginning with Pennsylvania, had established minimum age laws in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the first decade of the twentieth century continued to see over half a million children from 10 to 13 years of age employed (Bernert, 1958), and effective federal legislation was not enacted until the passage of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. Parsons was a prominent leader in the struggle to eliminate child labor.

Furthermore, laws that were supportive of vocational guidance were beginning to receive significant social support. For example, the landmark Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 established secondary school vocational education training. This legislation was strengthened in succeeding years by the George-Reed Act of 1929, the George-Ellzey Act of 1934, and the George-Deen Act of 1936. Each of these laws supported vocational education as an important part of the public schools. In 1913, the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) was founded and the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), which had been part of the Department of the Interior, was moved under the auspices of the DOL.

Out of this transition came the founding in 1913 of the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA; now the National Career Development Association [NCDA]) in Grand Rapids, Michigan at the Third National Conference on Vocational Guidance (Brewer, 1942). The first journal of NVGA was the *Vocational Guidance Bulletin*, established in 1915. Volume I, Number 1 was 4 pages, 6" x 8 3/4", and was published for NVGA by the U.S. Office of Education. This publication later became *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Journal*. The founders of NVGA included Frank Leavitt (first president), Jesse B. Davis (second president), Meyer Bloomfield (third president, Parsons's successor at the Boston Vocation Bureau, and teacher of the first course in vocational guidance in 1911 at Harvard University), and John M. Brewer (fifth president and author of the definitive history of career guidance in the U.S. in 1942). This stage in the development of career counseling in the U.S. was a time for the founders of NVGA of growth and high hopes for vocational guidance.

SECOND STAGE: EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN THE SCHOOLS (1920-1939)

With the end of World War I and the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, another transition began and, with the economic depression of

the 1930s, these social and legislative processes focused U.S. society on educational counseling and solidified the role of vocational guidance in the schools. "The union of education, of social work, and of psychometrics in the vocational guidance of youth and adults was now somewhat more complete" (Super, 1955, p. 4). Elementary and secondary education received an influx of students as a result of increased needs for literacy to cope with increasing demands of industrialization and the increase in numbers of school-age children as a direct result of the boom in pregnancies following the end of World War I (Schwebel, 1984).

Educational counseling emerged from the work of humanitarian, progressive social reformers in the schools. Such reformers included Jesse B. Davis, who served as a "counselor on educational and career problems" at Central High School in Detroit in 1898, and Eli Weaver, who was a principal in the New York City school system in 1906. Promoting career development in the schools, however, was slow work. For example, as late as the 1930s, no vocational guidance programs existed in at least half of the schools in U.S. cities with populations of 10,000 or more (Brewer, 1942).

Organized labor's strength was growing fast in the wake of the economic depression, and President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal was a response to the growing power of the unions as well as the loss of jobs. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established in 1933 to provide training and employment opportunity for unemployed youth, and the educational services of the CCC were supervised by the U.S. Department of Education.

Then, in 1935, the Works Progress Administration was established through federal legislation as an employment source for the millions of people who were out of work at this time. The B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau was opened in 1938 in Washington, D.C., and local Jewish Vocational Services were established in 25 major American cities. Finally, the first edition of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was published in 1939.

In 1921, NVGA published the first version of the "Principles and Practices of Vocational Guidance" (Borow, 1964). This publication contained the Association's statement of principles and has been revised periodically since then, with its most current version published in 1996. Also, the first field secretary of NVGA was hired in 1930. Robert Hoppock served in that role, and his duty was to forge stronger links between the headquarters and regional branches. This office was funded by grants from the J.C. Penney Foundation (in 1929) and later by the Carnegie Corporation (in the 1930s; Norris, 1954a, 1954b).

In addition, the February 1930 issue of *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* (NVGA, 1930) focused on the upcoming annual convention that was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, at the Hotel Chalfonte February 20-22, 1930. The articles in this special issue focused on educational counseling, and in the tentative program of the annual meeting, the majority of presentations addressed different aspects of vocational guidance in the schools, highlighting again the importance during this period of providing career counseling to students in the schools.

THIRD STAGE: COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AND THE TRAINING OF COUNSELORS (1940-1959)

The third stage in the development of career counseling was characterized by the focus of societal resources on colleges and universities and the training of professional counselors as a direct result of and response to a new social transition engendered by two major events that set the tone for all subsequent world-wide actions: World War II and the USSR's successful launching of rockets that orbited earth and even landed on the moon.

First, World War II focused the energy and attention of all nations of the world on the contest between nationalistic fascism (Germany, Japan, and Italy) and capitalism and communism, which were allied at this time (U.S., USSR, Great Britain, France). Truman's Fair Deal program was a response to the problems encountered by returning armed services veterans. The lack of jobs and the subsequent displacement of current workers by these returning veterans were important societal problems the Truman program attempted to address.

Second, the USSR successfully launched the first space probe, Sputnik I, in 1957, and followed that with the lunar landing of Lunik II (in 1959). These two events, more than any other, humbled American capitalism for a time. The U.S. had considered itself far superior technologically to any other country on earth; however, when the USSR was so successful in their space program, federal legislators were impelled to begin to address the problems in science and math education across the U.S. The passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1957 was a direct response to the successful launching of Sputnik and the desperation of U.S. government officials over the loss of this supposed U.S. superiority in technology. The Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes were established under the NDEA to provide improved training for counselors who were to identify and encourage science and math majors for college education. This was a boom period for the training of counselors, and almost 14,000 individuals received training in these NDEA institutes (Borow, 1964).

Schwebel (1984) identified two social conditions that characterized the post-World War II period that led to the rise of the professional practice of counseling, especially career counseling: "(1) the personal and career problems of adjustment faced by vast numbers of veterans, including those handicapped during the war; (2) the influx of new types of students to higher education as a result of the G.I. Bill of Rights, an influx comparable to the compositional changes in the secondary school earlier in the century" (p. 285).

As a direct result of the growth of vocational guidance and the realization that there was strength in joining together with other guidance and personnel professional organizations, NVGA became one of the founding divisions of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA; later to become the American Association for Counseling and Development, and then the American Counseling Association) in 1951. Donald Super became the second president of this new association in 1953. NVGA's journal, *Occupations: The Vocational Guidance Journal*, became the *Personnel and Guidance*

Journal, the official journal of the new APGA. NVGA then established *The Vocational Guidance Quarterly* as its own journal in 1952.

Another aspect of transition and the organizational response to it was the change in total number of members who chose to join a professional organization. Although the founding of APGA had been a priority of NVGA leadership, NVGA total membership was a victim of this organizational transition. NVGA's membership had risen to more than 6,000 by 1949. It was a healthy and robust organization that had annual conventions across the country; however, with the merger to form APGA, membership in NVGA declined to 2,328 members (NVGA, 1951).

FOURTH STAGE: MEANINGFUL WORK AND ORGANIZATIONAL CAREER DEVELOPMENT (1960-1979)

The 1960s was a time of idealism and hope. John F. Kennedy's election as President of the U.S., Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, the beginning of the great modern day civil rights movements, the Vietnam War, and the economic highs of this stage combined to focus a generation of young people on the potential, myths, and illusions of American society, giving them a new vision of personal, social, and cultural relations (Sale, 1973).

Many young people wanted jobs that were meaningful and that would allow them to change the world for the better. Borow (1974) noted that "the mass of young Americans do not disdain the idea of work as a necessary and at least potentially meaningful and rewarding life activity. Their attack is upon the character of available jobs and the overly conforming and depersonalizing conditions under which most individuals must labor" (p. 25). He captured the tone of the times when he described the mythology regarding the U.S. as "a rich, sophisticated, yet humane nation dedicated to providing all of its citizens with a broad spectrum of services and opportunities for achieving the good life" (Borow, 1974, p. 7).

The type of federal legislation enacted during this period is also illustrative of the expectations of Americans during this fourth stage of career counseling. At the beginning of the 1960s, the unemployment rate was 8.1%, the highest since the 1930s. President John F. Kennedy entered office in 1961 and, as one of his first acts, appointed a panel of consultants on vocational education. They issued a report in 1962, which stated that school counselors need to "have exceptional understanding of the world of work and its complexities. What is obviously needed is a counselor who meets all of the requirements of a professional background in pupil personnel services and who at the same time is a specialist in occupational information, vocational guidance, and counseling" (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1963, p. 213). Their recommendations became the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which was updated through amendments in 1968 and 1976.

This report was followed by more similarly crafted federal legislation. Not since the founding of the U.S. in 1776 had there been such

a plethora of social programs that became laws in such a short time. The Area Redevelopment Act, signed into law in 1961, was to attract new sources of jobs to economically depressed areas. The 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act provided assistance to workers who were "victims of automation." The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created several historic social programs including Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, Youth Opportunity Centers, the U.S. Employment Service Human Resource Development Program, and the Head Start Program (Ehrle, 1969; NVGA, 1962).

In addition, in 1965, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration budget included monies to broaden the scope of vocational rehabilitation agencies to handle impairments to effective vocational life caused by educational, cultural, social, or environmental factors. The 1966 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act created the New Careers Program to create subprofessional jobs, career ladders, and differentiated staffing. The Social Security Act of 1967 created the Work Incentive Program for welfare clients who wished and were able to become economically self-sufficient. It included funds for training, education, day care for participants' children, and a variety of support services, including counseling. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act as amended in 1969 provided aid for disadvantaged children in schools in impoverished areas, for library resources, and for guidance and counseling services. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1977 extended the life of the CETA programs, which were meant to create jobs and full employment.

Finally, the National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee (NOICC) and the State Occupational Information Coordinating Committees were established by the Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1976. These supra- and intragovernmental coordinating agencies were designated to coordinate the delivery of labor market and other career information among four federal agencies—the Employment and Training Agency, National Center for Education Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Education Commission—and among similar state entities (Lester, 1997). This forced, yet historic, alliance among such federal agencies to make career information available for coordinated public use was to have far-reaching consequences in the next 20 years. Finally, this coordinated effort among federal and state agencies would supply the information needs for both the career counseling and development profession, which require such data for their livelihood, and the general public, which requires such data for career decision making.

Because of the legislation enacted during this fourth stage, career counseling in organizational settings came to the forefront of the career counseling movement. Growth in career counseling in governmental agencies, in nonprofit community agencies, and in business and industry were the hallmarks of this stage. Such governmental agencies as Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories and the Office of Management and Budget had large career development centers and substantial staffs. Companies such as Glaxo Pharmaceuticals, Pacific Bell, and IBM also built career services centers during this time.

This was a time of reconstruction and renewal for the NVGA, which celebrated its 50th anniversary during this period. With 9,000 members, NVGA was the largest and oldest of the vocational guidance and personnel services groups in the U.S. In 1964, Henry Borow was appointed the editor of the book *Man in a World at Work*, which was conceived to celebrate the anniversary and to be a compendium of the "profession's best current thinking on the nature of vocational guidance, the meaning of the human work experience, the relationship of the individual to the labor force, and research and practice in vocational guidance" (Reed, 1964, p. ix). This book was a major project and was funded in part by the Carnegie Corporation and published by Houghton Mifflin Company. The editorial committee consisted of Margaret E. Andrews, Douglas D. Dilenbeck, Barbara A. Kirk, Edward C. Roeber, Joseph Samler, C. Winfield Scott, and Donald E. Super, with C. Gilbert Wrenn as the editorial adviser to the publisher—an illustrious group.

Borow then edited another NVGA book titled *Career Guidance for a New Age*, which was a product of an NVGA committee called Project Reconceptualization, and included papers presented at the NVGA Airlie House Invitational Conference on Implementing Career Development Theory and Research Through the Curriculum.

These two books were followed by a volume in 1974 edited by Edwin Herr, titled *Vocational Guidance and Human Development* and conceptualized as part of a decennial volume series. Also, as testament to the maturing NVGA organization, the Eminent Career Award was established, and Anne Roe was the first recipient in 1966.

FIFTH STAGE: INDEPENDENT PRACTICE CAREER COUNSELING AND OUTPLACEMENT COUNSELING (1980–1989)

The late 1970s was characterized by a declining economic system rather than by the growth and prosperity of the early 1960s. This began the fifth stage of transition for the field—from an industrial age to an information and technology age (Pope, 1995; Toffler, 1990). This new transition spawned another series of problems, such as loss of jobs in the industrial sectors of our economy, increasing demands from employers for technological skills, loss of permanent jobs to contract labor, loss of job security, and marginalization of organized labor, all to retool the economy for the information and technology age.

In 1987, the Hudson Institute commissioned and published a report titled *Workforce 2000*, which laid the foundation for the career development policies of both the Bush (1988–1992) and Clinton (1992–2000) federal administrations. This report was particularly noteworthy in the history of career counseling because of its demographic assumptions about the composition of the new American workforce, that new entrants into that workforce will be predominantly ethnic and racial minorities (Johnson & Packer, 1987).

During this stage, the emergence of the private practice career counselor was the direct result of the beginnings of national accep-

tance of career counseling as an important service to provide to a citizenry in occupational transition. The practitioner, whose livelihood depended on continuous marketing of short-term career counseling, provided the vitality for the expansion and growth of the professional practice of career counseling during this period as well as for the credentialing of such practitioners.

NVGA had always taken the lead in establishing standards for the profession, such as (a) standards for the practice of vocational guidance, (b) standards for occupational materials, (c) standards for the training of counselors, and (d) standards for vocational counseling agencies (Norris, 1954a, 1954b). As a result of the emergence of the private practice career counselor and under heavy pressure from within the profession, NVGA initiated a specific credential for career counseling professionals. The National Certified Career Counselor credential included substantial academic and experiential requirements along with an examination (National Career Counselor Examination). As a precursor to that credential, NVGA promulgated vocational-career counseling competencies in 1982, which were developed as a "list of competencies necessary for counselors to perform the task of career/vocational guidance and counseling" (NVGA, 1982, p. 1). These competencies were preceded by the American Vocational Association-NVGA Position Paper on Career Development in 1973; the APGA Position Paper on Career Guidance in 1975; the ACES Position Paper on Counselor Preparation for Career Development in 1976; the AIR Report on Competencies Needed for Planning, Supporting, Implementing, Operating, and Evaluating Career Guidance Programs in 1979; and the APGA Career Education Project in 1980.

NVGA then established the National Council for Credentialing Career Counselors in 1983, and using the competencies mentioned, this independent credentialing body developed the National Career Counselor Examination, which was first administered at the 1984 American Association of Counseling and Development (AACD) convention in Houston, Texas. Also in 1984, a letter of intent to affiliate was filed with the new National Board for Certified Counselors (NBCC). The National Certified Career Counselor credential became the first specialty certification area for NBCC.

Concurrent with the emergence of the private practice of career counseling, outplacement counseling had its beginning. *Outplacement* is a term used when a company is having economic difficulties and begins to "downsize" currently employed workers to decrease staffing costs and increase profit margins. Outplacement counselors are then hired to help those workers find new employment—placement outside of their company. Outplacement led to the founding of such firms as Drake, Beam, and Morin; Lee Hecht Harrison; and Right Associates, who competed for these lucrative outplacement contracts side by side with career counselors in independent practice.

The rise in the use of technology in business and industry in the U.S. led to the passage of two very important federal laws during this stage: the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act (1988) and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act (1984). The Omnibus

Trade Act included provisions to assist persons to enter, or advance in, high-technology occupations or to meet the technological needs of other industries or businesses as well as pre-employment skills training, school-to-work transition programs, and school-business partnerships.

The Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act was signed into law in October, 1984. The Perkins Act replaced the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which had last been amended in 1976, and extended the federal authorization for vocational education programs through fiscal year 1989. It was notable for strengthening programs for underserved populations, which it listed as "disadvantaged individuals, handicapped individuals, adults requiring training/retraining, Indians, limited English-proficient students, participants in programs to eliminate sex bias in vocational education, native Hawaiians, single parents/homemakers, criminal offenders, and unemployed or workers threatened by unemployment" (Appling & Irwin, 1988, p. 9). The Perkins Act has been amended continuously by the federal government and continues to be the vehicle for career guidance authorization in the schools. Amendments were made by the National Science, Engineering, and Mathematics Authorization Act of 1986 and the Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988, which also funded the National Center for Research in Vocational Education at the Ohio State University and the University of California-Berkeley.

During the fifth stage, NVGA was in transition as well, and its name change in 1984 to the National Career Development Association (NCDA) completed a process begun by Donald Super in the 1950s (NVGA, 1984). Super's contributions led to a redefinition of vocational guidance. His developmental theory led to what is now termed a career developmental orientation that spans the life of the individual. The acceptance and use of this new concept of career development by practitioners and theoreticians alike was the necessary precursor to the organizational name change.

With the name change and the new NCCC credential came a stronger need for a different identity and increasing autonomy from the more general counseling organization (during this stage called AACD). The hiring of an executive director (Niel Carey) during this period marked the first independent staff since the 1950s, when NVGA founded the APGA. Conducting a national conference separate from the AACD convention began soon after hiring an executive director.

In addition, with the publication of the 1982 edition of *A Counselor's Guide to Vocational Guidance Instruments*, edited by Jerome Kapes and Marjorie Mastie, NVGA began a period of increased publishing for its members on the practice of vocational guidance and career counseling. The Counselor's Guide went into a second edition in 1988, a third edition in 1994, and a fourth edition is planned for 2000. Edwin Whitfield was added as coeditor for the third and fourth editions. Following that publication, in 1985 NCDA published *Adult Career Development: Concepts, Issues and Practices*, edited by Zandy Leibowitz and Daniel Lea. A second edition was published in 1992, and a third is planned for 2000; however, with the death of Zandy Leibowitz in

1997, Carole Minor was added as a coeditor for that edition. Finally, NCDA began collaborating with small publishing companies to develop other materials. The most successful was a series of "how to" books, with the first in the series being a book on how to establish an independent practice in career counseling (Hafer, 1992). Many other books were also published by NCDA during this period, but the Kapes, Mastie, and Whitfield and Liebowitz and Lea books accounted for more than 90% of the publication revenues of NCDA during the period 1982–1996 (Pope, 1996).

SIXTH STAGE: A FOCUS ON THE SCHOOL-TO-JOB TRANSITION, INTERNALIZATION OF CAREER COUNSELING, MULTICULTURAL CAREER COUNSELING, AND INCREASING SOPHISTICATION IN THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY (1990 TO PRESENT)

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, career counseling was extending in various new directions: an upward extension (e.g., outplacement of senior executives); a downward extension (e.g., providing services for poor people, helping homeless people prepare résumés); an outward extension (e.g., providing services to schools and agencies through federal legislation); and an inward development (e.g., developing career specialties).

The upward extension included the populations of senior managers and executives who had rarely used these services before, but through economic imperatives (i.e., they were losing their jobs and had nowhere else to turn), now found themselves looking for work at times in their lives when they should have been planning for a financially successful retirement from the companies that they had spent their entire lives building.

The downward extension included the poor and homeless socioeconomic classes who were being required to go to work because of new governmental policies such as Greater Avenues to Independence (GAIN), the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), Welfare to Work (WtW), and Workforce Initiative Act of 1998. The WtW Act of 1997 was the harshest of these laws. It set a 5-year limit on any person in the U.S. receiving economic support through a federally administered economic support program called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which replaced the federal program called Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The idea was to place individuals who have experienced or have characteristics associated with long-term welfare dependence in lasting unsubsidized jobs—to get them in jobs first (called a "work first" service strategy) and then to train them postemployment.

The role of career counseling and development professionals is to assist in this process in whatever ways they can, which varies from state to state and from local agency to local agency. The focus of federal implementation monies is to help those who are most likely to have the greatest problems, such as individuals with disabilities, individuals who require substance abuse treatment, victims of do-

mestic violence, individuals with limited English proficiency, and custodial parents.

The most recent piece of workforce development legislation has caused concern for both welfare recipient and career development specialists alike. With the focus on "work first" in the current legislation, no provision has been made for assessment and training as a precursor to finding a job, which would then be more likely to be maintained over the individual's lifetime. During the next 10 to 20 years, this program and others like it will be a major employer of career counseling and development professionals.

The outward extension occurred because of renewed interest and support for career development through the policies of the federal government. In fact, not since the 1960s have so many important laws affecting the career development of American citizens been passed by Congress and signed by a president. Beginning with President George Bush and continuing with President Bill Clinton, a resurgence in interest in the lifelong career development of the American populace has occurred. Such federal legislation as the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 and the One-Stop Career Centers Act of 1994 were important initiatives in this national campaign (Hamilton, 1990; Johnston & Packer, 1987; Marshall & Tucker, 1992; National Center on Education and the Economy, 1990; National Education Goals Panel, 1991; W. T. Grant Foundation, 1988).

The Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 was the single most important legislation protecting the right to employment of persons who are physically or mentally challenged. Finally, three other bulwarks of career development legislation were also reauthorized during this decade: the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act Amendments (formerly titled the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act), the Higher Education Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The role of organized career counseling and development professionals and federal agencies working together through the NCDA, the AVA (now called the Association for Career and Technical Education [ACTE]), the NOICC and state OICCs, and American School Counselor Association (ASCA) was pivotal to the final legislation authorizing the School-to-Work Opportunities Act (NCDA, 1993). This legislation is revolutionizing the education process of schooling in the U.S. by refocusing the nation's education resources on the difficult but underattended transition that all students must make from school to jobs (Hoyt & Lester, 1994; Pope, 1997).

Finally, an inward development was that specialties within the field of career counseling began to be developed by private practitioners. Such specialties included multicultural populations (e.g., African Americans, Asian Americans, gay men and lesbians, people with disabilities), attorneys, senior executives, and spousal and international relocation. The increasing specialization within a profession is the result of the maturing of that profession (Pope, 1995).

Quite important as well during this period was the first survey of the attitudes and beliefs of the American workforce regarding career development. With grants from NOICC, NCDA commissioned

the Gallup Organization to conduct three national surveys—in 1989, 1992, and 1994—with a fourth survey funded for the year 2000. These survey results were published as books and received much national attention including being cited by federal legislators in their speeches during debate on these issues on the floor of the U.S. Congress. Each national survey covered a topic for which little national data had been published and provided important data on the general population's attitudes toward work and careers, attitudes of ethnic and racial minorities in the U.S. on work and careers, and attitudes of the general population of the U.S. toward how schools were preparing them for work realities and the school-to-job transition in the U.S. (Brown & Minor, 1989, 1992; Hoyt & Lester, 1994). Other books were published by NCDA during this period, including a book on career development and the Internet (Harris-Bowlsbey, Dikel, & Sampson, 1999) and a book providing experiential activities for teaching career development classes in community colleges and to graduate students in counseling, and for facilitating career groups (Pope & Minor, 2000).

The changing demographics of the American workforce also came to the forefront during this period (Johnston & Packer, 1987). Hoyt (1989) addressed the NCDA membership during a luncheon at their annual meeting in Chicago in 1988 and reviewed the progress that women and ethnic and racial minorities in the U.S. have made over the past 20 years. Hoyt, who worked for the U.S. Department of Labor and wrote the definition of "work" for the U.S., was also past president of both ACA and NCDA. These changing demographics have led to a greater emphasis in both counseling, in general, and career counseling, in particular, on multicultural counseling skills (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992).

Another aspect of the sixth stage is increasing technological sophistication, which has led to instant communication by telephone, facsimile transmission, and Internet to anywhere in the world. Personal communication devices such as pagers and cellular and digital telephones have made it possible to contact a person wherever they are. Extensions of these changes for the career counselor was the provision of career services using the Internet and the telephone as well as the opening up of career counseling markets in other countries.

NCDA's response to changing technological issues included a conference theme on technology during the presidency of JoAnn Bowlsbey (Daytona Beach, 1997), a book on using the Internet in career counseling (Harris-Bowlsbey et al., 1999), and a statement on the ethics of providing career counseling services on the Internet (NCDA, 1996).

With the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, the opening of economic doors in China, and the steady 7% annual economic growth in Southeast Asia, career counselors from the U.S. have also expanded their practices internationally. This expansion has included substantial energy and economic investment in taking career counseling to other countries. Career counselors from the U.S. now do substantial contract work in various countries, including Singapore, Russia, China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Australia, Estonia, and Poland (Pope, 1995, 1999). This is only the beginning

of this trend, as technological advances drive the worldwide dissemination of information and innovations in the delivery of career counseling services. NCDA responded by designating the theme of its 1999 global conference, led by NCDA President Mark Pope, as "Best Practices in Career Development Across Cultures."

NCDA was in transition as well, returning to its beginnings, as it prepared to meet the challenges of this stage. After much internal debate, NCDA adopted a comprehensive nondiscrimination policy in 1995, which aligned it with its progressive roots and included sexual orientation as a protected category. Furthermore, under NCDA President Ken Hoyt, the NCDA Board of Directors adopted an expansive policy on career development which was to be used in state and federal legislative hearings (Engels, 1994). Also, the composition of the NCDA Board of Directors had been changing from being composed predominantly of counselor educators in academic institutions to being composed predominantly of private practice, business, and agency career counselors and consultants.

During this stage, issues of collaboration with other career-vocational-employment professional associations, both domestically and internationally, also were becoming important, as professional associations similar to NCDA were proliferating and federal legislation dealing with such issues increased. Through the NOICC-funded Career Development Training Institute's Advisory Committee and Workgroup on Workforce and Career Development Competencies, representatives of a variety of professional organizations began to be acquainted with each other's constituencies and issues. NCDA, the National Association of Workforce Development Professionals (NAWDP), the International Association of Personnel in Employment Security (IAPES), and the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies (ICESA) met for the first time in 1998 as a workgroup to discuss workforce and career development competency issues. Out of those meetings came the new Council on Workforce and Career Development Associations—endorsed in 1999 by the NCDA Board of Directors—whose mission is to provide a forum for continued collaboration among the growing number of professional associations whose focus is on career, employment, and vocational issues, broadly termed "workforce and career development associations."

CONCLUSION

There have been several stages in the history of career counseling in the U.S., each presaged by major societal change. Each of these stages has had profound effects on the lives of individuals in this society. In the first stage (1890–1919), placement services were offered for an increasingly urban and industrial society. In the second stage (1920–1939), educational guidance through the elementary and secondary schools became the focal point. During the third stage (1940–1959), the focus shifted to colleges and universities and the training of counselors. The fourth stage (1960–1979) was the boom for counseling, and the idea of work having meaning in a person's life came to the

forefront; organizational career development began during this period. The fifth stage (1980–1989) included the beginning of the transition from industrial age to information age and the growth of both private practice career counseling and outplacement counseling. The sixth stage (1990–present), with its emphasis on technology and changing demographics, has seen the increasing sophistication in the uses of technology, the internationalization of career counseling, the beginnings of multicultural career counseling, and the increased focus on the school to job transition.

This article is the beginning of a much larger international study of how economic processes and societal changes have affected the development of career counseling in the U.S. and around the world. If different nations have gone through similar stages in the development of career counseling, then the lessons learned in one nation can be used to assist another in its transition. If, because of increased technological sophistication and increasing internationalization and integration of economic structures, our planet is becoming conceptually smaller with exposure to information as it happens in any part of the world, the stages outlined here may become worldwide phenomena, affecting all nations and their social structures simultaneously, including banking, stock markets, employment, education, and training. The stages that the U.S. has undergone will then become the map for the development of career counseling in other countries and allow career counseling professionals in other countries more time to prepare an even better response to the changes and the transitions based on their knowledge of the past.

The career counseling profession is a product of these changes. With knowledge of the historical processes involved in shaping the profession, career counseling professionals can be ready to provide the social leadership required in times of transition and crisis. As Cicero stated in his oratories in 80 B.C., "Not to know what happened before one was born is always to be a child."

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