Chapter 2
A History of Career Counselling

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Abstract The present chapter describes the history of how the counselling profession has successfully met the challenge of social transitions in devising youth mentoring for agricultural communities, vocational guidance for industrial cities, and career development counselling for corporate societies. To remain relevant and useful in the twenty-first century, members of the profession are again reinventing its models and methods, this time concentrating on how to fit work into life, rather than fit life into work. The future of the profession rests on counsellors' ability to help students and clients adapt to the challenges inherent in the new organisation of work in liquid societies.

Keywords Vocational guidance · Career construction · Life design · Individualization · Boundaryless career · Transactional employment contracts

In modern societies, individuals may experience decision-making difficulties in choosing an occupation and encounter barriers in developing a career. At the dawn of the twentieth century the occupational structure in cities had become so complex compared to nineteenth century villages that social workers began to help young people make educational and vocational choices. In short order, the principles and practice of vocational guidance emerged in the social work profession and overtime coalesced in a separate profession called counselling. Today, the American Counseling Association (ACA) defines counselling as "a professional relationship that empowers diverse individuals, families, and groups to accomplish mental health, wellness, education, and career goals" (Kaplan et al. 2014, p. 366). ACA encouraged particular specialties to elaborate this consensus definition endorsed by 29 major counselling organisations by adding a statement about their area of focus.

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J. A. Athanasou, H. N. Perera (eds.), *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25153-6_2

From our perspective, this elaboration would simply adopt Donald Super's definition of career counselling as

> the process of helping a person to develop and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself [or herself] and of his [or her] role in world of work, to test this concept against reality, and to convert it into reality, with satisfaction to himself [or herself] and benefit to society (p. 92).

The goal of career counsellors originally began, and continues to be, empowering individuals to make educational and vocational choices that match their abilities and interests to occupational requirement and rewards. The basic paradigm of "matching" people to positions provides a cognitive framework and expresses a very general conception of the process and goal of career counselling as a social enterprise. In response to major societal and economic transitions during the last 150 years, counselling professionals have applied the general paradigm of matching to specify four distinct sets of *conceptual models* and *practice methods* for helping people choose jobs. A career counselling model refers to a set of interrelated principles assumed to describe, explain, and predict vocational behavior and its development. In comparison, career counselling methods refer to systematic procedures and techniques that implement the principles of a counselling model. The principles of a conceptual model direct the processes of a practice method. Our thesis is that each time the social organisation of work changes, the counselling profession innovates its models and methods for helping individuals make educational and vocational choices (Savickas 2015).

In the present chapter, we explain how during each of four sequential economic eras distinct career counselling models and methods evolved. During the premodern agricultural era counsellors used a pedagogical model to devise mentoring methods. During the modern industrial era, counsellors used an individual differences model to devise vocational guidance methods. During the high modernity era, counsellors used a lifespan model to devise career development methods. Now during the post-modern era, counsellors are using a life design model to devise career construction methods. The dominant helping model of a prior era never completely disappears; instead, it fades in popularity as the new methods gain adherents. So for example, when guiding replaced mentoring as the dominant method, mentoring still remained a viable counselling strategy. Today, all four career counselling methods are currently in use, with preference for a model and its methods being determined by the economic context in which it is applied. We organized the present chapter to describe the four main career counselling methods along the historical sequence in which they evolved: mentoring, guiding, developing, and constructing. The framework in Table 2.1 prefigures the content in the chapter.

Table 2.1 Career counselling philosophies, models, and methods during four economic eras

Economy	Philosophy	Model	Method
Agricultural (1850–1909)	Rationalist	Pedagogical	Mentoring
Industrial (1910–1949)	Empiricist	Individual differences	Guiding
Corporate (1950–1999)	Humanist	Lifespan	Developing
Global (2000–2050)	Constructionist	Life Design	Constructing

Mentoring in Agricultural Communities (1850–1909)

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

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

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

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

With the increase in occupational alternatives, society devised a mechanism to help youth choose among the alternatives. To assist youth make vocational choices, society offered mentoring provided by *friendly visitors* (USA) and *voluntary visitors* (England). These supportive volunteers eventually became organised within community and social welfare organisations as the profession of social work emerged to address the ills of the city. The change in population distribution caused by the movement to commercial cities led to problems such as unemployment, vice, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime. In 1844, twelve salesmen in a London dry goods store founded the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to improve the spiritual condition and mental culture of young men engaged in drapery and other trades (Hopkins 1951). To assist young men, working youth, and apprentices, YMCAs opened libraries and offered courses in reading, spelling, grammar, history, geography, writing, arithmetic, and the Bible.

The first YMCA in the USA opened in Boston in 1851. Additional YMCAs followed the well-established routes of transportation as they spread quickly to other urban centres. The first world conference of YMCAs was held in Paris in 1855. As part of its relief work in the USA, YMCAs opened employment bureaus in response to Civil War veterans' need to find jobs. The need intensified with the recurrent depressions that followed the Civil War. For example, in 1866 the Chicago YMCA hired a man to start an employment bureau and he did placement work there for the next 16 years. Records of the Chicago bureau indicate that in 1875 alone he assisted 4000 people obtain jobs. The Boston association hired an employment officer in 1872, and he placed 700 people during his first year (Hopkins 1951).

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

purpose of the friendly visits between boys and YMCA volunteers. These volunteers and the individuals who staffed the YMCA employment bureaus engaged in what today we call *youth mentoring*. They based their mentoring on the culture's rationalist philosophy and educators' pedagogical model.

Around 1901, the YMCA formally committed to boys' work on a large scale, profoundly influenced by the newly emerging field of child development (Davidson and Benjamin 1987), as well as by sociological treatises on street boys, newsboys, delinquents, and boys working in coal mines (Levine and Levine 1992). Based on its program of character education using principles of the new educational psychology, YMCAs pioneered offering vocational advice to youth. The YMCAs of this period considered advising an important adjunct to their educational programs because they realised that they were in a strategic position to provide mentoring services. The bulk of this mentoring involved job placement performed in conjunction with vocational training and other educational programs. The natural mentoring that occurred during friendly visits became institutionalised in the cities in 1910 when the Big Brothers organisation was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio. The work of Big Brothers and Sisters to this day resembles the friendly visits of the agricultural era when a responsible adult offered character education and vocational advice to youth in need of a friend.

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

Vocational Guidance in Industrial Cities (1910–1949)

The second phase of the industrial revolution, spanning the years 1871–1914, was propelled by the electrical motor and the internal combustion engine. The technology enabled by electricity and engines replaced the labour of marginal workers. This technology also prompted the crystallisation in the early twentieth century of

the social invention called *jobs*. When on the farm, individuals did not actually have a job, they simply performed a variety of chores. However, individuals who lived in commercial cities were assigned just one task in an industry. They repeatedly performed this one task, which became known as their job. They were instructed to do that job "the one best way" following the prescriptions of Taylor's (1911) scientific management and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth's (1911) work design method.

Industrial society's modern arrangement of work differed fundamentally from that of the feudal system. The feudal system allowed people to pursue activity whereas the modern system forced them to pursue consumption and accumulation. The feudal system and later the agricultural economy severely limited social mobility yet they offered freedom of activity and the joys of craftsmanship. Social critics such as Carlyle (1836) noted that urban living allowed more mobility yet it forced people into unnatural activities. Carlyle asserted that the feudal system was better at assigning individuals an activity and then granting them the freedom to pursue that activity in a manner they found pleasing rather than forcing men and women to serve the standardised job by doing it the one best way. The move to cities or urbanisation wrought a major social change. Modernisation occurred because of significant economic progress, technological advances, and value changes. Urbanisation and industrialisation shaped what sociologist termed the First Demographic Transition (Lesthaeghe 2014) as individuals adapted their life strategies to the new realities of the twentieth century that included institutionalisation of science, secularisation with strong normative regulation, segregating sex roles, nuclear family, low divorce rates, concern with income and working conditions, public universities, and orderly life transitions.

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

Individuals who moved from a homogeneous town to a heterogeneous city encountered clashing cultures and foreign languages that dissolved feelings of community and instilled feelings of isolation. Of course, these urban populations were living in compact surroundings. Cramped quarters led to the qualitative reorganisation of life with new architecture and transportation systems. The literature of that era referred to cities as a harem of opportunity, brilliant emporium, brawling marketplace, exotic wonderland, battlefield, and inferno. Fragmentation of experience became a characteristic element of city living during these turbulent times. Many people were simply lost in the city as they experienced disorientation, disjunction, discontinuity, dissonance, and disorganisation. The incessant shower of unrelated experiences, along with the lack of a stable community to absorb these shocks led

to the growth of urban ills, especially among youth. It is no wonder that on September 1, 1910, the Vatican in Rome introduced a compulsory oath against modernism to be taken by all Catholic priests upon ordination.

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

The problems of the city, including youth choosing and finding a job, overwhelmed amateurs and required the attention of experts. Individuals with a special interest in helping youth to resolve the problems arising from poverty, vice, and alcoholism quickly professionalised the practice of benevolence by constructing scientific models and methods (Todd 1919). These models rested on a positivist epistemology, in contrast to the nineteenth century models that rested on a rationalist epistemology. Early twentieth century specialists viewed empiricism as the panacea for society's ills, an objective method with which to advance social and political reform. The science of helping soon came to celebrate the idea of individual differences in abilities and personalities, in contrast to the quest for uniformity of character during the agricultural era. Rather than encouraging all people to develop good character and high morals, the new order promoted expressive individualism.

The growth of cities, along with the belief that education of all children is a public duty, had forced the broad recognition of individual differences. Traditional schoolroom teaching methods were designed for a select group of children who were uniformly taught the classics. These uniform methods failed when applied to a more varied population. The heterogeneous school populations in city schools included a wide distribution of economic groups and classes with great variation in pupils. School personnel soon concluded that variety was one of the chief characteristics of human nature (Thorndike 1911). This recognition prompted the child study movement (Davidson and Benjamin Jr. 1987) and led to the conceptualisation of a new life stage called adolescence (Hall 1904). One consequence was that school personnel and social workers in many countries around the world needed to design an innovative model for helping adolescents make vocational choices. Thus, in most countries, vocational guidance's early development, especially from 1880 to 1920, typically arose from within either the educational system or social welfare organisations. For example, in Belgium, Germany, the United States, and the United Kingdom, vocational guidance was developed outside the school system. In countries such as the United States, vocational guidance was quickly assimilated into the

schools. Yet in other countries, vocational guidance services remained entirely outside the educational system. For example, vocational guidance in Belgium remained independent of the schools until 1947 (Sacré 1993). Regardless of whether the initiative arose in the educational or social welfare system, pioneers in each country used the scientific model of individual differences psychology to devise vocational guidance as a new counselling method for assisting youth to choose among their occupational alternatives.

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

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

The actual conception of vocational guidance in industrial era—and the origins of what is now referred to as the counselling profession—occurred in 1908 with events in in Scotland, Germany, and the USA. Dr. Ogilvie Gordon of Aberdeen, Scotland—a palaeontologist and a civic leader—initiated vocational guidance services in Scotland and in England (Bloomfield 1914). Gordon pioneered what she called "educational information and employment bureaus." During a Glasgow lecture in March, 1904 Gordon suggested that school boards establish bureaus to guide boys and girls into suitable employment after they leave school as well as supervise their careers as far as possible with "after-care." With the collaboration of social workers from Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, Gordon in 1908 published *A Handbook of Employment for Boys and Girls* which became a model for other countries. Also in 1908, Scotland passed an Education Act that prepared the way for vocational advisory services and organised employment and information bureaus in close coordination with schools. That same year, the Edinburgh School Board funded a bureau to guide and advise

young people regarding their future careers (Gordon 1911). In May 1909, Winston Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade, introduced the Labour Exchanges Act in the House of Commons. The Bill aimed to help the unemployed find employment (Peck 2004). In Germany, Dr. Wolff opened a department for vocational counselling, with the aid of one assistant. On his own initiative, Wolff in 1908 notified the schools that he was willing to consult with information seekers, doing so at night in his office at the Halle Bureau of Statistics which he directed. He may have been the first to conduct follow-ups because he had his secretary record the advice given and check the progress of the youth he had guided. Wolff consulted with 27 individuals in 1908, 54 in 1909, 79 in 1910, and 104 in 1911 (Keller and Viteles 1937). He is credited with initiating Germany's movement for organised vocational guidance, which spread quickly to Munich, Pforzheim, and Düsseldorf. In 1913, the bureaus in Frankfurt and Berlin presented public motion picture shows about various occupations to prompt boys and girls to think about their future occupations, maybe the first use of audiovisual materials in vocational guidance.

One of the best documented stories of the origins of modern vocational guidance also began in 1908 (Brewer 1918). A Boston social reformer named Frank Parsons believed that the "City of Future" required specially trained personnel to help youth make vocational choices. He was supported in bringing this idea to fruition by a social worker named Meyer Bloomfield, a department store owner named Leonard Filene, and a wealthy benefactor named Pauline Agassiz Shaw. Rather than using the youth mentoring techniques of a friendly visit, Parsons urged that science be applied to the problem of self-assessment. Parsons coined the term "vocational guidance," using it in a report that he presented on May 1, 1908 about the systematic guidance procedures he had used to counsel 80 men and women in Boston. However, the profession of counselling marks its origin not to that report but to 1909 with the posthumous publication of Parsons' influential book on vocational guidance methods entitled *Choosing a Vocation*.

While practitioners in other countries had started earlier, Parsons is widely recognised around the world as the progenitor of the vocational guidance movement because his book stated the modern method of vocational guidance, based on the conceptual model of individual differences psychology. Today, the differential psychology model has evolved into person-environment psychology yet it retains the same three-step method of matching people to positions. First, individuals increase their self-knowledge using scientific tests; second, they gather occupational information; and third, they apply "true reasoning" in comparing self and occupations to make a realistic vocational choice. While not that different from Carlyle's formula, Parsons secured credit for initiating the modern movement for organised guidance by using the phrase "true reasoning" and emphasising the importance of scientific methods in self-analysis. For Parsons and his devotees, guidance occurs when science touches the individual. Of course, the individual differences conceptual model for guidance methods was quickly applied to selection of sales clerks for department stores and later to classification of soldiers into positions during World War I. These three services—vocational guidance, personnel selection, and military classification—were provided by the same personnel so that advances in one domain improved practice in the other two domains.

To make the first two steps of vocational guidance more scientific, Parsons consulted with leading psychologists of his day—including a pioneer of applied psychology named Munsterberg (1910)—about using psychometric measures and rating scales to study self and occupations. The key type of psychological test that sustained early vocational guidance as a science were measures of individual differences in ability, prompted by Binet's success in constructing an intelligence test for French school children. At first vocational guidance relied on these measures to profile the aptitudes or ability level required in particular occupations and trades. Early practitioners of guidance and selection in the USA, particularly those working at Carnegie Tech in Pittsburgh, contributed their expertise in the individual differences model of psychology to devising paper-and-pencil ability tests for military classification of armed forces personnel in World War I. When these applied psychologists returned to civilian life, their successful experiences in the war effort blossomed into an industry of making and selling ability and aptitude tests. Interest inventories began to be included in their assessment batteries when research on job satisfaction blossomed. The central idea was, and continues to be, that a fitting match of individual ability to job requirements leads to occupational success; while a fitting match of interests to job rewards leads to work satisfaction; and finally, that success and satisfaction combine to promote job stability or tenure. Success, satisfaction, and stability became the hallmarks of occupational adjustment and the criteria for evaluating the outcomes of guidance, selection, and classification. Today vocational guidance remains closely associated with tests of individual differences, its main technique being test interpretation. The epitome of this guidance technology is Holland's (1997) theory of vocational personality types and work environments.

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

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

Career Development in Corporate Societies (1950–1999)

After World War II, many modern societies again broke with prior forms, as they had done in moving from agricultural to industrial economies. Although in comparison the tear in the social fabric was not quite so complete. Thus, the period from 1950 to 1999 is referred to as high modernity. While modern industries and their employees remained in the city centres, large numbers of workers moved to the suburbs from where daily they commuted to work. In addition to the emergence of suburbs, high modernity was characterised by growth of national and even multinational corporations. These hierarchical corporations distributed their labour force in the shape of a pyramid: picture a large number of labourers at the base, a substantial number of managers and white-collar workers in the middle, and a small number of executives at the apex. With this hierarchical structure came the image of the corporate ladder, each step up a rung involving more responsibility and pay. Rather than having one job for life, there arose the possibility of advancement and progressive improvement along an established job path within the company. Climbing the ladder became the metaphor for career, and career itself became the value that accompanied the bureaucratic form of hierarchical corporations. Following the conceptualisation of career as a value within a hierarchical society, Super's construct of work values (Zytowski 1994) and Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs emerged as signal constructs in vocational decision making.

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

An economist named Ginzberg (Ginzberg et al. 1951) criticised vocational guidance counsellors for not having a theory and merely using a statistical technique for matching abilities and interests to occupational requirements and routines. Ginzberg's critique ushered in a theory building era in career counselling, one that replaced the empirical era of the first half of the twentieth century. Two major theories were prompted by Ginzberg's apt criticism, that of Holland and of Super. Holland's (1959) theory transformed the psychology of individual differences

focused on traits to one focused on types. Holland's six types (Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Convention—RIASEC for short) are each composed of a syndrome of related interests, values, and abilities. Both individuals and environment can be assessed as to how closely they resemble each type. Matching vocational personality to work environment is eased by having both coded in the identical RIASEC language. So today, assessment for vocational guidance relies heavily on RIASEC methods of guiding.

The second major theory prompted by Ginzberg's critique was proposed by Super who in 1953 published his theory of vocational development and career patterns based on a model of lifespan psychology rather than individual differences psychology. Based on humanistic philosophy and a lifespan model, Donald Super (1953) crafted developmental methods for career counselling to complement the methods of vocational guidance that focus on the content of career choices. Developmental methods concentrate on how to make decisions, not on which occupation to choose. Super continued his theory building with a major treatise called *The Psychology of Careers*, published in 1957. Super often contrasted his book with Roe's *The Psychology of Occupations* published in 1956. He used the contrast to compare her focus on occupations to his focus on careers. The differences included a concentration on the individual rather than job tasks. More fundamentally, Super shifted attention away from occupations and which people fit them to a focus on careers and how people develop them across the lifespan. In contrast to guiding people to fitting positions, the goal of developing is to orient people to vocational development tasks and how to master them. Combining Super's developmental methods with Roger's (1942) client-centred counselling techniques, vocational guidance counsellors who provided direction to the lost were soon to become career development counsellors who served as process consultants and empathic mirrors to the anxious. As a symbol of the growing importance of career development interventions, a leading USA journal called the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* changed its name to the *Career Development Quarterly*, yet not without objections from guidance specialists (Baer 1987; Weinrach and Holland 1987). The focus on developing careers also led to research programs on counselling process and outcomes (Brown 2017), and the practice of career coaching (Yates 2013).

Their conceptual models of individual differences and lifespan development provide two perspectives on the person; one focused on how people remain the same and the other focused on how they change. The differential model views vocational interests as traits that reside within the person and that can be measured with interest inventories. Vocational interests have moderate to high stability over time, showing substantially more continuity than personality traits (Low et al. 2005). In comparison, the lifespan model views interests as a relation between a person and an environment, going to the root meaning of *inter esse* which in Latin means *to be between*. From this perspective, interests are created by psychosocial interactions; they do not exist within the person as much as they emerge in interactions between the person and the situation. A change in social context may bring a change in vocational interests. A second example of distinctions between the models concerns vocational education and career education in the schools. Vocational education focuses on learning

the content of a trade, for example, automobile mechanic. Career development education focuses on learning attitudes and competencies with which to advance one's career. In the schools it is simply called career education and with adults it is called career coaching. In short, vocational guidance focuses on the content of occupations whereas career education focuses on the process of individual development. Their respective methods of guiding and developing may be used separately, sequentially, or integratively (D. Super 1983).

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

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

Careers during the second half of the twentieth century remained possible because, while individuals changed and developed, the occupations and corporations in which they grew remained stable. Both life course patterns in general and work life trajectories in particular had become "institutionalised" because industrial jobs and corporate careers imposed strong discipline on the order and timing of transitions in work and family roles. However, by the dawn of the twenty-first century the bureaucratic structures that supported career development had become unstable as hierarchical corporations reorganized and downsized to adapt to the move from the high-modern corporate age to the post-modern information age. Gone were the meta-narratives of corporate institutions that enfolded workers in the holding environments that took care of them.

Early in the twenty-first century, social changes had become so substantial that they initiated a Second Demographic Transition from the *institutionalized* life course patterning of modernity to the *individualized* life course designing of post-modernity (Lesthaege 2010). Beginning with the 1978 oil crisis, post-industrial societies experienced the most rapid transformation in economic history. There was once again a social fracture, one that in many ways resembles the fault line of 1910 when Westernised populations moved from agriculture to industry and from rural communities to urban cities. In 2010, the parallel processes prompting the transformation from modernity to post-modernity were from industrialisation to digitalisation and from urbanisation to globalisation. The digital commerce enabled by the

internet has made information the new steel. Wealth creation no longer sprung from manufacturing; it now arises from distribution and financing. To cope with the rapidly changing world, companies maintain their flexibility by downsizing, outsourcing, flattening, and restructuring. Jobs are no longer viewed as the best way to get work done because they are uniform, content-based clusters of similar tasks. Today's projects and assignments are process-based clusters of diverse tasks that require temporary employees do the work that needs to be done.

Employees in the twentieth century enjoyed a *relational* employment contract that called for a reciprocal obligation between the individual and the organization based on long-term mutual loyalty. The twenty-first century *transactional* employment contract focuses on short-term efficiency in which both employers and employees act as businesses. The new employment contract calls for repeated adaptation and personal responsibility in constructing boundaryless, protean, and intelligent careers. In the twenty-first century, a bull's-eye symbolises the labour distribution brought about by the transactional employment contract. The centre ring is populated by internal workers, proportionately about 40%, who do the organisation's core work and have tenure. The outer ring of the bull's-eye contains about 20% of external workers who perform outsourced tasks. Between internal workers at the core and outsourced tasks at the boundary reside the remaining 40% of workers who are contracted to do temporary assignments for the organisation. Employers view these temporary workers as contingent, causal, and part-time employees who sell their services on short-term contracts or freelance agreements. They experience permanent job insecurity as well as lack the opportunities for training, development, and advancement formerly offered by organisations. For the standard jobs started by workers between the ages of 18 and 24, 69% ended in less than a year and 93% ended in fewer than 5 years. This was true not only for emerging adults but also for those adults who in previous times had stabilized in jobs and families. Among jobs started by 40–48-year olds, 32% ended in less than a year and 69% ended in fewer than 5 years. (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018). We do note that careers in bureaucratic organisations still exist for many people. Nevertheless, we have entered the age of insecure workers who are no longer bounded by a single organisation or grounded in the same job for three decades. The new employment market includes a "gig economy" that calls for viewing career not as a lifetime commitment to one employer but as selling services and a portfolio of skills to a series of employers who need projects completed.

Individualisation is seen as the core characteristic of post-modern societies that have de-standardised jobs and de-institutionalised life course patterns. During the current Second Demographic Transition, individualisation of the life course has made entry into adult roles more variable, less stratified by age, and taking more time (Lesthaege 2010). Life has become less predictable, less regulated, less stable, and less orderly. Post-modern social structures make it difficult, and even unwise, for individuals to commit to institutions and organisations. Instead individuals must commit to self-chosen trajectories. Twenty-First century institutions provide less structure and assign people the responsibility for understanding their own needs, determining their goals, designing their lives, managing their careers, and defining

the meaning of success. The twentieth century's standardised jobs and institutionalised life course has transformed into customised work roles and an individualised "biography of choice" (Heinz 2002). In shaping their own life course, individuals must reflexively weigh alternatives, coordinate outcomes, and repair failures.

Individualisation of the life course calls for a career counselling model that describes unique decisions rather than prescribes normative choices. The prescriptive methods of guiding based on the individual differences model and developing based on the lifespan model both remain useful in many circumstances, yet they do not adequately account for managing careers in the uncertain and changing occupational structure of post-modernity. A twenty-first century model for career counselling must address emotions of uncertainty and anxiety experienced by insecure workers as they adapt to multiple job changes and a series of new beginnings in what Bauman (2017) called a "liquid life." To devise such a model, some counsellors first adopted a social constructionist epistemology (Young and Collin 2004) and then used it to devise a *life-design model* for career counselling (Savickas et al. 2009). The life design model addresses the twenty-first century question of "How do you want to be?" instead of the twentieth century question of "What you want to be? Rather than choosing an occupation at the end of schooling and then developing a career in a stable medium for 30 years, workers must now develop and use the meta-competencies of identity and adaptability (cf., Hall 2002) in a lifelong quest to construct their best possible future.

In addition to concentrating on identity and adaptability, the life-design model offers a new metaphor of career as story, rather than career as path. In this model, career is the story that people tell about their work lives. The autobiographical narrative provides a stabilising meaning for internal guidance and self-direction during times of transition. The story fosters biographical reasoning that enables an individual to impose unity of purpose on transitions so as to turn jarring juxtapositions into coherent syntheses.

The life design model leads to constructionist methods that impose meaning on vocational behaviour. Influential books on the life design model and career construction methods have been published since 2011 in Australia (McIlveen and Schultheiss 2012; McMahon 2017), France (Guichard et al. 2017), Italy (Di Fabio and Maree 2013; Nota and Rossier 2015), South Africa (Maree 2013), and the USA (Busacca and Rehfuss 2017; Savickas 2019). Career constructing methods assume that people use stories to organise their lives, shape their identities, and make sense of their problems (Savickas 2013). Clients enter counselling with a story to tell about some transition. The stories people tell have a way of taking care of them. By holding those stories in the relationship, counsellors enable clients to reflect on their lives. Dwelling in their own stories often destabilises and deconstructs old ideas that block decision making and usually enables an awareness that prompts a choice. As clients give voice to their stories, they hear what they already know and find the answers which they seek. From their own knowing, clients take a new perspective that enables them to reconstruct their stories to define who they are, set priorities, clarify choices, articulate intentions, devise a plan, and take agentic action in pursuit of a life that they want to live (Savickas 2016).

Of course, counsellors recognise that clients' capacity to construct their careers is not completely free; each person pushes against the unchosen conditions of their life. There are normative boundaries and social constraints that both precede and exceed the client. Yet a client must improvise and construct a career with the available resources and social supports. Counsellors help clients make commitments to self and then choose the best possible solutions. Sometimes, or maybe all the time, client choices are about progress not perfection. Counsellors may differ in their preference for the counselling methods of guiding, developing, or constructing. Yet counsellors agree in their commitment to social justice, beginning with vocational guidance counsellors who began the field as child saving, continuing with career development counsellors who work to defeat pernicious stereotypes and circumvent negative circumstances, and now career construction counselors who deconstruct clients' limiting ideas and false beliefs. In the last decade, counsellors have become more active outside the consulting room as they advocate for social justice, engage in public policy discourse, and address the needs of vulnerable workers who face discrimination and marginalisation (Duffy et al. 2016).

Conclusion

Contending effectively with the ambitions of diverse workers in a globally integrated economy requires that the career counselling profession understand its own ambitions. The future of the profession rests on counsellors' ability to help students and clients adapt to the challenges inherent in the new organisation of work in liquid societies. The profession has successfully met the challenge of social transitions before in devising youth mentoring for agricultural communities, vocational guidance for industrial cities, and career development counselling for corporate societies. To remain relevant and useful in the twenty-first century, members of the profession are again reinventing its models and methods, this time concentrating on how to fit work into life, rather than fit life into work.

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