COUNSELING: SELF-CLARIFICATION AND THE HELPING RELATIONSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

   Although others had been concerned about the vocational and occupational problems of youth, vocational counseling as a field of professional concern is usually considered to have begun with the work, of Frank Parsons in the early years of this century. (1) The model developed by Parsons dominated the field for the next thirty years. The goal of vocational guidance was "the choice of a vocation, adequate preparation for it, and the attainment of efficiency and success.... In the wise choice of a vocation there are three broad factors: (1) a clear understanding of yourself, your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations and their causes; (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages, compensations, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts." (2) This pattern or model of vocational guidance went essentially unchallenged for three decades and is still accepted by many. Emphasis shifted from one to another of the major points, but the formulation was not questioned. In the early years (1910-20) there were few instruments for measuring aptitudes, abilities, and interests, and attention was concentrated upon the provision of accurate information about job characteristics and opportunities. With the development of testing following World War I (3) and during the 1930's, the emphasis shifted to the evaluation of aptitudes, abilities, and interests. (4) Emphasis upon the third aspect, the relation of the personal and environmental factors, developed during the 1940's following a series of publications from Minnesota. (5)

   Although many of the leaders in the development of this approach to vocational guidance did not view the process as a routine matching of individuals and jobs, this concept was widely accepted and implemented. There has been an underlying hope that eventually measurements of the individual would become precise enough, and the requirements of jobs would be specified clearly enough, so that the matching could be handled by machines. In 1925 Hull described such a machine (6), and later he wrote,   "We may look forward with confidence to a day not far distant when some such system will be operating in every large school system. Then, and not until then, will there be possible a genuine vocational guidance for all the masses of the people." (7)

   This goal has not been reached. The reason is not only that we have not yet achieved the accuracy of measurement necessary but that there has been a change in the concept of vocational counseling which has led to a change in the goal itself. The source of this influence on vocational counseling has been the rise of psychotherapy and therapeutic counseling since World War II. Perhaps the publication in 1942 of Rogers' *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (8) marked the beginning of this period.

During the past fifteen years, concern with the personal-social-emotional problems of the individual has perhaps overshadowed interest in the more mundane problem of vocational choice. Psychotherapy has acquired prestige, with the result that nearly everyone wants to be a psychotherapist and not merely an educational or vocational counselor. Vocational counseling in some places has come to be considered a lower-level function, and the vocational counselor a second-class counselor. The concern of some that vocational counseling was disappearing from our schools and counseling agencies has perhaps had some basis. The question has been raised as to whether there is any such thing as *vocational counseling*, or for that matter *educational counseling, marital counseling*, or *rehabilitation counseling*. In an interesting paper entitled "Are There 'Kinds' of Counseling?" Doleys answers "No." (9) He presents the case for a generic counselor, pointing out that all counselors have in common a skill in developing and maintaining the counseling relationship with a total individual who is not restricted in the areas he can talk about. There has of course long been the belief that the client-centered counselor does not deal differently with a client who has a vocational problem and with one who has any other kind of problem.

Nevertheless there seems to be some utility in continuing the term "vocational counseling." First, it is well to recognize the desirability of focusing upon a particular area--or problem--in an individual's life. This does not mean that other areas are ignored, or that the counselor does not deal with a whole human being. Second, an adequate concept of vocational counseling should not rule out consideration of attitudinal and emotional factors in vocational development and choice. Third, such a concept recognizes that many individuals have problems in the area of vocational choice that are not symptoms of a general maladjustment or emotional disturbance. Fourth, the concept is useful in that it indicates distinctions between the handling of vocational problems and the handling of other kinds of problems.

We may summarize by saying that the first forty years of the past half century saw almost no progress in vocational counseling. The prevailing point of view was that of Parsons, which appealed to logic and common sense. The model was a cognitive one. Its weakness was its logicality, with its neglect of emotional and attitudinal elements.

The rise of interest in psychotherapy, emphasizing as it does these latter factors, has sometimes seemed to threaten to drive vocational counseling out of existence. Certainly, as conceived and practiced earlier, vocational counseling can no longer expect to survive.

But the alternative is not the absorption of vocational counseling by psychotherapy. The need is for a revitalizing of vocational counseling by changing the model from a cognitive one, not to a psychotherapy model, but to a composite, more realistic model which recognizes the importance of emotions, feelings, and attitudes in the normal vocational development process. It is the purpose of this chapter to attempt to provide such an approach to vocational counseling.

THE BASES FOR THE NEW VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

Work is more than a means of subsistence. In our complex society it has an immense influence on our whole lives. Perhaps more than any other single thing, a man's occupation molds his life.

(10) It determines his social class, his place of living, his style and manner of living, his dress, his hours of work and thus his hours at home, and his avocations. Indirectly it affects his attitudes and opinions, his goals and values, including the way he feels about education, his outlook on life, and his politics. These influences are not directly related to amount of income either, since occupational groups with similar income levels may differ greatly in these respects. Health is related to occupation, both in terms of occupational hazards and diseases and in terms of nutrition and medical care. Length of life is related to occupation, educators, lawyers, and business executives being among those with long life-spans, doctors falling in the middle, and poets being the shortest lived. Mental disorders appear to bear some relationship to occupational class and level; for example, schizophrenia is more common in the lower classes and manic-depressive psychosis more prevalent in the upper classes. (11)

  Work thus involves the whole person, influencing his total personality. Anne Roe states that "if one wishes to understand the total psychology of any person, it is at least as important to understand his occupational behavior as it is to understand his sexual behavior." (12) In view of the importance of work to the individual, it is surprising that attention has only recently been focused on the psychology and sociology of work.

  Most authorities now recognize the importance of personality factors in vocational development and success and, thus, in vocational counseling. But there are still those who would persist in the traditional approach. Eli Ginzberg, an economist, questions the assumption that vocational counseling must deal with the total person. (13) He asks, "How does this assumption hold up in the face of the fact that to help bring about significant changes in the individual's basic personality usually requires three years of psychoanalytic treatment at a cost of $10,000 or more?" It might be pointed out in reply that first, it is not a "fact" that personality does not change without a lengthy psychoanalysis, and second, that basic personality changes are not necessary for vocational adjustment in most people. Ginzberg then questions the assumption that the counselor has responsibility for helping the individual to understand himself better, stating, "It has always been a mystery to me why a reasonably intelligent, young person should not know what he is interested in or what his capacities are." Strange as it may seem to some, those who are closely in contact with young people, as well as young people themselves, recognize their need for assistance in understanding themselves in many cases. Ginzberg sees the function of the counselor as being limited to providing information about the world of work. He feels that counseling can be of little help to the individual in the light of the influences of heredity, socioeconomic class, the home and the family, the school, the church, the community, and the culture at large. Yet he points out that many young people waste their potentialities by failing to aim high enough, failing to develop a flexible strategy of decision making, and failing to take advantage of their opportunities. These are certainly not problems which will be solved merely by providing occupational information.

  In the same issue of the journal in which Ginzberg's article appeared, Bell presents some cases illustrating the influence of ego involvement in vocational decisions. (14) In one case a high school student chose nuclear physics as his vocational goal. His grades were good and the choice seemed reasonable. But when he entered college, be was unable to master the required mathematics, lost his self-assurance, and had to give up his objective. When be changed to psychology, which was consistent with the results of tests of interests and aptitudes, be was able

to obtain his Ph.D. Here, obviously, was an individual who did not know his own interests and aptitudes, who was perhaps prevented from recognizing them because of strong attitudes developed around an early vocational choice which became part of his self-concept.

Two Recent Developments

The changing concept of vocational counseling is tied in with two developments of the last decade. The first is the professionalization of the field of counseling psychology and of the job of the counseling psychologist. The background of this movement is well outlined in publications by the Committee on Definition, Division of Counseling Psychology, of the American Psychological Association, and by Super (15). The field of counseling psychology is seen as a merger of vocational guidance, psychometrics, personality theory, and psychotherapy. As Super has noted the psychotherapy movement "made vocational counselors, whether psychologists or otherwise, more aware of the unity of the personality, of the fact that one counsels *people* rather than *problems,* of the fact that problems of adjustment in one aspect of living have effects on other aspects of life, and of the complexity of the processes of counseling concerning any type of individual adjustment, whether in the field of occupation, of group living, or of personal values." (16)

The influence of this point of view is shown in the substitution of the word "counseling" for "guidance" in the title of the APA Division of Counseling Psychology, in the change of titles by the Veterans Administration from Vocational Advisor to Counseling Psychologist, and in other contexts. To indicate the close relationship of vocational choices and problems to other problem areas which may be benefited by counseling, we shall use the term "vocational counseling" rather than "vocational guidance" henceforth in this chapter. The term "guidance" is still retained by many to designate the broader activities of a counselor in a school setting, including group administration of tests for other uses besides counseling, and the collecting and organizing of occupational information and its transmittal to students.

The counseling psychologist is concerned with contributing to the personal development of relatively normal individuals by helping them toward removing obstacles to their personal growth and toward achieving optimum development of their personal resources (17) The vocational counselor, then, if adequately trained and functioning at a full professional level, is a psychologically trained counselor who specializes in helping individuals grow and develop vocationally or occupationally.

The second major facet in vocational counseling is also related to the recognition of the non-rational, or attitudinal, aspects of vocational development and adjustment. Central to the attitudes and feelings of the individual is his self-concept. Super, in pointing out that "the process of vocational development is essentially that of developing and implementing a self-concept," set the stage for the revolutionizing and revitalizing of vocational counseling which has been occurring since about the end of World War II. (18) The bases of Super's approach are contained in a series of ten propositions which he enunciated.

1. People differ in their abilities, interests, and personalities.
2. They are qualified, by virtue of these characteristics, each for a number of occupations.

3. Each of these occupations requires a characteristic pattern of abilities, interests, and personality traits, with tolerances wide enough, however, to allow both some variety of occupations for each individual and some variety of individuals in each occupation.

4. Vocational preferences and competencies, the situations in which people live and work, and hence their self concepts, change with time and experience (although self concepts are generally fairly stable from late adolescence until late maturity), making choice and adjustment a continuous process.

5. This process may be summed up in a series of life stages characterized as those of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline, and these stages may in turn be subdivided into (a) the fantasy, tentative, and realistic phases of the exploratory stage, and (b) the trial and stable phases of the establishment stage.

6. The nature of the career pattern (that is, the occupational level attained and the sequence, frequency, and duration of trial and stable jobs) is determined by the individual's parental socioeconomic level, mental ability, and personality characteristics, and by the opportunities to which he is exposed.

7. Development through the life stages can be guided, partly by facilitating the process of maturation of abilities and interest and partly by aiding in reality testing and in the development of the self concept.

8. The process of vocational development is essentially that of developing and implementing a self concept: it is a compromise process in which the self concept is a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, neural and endocrine make-up, opportunity to play various roles, and evaluations of the extent to which the results of role playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows.

9. The process of compromise between individual and social factors, between self concept and reality, is one of role playing whether the role is played in fantasy, in the counseling interview, or in real life activities such as school classes, clubs, part-time work and entry jobs.

10. Work satisfactions and life satisfactions depend upon the extent to which the individual finds adequate outlets for his abilities, interests, personality traits, and values; they depend upon his establishment in a type of work, a work, situation, and a way of life in which be can play the kind of role which his growth and exploratory experiences have led him to consider congenial and appropriate. (19)

Super's Conceptual Contributions

There are three main concepts in Super's formulation. The first is that of *vocational adjustment as a developmental process.* Although this has long been recognized as valid, emphasis has continued to be placed upon the choice of an occupation as occurring at some particular time. It is true, of course, that choices are made, but these are events in a process; the process includes a series of choices, each of which influences the career pattern of the individual. In the process of vocational development, numerous factors operate, or interact, including the characteristics and potentialities of the individual and of the environment. Apparently this process is similar to other developmental processes, so that vocational development is one aspect of the individual's total development, as Beilin, Super, and Borow point out." (20)

The interaction involves a compromise or synthesis. (21) Super prefers the term "synthesis" for the normal developmental process, feeling that "compromise" is more appropriate when

development is delayed or retarded and the reality testing process begins later than it should. However, it is probable that in many cases, if not in most, compromises must be made between the needs and desires of the individual and the requirements and opportunities of the environment. Synthesis or compromise involves the personal needs and resources of the individual, on the one hand, and the economic and social resources and demands of society, on the other. The synthesizing process is a learning process, which often takes place in role playing and role taking. It operates through the attempt of the individual to satisfy his various needs. The individual tries himself out--sometimes in fantasy, sometimes in exploratory activities--in various roles, with or without clear awareness of what he is doing.

The second major conception in Super's formulation is that of *career patterns*. (22) This concept hypothesizes that the occupational history of each individual follows a pattern which is the result of influences both within and outside himself. The determinants of career patterns are not clearly known, though there is some general information available about some of the individual and sociological or economic factors in operation. But we need more data to answer the following questions posed by Super.

1. What is the nature and content of the sequence of events in the life history, specifically schooling, job seeking, and job holding? This is the question of the shape of the career pattern and of its parts; it includes the question of the differences in the career patterns of various occupational groups....
2. What traits and factors determine the sequence of jobs in the career pattern, and how do they account for the frequent deviations from the normal pattern for a given economic group? ...
3. What is the nature of the changes in the individual's thinking about work   and   about himself in relation to work? ...
4. How can the study of job sequences, of the interaction of traits and factors, and of perceptions of self and of occupations, be brought to bear simultaneously to provide a better understanding of the nature and determinants of career patterns?
5. What are the important differences in the career patterns of women, as compared with those of men? And what are their causes?
6. What are the factors associated with these differences? (23)

Information pertinent to these questions is essential for counselors to function adequately in the new approach to vocational counseling. Super surveys the current knowledge in these areas. (24) In 1951 he and his associates and students began a twenty-year Career Pattern Study (25) from which results are beginning to appear. (26)

The third major element in the process is the self-concept. Super, as previously noted, sees vocational development as the implementation of the self-concept. (27) The importance of one's occupation to one's self-concept (and to others' concepts of one) is indicated by the fact that in response to the question "who are you?" many people reply by stating their occupation. If they do not, the next question is likely to be "What do you do?"

The self-concept has become the central element in several theories of personality, including those stemming from client-centered therapy. (28) As has already been pointed out, vocational development is an aspect of personal development; the self-concept would thus be expected to be

an important factor in conceptualizations of vocational development. Blocher and Schutz, pointing out that the individual actually has a number of self-concepts, speak of a "vocational self concept composed of those distinctive patterns of attitudes, ideas, feelings, and desires which a person holds about himself in relation to the world of work." (29) While there may be some value in distinguishing a vocational self-concept, it is important to recognize that it is one aspect of the total self-concept, and there is a close relationship among the various aspects in the normal individual. One's occupation must be consistent with other aspects of his life if be is to be happy and satisfied. On the other hand, the recognition of a vocational self-concept may be helpful in understanding such problems as unrealistic occupational preferences or choices.

Bordin related vocational interests to the self-concept, suggesting that occupational interests express the individual's view of himself in terms of his stereotypes of various occupations." (30) Holland, while feeling that a self-concept-centered theory is incomplete, proposes self-evaluation, which includes the self-concept, as a significant factor in level of occupational choice. (31) Schutz and Blocher provide some research support for both Bordin's and Holland's theories. (32)

The goal of vocational counseling is, thus, not simply finding a job which one can do and in which one can earn a living, but finding a vocation which is consistent with one's self-concept. This means that the individual must view his work, if it is to meet certain basic psychological needs, in terms of his self-concept; i.e., is his occupational role compatible with his concept of himself? Consideration is given to the relation of the occupation to his way of life, its potential to satisfy his needs, and the compatibility of the occupational role with other roles which he plays.

THE NATURE OF VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

It becomes apparent that vocational counseling involves more than the matching of aptitudes and abilities, or even of interests, with job demands and job requirements. Vocational choice may still be broadly conceived as the matching of the individual and a career, but in a manner much more complex than was originally thought. While it might be suggested that the process could be reduced to the determination of the needs of the individual in terms of his (vocational) self-concept, on the one hand, and the satisfaction provided by jobs, on the other, and then to matching the two, this is an oversimplification. It fails to take into consideration the factors in the individual which influence his concepts of himself and the world of work. Needs *as perceived and experienced by the individual,* his perception of himself, and his perceptions of occupations (influenced by the self-concept) are the relevant factors. Thus, "The way in which a client feels and thinks about *himself* in relation to occupations and workers, the kind of person he would like to become in making a living, as well as the interpersonal relationships encountered in various occupations become relevant topics for discussion and exploration in the counseling interview." (33) Vocational counseling is clearly more than the administration and interpretation of tests to evaluate the individual, the providing of occupational information, and the relating of these two groups of facts by "true reasoning," to use Parsons' expression. Super offers the following relevant definition: "Vocational guidance is the process of helping a person to develop

and accept an integrated and adequate picture of himself and of his role in the world of work, to test this concept against reality, and to convert it into reality, with satisfaction
to himself and benefit to society." (34)

The Client-Centered View of Vocational Counseling

  Client-centered counseling has long been concerned with the client's self-concept. It has placed emphasis upon attitudes, feelings, and emotions rather than upon aptitudes, abilities, and information about the environment. Its methods and techniques have been those which are therapeutic in relation to emotional factors. As was indicated earlier, it has been the general belief that the client-centered counselor deals with a client with a vocational problem in the same way that he deals with a client with any other problem. The client is helped to explore his attitudes and feelings; developing self-understanding and self-acceptance, he is enabled to make choices, select goals, and carry out plans for their attainment. All this presumably occurs with no consideration of the usual content of traditional vocational counseling, i.e., without the use of tests or of occupational information. (35) It is sometimes assumed that the client-centered approach, since it emphasizes emotional problems, views vocational problems as symptoms of a general maladjustment or emotional disturbance, and that when the basic disturbance is dealt with by psychotherapy the vocational problems will resolve themselves or the client will be capable of solving them himself.

  When client-centered counseling is viewed as psychotherapy, concerned only with personal or emotional problems, it is naturally seen as in conflict with the traditional approach. The two approaches do appear to be antithetical. This apparent conflict has been a source of difficulty for the counselor engaging in vocational counseling in schools and other agencies. On the one hand, he recognizes the importance of the non-rational, or emotional, factors in vocational development and choices. On the other hand, he feels a need for tests and occupational information in vocational counseling. But his concept of client-centered counseling is one in which the counselor does not ask questions, does not use tests, and does not give information. Although he may feel guilty about it, he usually does use tests and provide occupational information. He may conclude that, while it may have value in dealing with certain kinds of emotional problems, the client-centered approach is not applicable to vocational counseling.

  This reasoning, in the opinion of the writer, involves a misconception of client-centered counseling which is shared even by some writers who are client-centered in their orientation. Arbuckle, for example, states that it is desirable for the client-centered counselor "to remove himself from any phase of testing if at all possible." (36) The basis of the difficulty is the false conception of client-centered counseling as a group of techniques. But the approach is essentially an attitude rather than a technique. The attitude may be implemented in different ways in different situations. In counseling on problems of personal adjustment, the techniques of simple acceptance and reflection of feelings may be sufficient. In counseling which deals with problems of vocational choice, tests may be used and occupational information provided in ways that are consistent with the basic assumptions and attitudes of client-centered counseling. There is actually a considerable literature dealing with the client-centered approach to vocational counseling. (37)

No conflict should exist, then, between the client-centered point of view and the approach to educational-vocational counseling required by the concept of vocational development as the implementation of the self-concept, with its involvement of personality factors. The client-centered approach offers a means of dealing with the non-rational aspects which are, and as a matter of fact always have been, a part of vocational counseling.

As Super notes, the distinction between vocational and personal counseling seems artificial. He writes, "In order to do an effective job of vocational guidance the counselor must have a good understanding of the personal adjustment which he is trying to further, and in order to help with many commonly encountered problems of personal adjustment the counselor must have a good understanding of the tools, techniques, and resources of vocational guidance." (38) Problems of vocational choice are to some extent emotional because, like parent-child, marital, or any other type of problem, they involve the self. In this context it is misleading to try to distinguish between vocational problems which are symptoms of personal maladjustment and personal maladjustment which is the result of vocational problems. Super presents a case in which vocational counseling enabled a rather severely disturbed person to function adequately in his total life, and he suggests that emotionally maladjusted persons who have genuine problems of vocational adjustment, which can be worked on directly, will find that improvement in the latter will bring about improvement in the former. (39) Nevertheless, there appears to be some practical value in distinguishing extreme cases. In most instances vocational counseling is for relatively normal individuals facing the usual problems of occupational choice; emotional factors are present but are not of primary concern. On the other band, some individuals have severe emotional problems which affect their entire adjustment, including their vocational adjustment. Such persons may need therapeutic counseling in place of or preceding vocational counseling. Other clients may be in need of counseling regarding personal problems which are not closely related to vocational development. It therefore seems desirable to retain the terms "vocational counseling" and "personal counseling" to indicate the focus of the concern but without implying that there are any sharp) lines between them. (40)

Vocational Counseling and Vocational Development

An important implication of the new approach to vocational counseling is related to the concept of vocational development. If vocational choice is a process, then there is no one point at which the vocational choice is made. Various choices are made at different points in the process. Moreover, the process begins very early in life. Roe discusses some of the early determinants of vocational choice. (41) Although hereditary factors are present, they are limiting rather than specifically determining factors. The development of special abilities, within these limits, is influenced by early satisfaction and frustration of needs. Childhood experiences strongly affect the basic attitudes, interests, and capacities which an individual develops and which are expressed later in broad vocational choices.

The child, then, forms the basis for his occupation from birth, shaping his vocational life by the many choices he makes in expending his energies, developing his abilities, and expressing his interests. Vocational counseling, usually entering the picture rather late, is only one factor in helping to crystallize the direction of vocational development. The specific choice of a beginning job or occupation is only one choice, although it may be the most important one. But

in view of the total process of vocational development, it should be obvious that the choice cannot, or should not, be forced at any particular time. In terms of the process of vocational development, there is no specific age at which a definite vocational choice should or must be made. As in other types of development, the process is an individual one, taking place at different rates in different persons.

   Vocational counseling may be helpful at various points or stages of the process; it is not necessarily directed to the goal of having the client make a specific choice. The fact that a large percentage of high school students have not reached a decision regarding their life occupation has alarmed some people, who have used it as evidence of inadequate vocational counseling services. But there is no reason why a specific vocational choice must be made in high school, particularly by those students who will continue their education. Sometimes the economic situation requires a specific decision, of course, and often the counselor's job is to help a student reach the best decision in the light of circumstances, even though he may not be prepared to make a truly adequate or a permanent choice.

   There is another important implication of the concept of vocational development for counseling. The recognition of vocational development as a process points up how important it is for the school to be concerned with vocational development in the curriculum as well as in its counseling services. While it is recognized that counseling is a continuing process which should begin in early childhood, counseling services are often not available because of lack of counselors. Moreover, even where services are available, students may not utilize them sufficiently. They tend to seek out a counselor only when faced with an immediate choice or decision. In addition, continued, intensive counseling is not necessary in most cases. There are other more efficient and perhaps more effective ways of assisting the student in his vocational development. Information about the world of work should be incorporated in the curriculum from the primary grades onward. Bennett advocates this practice elsewhere in this volume in her chapter on vocational guidance in groups (Chapter Twenty). The importance of these non-counseling activities is emphasized by the concept of vocational development. They are vehicles for providing materials which are helpful in the developmental process and which are preparatory to more specific vocational counseling.

   Individual vocational counseling is usually not considered necessary or desirable below the ninth grade. This attitude appears to be related to the concept of vocational counseling as concerned chiefly with the making of a vocational choice, rather than as a means of assisting the student in his continuous vocational development. It is true that even at the ninth-grade level students are unprepared for vocational counseling which requires the making of occupational decisions. Super, reporting on an extensive study of the vocational maturity of ninth-grade boys, concludes that

   ". . . typical ninth grade boys, in a typical small city high school, with a typical guidance program, were at a stage of vocational development which is characterized by readiness to consider problems of prevocational and vocational choice but also by a general lack of readiness to make vocational choices. Ninth graders are clearly in an exploratory stage, not a decision making stage, of vocational development. . . Ninth graders are ready to look

into things, to try themselves out, but have not yet developed to a point at which it is reasonable or desirable to expect them to commit themselves to a vocation." (42)

Concern with vocational development, rather than vocational choice, is thus a major focus of guidance services in the junior high and elementary schools. Much of this concern can be expressed in curricular and extracurricular activities, but it does not follow that there is no place in elementary and junior high schools for the counselor trained in vocational counseling. The counselor is an expert on materials for inclusion in the curriculum and is a consultant to teachers and the administration. In addition, he is available for some special instruction and for assisting in developing special programs. Nor is individual vocational counseling necessarily out of place in the upper elementary and junior high school. While vocational choices are not required, educational choices which have vocational implications must be made. Curriculum choices made at the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth grades can in many cases be made better with the assistance of individual counseling. And, of course, vocational counseling should be provided for potential dropouts at these levels.

The concept of vocational development, then, points up the need for concern with preparation for vocational choice from the beginning of the school years. The importance of counselors who are knowledgeable in occupational and vocational areas should thus be evident.

This leads to consideration of the implication of the career pattern concept for counseling. The career pattern is the continuation of vocational development in the individual's adult occupational life. It might not appear to be particularly useful to school counselors. However, it introduces some considerations of which the counselor should be aware. First, the career pattern depends to an important degree upon the non-personal or external factors ill vocational development and choice. Thus the counselor's attention should be directed to the importance of the socioeconomic factors, as well as of other family background factors, in occupational choice. The career pattern concept states in effect that the future of an individual is closely related to his past. While a pattern can be broken, it requires effort to break it. A very superior student from a family, a neighborhood, a socioeconomic or other group in which education and professional activities are not valued can become a successful college student and professional person, but his background may well militate against this prospect.

The career pattern concept provides another important point of view to the counselor. A pattern, although having certain elements of constancy, suggests change, a change which is orderly. It does not imply that once a clerk, always a clerk, once a carpenter, always a carpenter. It has progression. Therefore, an entry occupation is just that--an entry into a field of work or career in which the individual makes progress. Again, the concept of pattern must not be interpreted too rigidly. Orderly or progressive change is characteristic of the occupational lives of many people. Moving from job to job is not necessarily indicative of lack of success. It may indicate successful progression. The occupational histories of some of our leading figures show some major changes in occupation. While in some cases they may point up the breaking of a pattern, the development of a rather different career, in other cases a pattern of development may be clearly discerned. The counselor, therefore, must take the long view and think in terms of broad career patterns rather than in terms of narrowly defined occupations.

Vocational counseling which accepts the point of view or approach we have been discussing would include the following elements:

1. It would create an atmosphere of acceptance and understanding, in which the client is not under pressure or threat, since threat is inhibiting to self-analysis.

2. It would allow the client to express his self-concept in terms of his needs, his conflicts and anxieties, and his hopes, desires, and expectations as they relate to aptitudes, abilities, interests, and concepts of work and occupations.

3. It would provide the client with information about himself through tests and inventories for self-appraisal.

4. It would assist the client to explore vocational opportunities through use of occupational information.

5. It would help the client to relate information about himself and about occupations in terms of his self-concept, and to develop plans or programs, set goals, and increase his understanding of himself in relation to the world of work.

It is not possible to discuss all these aspects of the counseling process. The basic principles of counseling are, of course, applicable throughout the process. Vocational counseling differs from other kinds of counseling essentially in the use of tests and occupational information. We shall, therefore, indicate how tests and occupational information are incorporated into vocational counseling.

TESTING IN VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

The approach to vocational counseling which has been outlined above is consistent with the basic attitudes of client-centered counseling. Many counselors, as well as writers, have felt that the use of tests in counseling is not consistent with the client-centered approach. It is true that testing has been minimized in client-centered counseling, but mainly because this approach developed in psychotherapeutic practice; it has been applied principally in cases involving personal adjustment where the problem is not one in which vocational tests are ordinarily useful, even when there are vocational aspects to the problem. But essentially the objections to tests in client-centered counseling have to do more with the way they are used than with their use as such. Rogers wrote that "psychometric tests which are initiated by the counselor are a hindrance to the counseling process whose purpose is to release growth forces. They tend to increase defensiveness on the part of the client, to lessen his acceptance of self, to decrease his sense of responsibility to create an attitude of dependence upon the expert." (43)

This may be the case when tests are introduced ineptly or routinely by the counselor. But Rogers goes on to say that "tests are not necessarily completely excluded from the counseling process, however. The client may, in exploring his situation, reach the point where, facing his situation squarely and realistically, he wishes to compare his aptitudes or abilities with those of others for a specific purpose. . . Consequently, when the request for appraisal comes as a real desire of the client, then tests may enter into the situation. It should be recognized, however, that this is not likely to occur frequently in practice."

This last statement is usually true in counseling in the area of personal adjustment. It does not ordinarily apply in vocational counseling, however. Here the client generally expects tests, if indeed he does not feel that counseling consists entirely of taking tests and having them interpreted. It must be recognized that tests may not be appropriate or useful to every client with a vocational problem. But in most cases they are of some help.

The Purpose of Tests in Counseling

Probably one reason the use of tests has been felt to be inconsistent with client-centered counseling is the tendency to identify tests with evaluation. If tests do not make up all of evaluation, they at least constitute the principal tool or technique of evaluation. They measure, appraise, or assess aptitudes, abilities, and other characteristics of the individual.

Counseling, on the other hand--particularly client-centered counseling--is non-evaluative. Since the non-judgmental nature of client-centered counseling is one of its central and distinctive characteristics, much of testing would appear to be incompatible with this type of counseling. How can the counselor be client-centered and at the same time introduce evaluation into the counseling process?

The apparent dilemma arises from a misconception about testing and the use of tests. Tests are instruments of evaluation. But the use of tests does not necessarily make the counselor an evaluator. Although counselors often use tests to evaluate a client, there is no reason why tests must be used in this way. In other words, a counselor may use tests without making evaluations of the client.

What then is the purpose of tests in client-centered counseling? The answer should be clear. *Tests are used to assist the client in evaluating himself.* It is the client who evaluates, not the counselor. The ultimate purpose of the tests--indeed, the purpose of counseling--is not to help the counselor understand the client (though understanding of the client by the counselor is a step in the process) but to help the client understand himself. This confusion about the ultimate goal of counseling, the failure to recognize that this goal is not knowledge about or understanding of the client by the counselor for its own sake, has led to a misunderstanding of the place of information about the client in counseling. The result has been an overemphasis upon the collection of data, including test data, by the counselor. Again, it is not what the counselor knows about the client but what the client knows about himself which is more important. The client must make his own decisions; therefore he must make the evaluations.

The rather general acknowledgment that the client must make his own decisions appears to be ignored in practice in many instances. Vocational counselors often act as if *they* are to make the decisions, and they collect data as if they must do so. The client already has and is aware of many of the data which counselors spend time obtaining and recording; it is not necessary for the counselor to have and record all the details. With reference to the characteristics measured by tests, however, the client may not have information, at least accurate information, about himself. Tests are useful because they permit highly controlled observations of the client's behavior

(including the use of norms) and because they provide more objective information than the client can obtain elsewhere, even from the counselor's estimates.

Even if the counselor could make good independent estimates of the characteristics which are measured by tests, it would not be desirable that he do so and then give these estimates to the client, rather than use tests. To use such a procedure would be to set himself up as the evaluator. Hence, the proper use of tests may *preserve* the client-centeredness of the counseling relationship. Objective test results, while they may be threatening to a client, are less likely to disrupt the counseling relationship than is the personal judgment or estimate of the counselor.

When and How Are Tests Introduced?

If tests are not necessarily or routinely used in counseling, and if they are not prescribed by the counselor, when and how are they used

It seems clear that tests should not be administered prior to the counseling interview. The procedure used in many counseling centers, where the client takes a series of tests before he sees the counselor for the first time, does not appear to be consistent with the counseling approach presented here. It may be argued that there are certain tests all clients should take, and that it is more efficient to give them before counseling. But the essence of the writer's position is that there are no standard batteries of tests which every client should have. It is true that in practice a counselor tends to use certain tests with almost all of the clients with whom he works. Nevertheless, even in this situation, the tests should not be administered prior to counseling.

The prohibition of the administration of a standard battery of tests to all clients before counseling does not mean that mass or group testing of students in schools is never justified. There are other uses of tests besides counseling, and it is efficient to administer tests on a group basis for these purposes. In addition, where it is felt that particular tests would be useful in the counseling of many students, it is economical to administer them to all students so that the results will be available for counseling use later. This may not be a desirable method, but it may be defended on the basis of economy and efficiency.

The essential basis for the use of tests in counseling is that *they provide information which the client needs and wants,* information concerning questions raised by the client in counseling. Thus the information is relevant to the client and his questions, not to what the counselor would like to know or thinks the client should know. Since answers to questions are useful only after the questions have been asked, tests are not used until the need for the information arises in counseling. The information is relevant and significant only when the client recognizes its pertinence and his need for it.

Client recognition of the usefulness of tests may be expressed in different ways. It is not necessary, in order for the client-centered counselor to use tests, that the client ask for specific tests. If the client brings up problems to which test results would be relevant, the counselor may indicate that tests are available which might be helpful to the client, who then decides whether he would like to take them. The process of test selection in client-centered counseling has been discussed by Bordin and Bixler and by Seeman. (44)

Since the client may raise questions at different times during counseling, rather than all at once, it follows that testing may be distributed throughout the counseling process. Thus tests may be used at different points in counseling or spread throughout the relationship as the need for the particular information which they may provide arises. Early questions may be general. Those that develop as counseling proceeds may become more specific, in which case testing too becomes more specific. This method of testing has been referred to by Super as "precision testing," (45) as distinguished from "saturation testing"--the giving of a complete battery of tests at one time.

Tests, then, are introduced in counseling when the client, either overtly or covertly, indicates a desire or need for the kind of information they can help to provide. The counselor tells him what sorts of data the tests can supply, describing the appropriate tests in nontechnical terms. The client then decides whether or not he would like to be tested, after which, if the decision is affirmative, the counselor arranges for the administration of the appropriate tests. This is all done in a simple, matter-of-fact way without disturbing the attitude of respect for the client or infringing upon his responsibility for making decisions. There is no implication that the tests, or the counselor's use of tests, will solve the client's problems. Tests are presented as one source of information, and the decision as to whether to act upon the information is left up to the client.

This method of introducing and selecting tests preserves the client's autonomy and yet does not make the process overcomplicated or artificial as some descriptions of client selection of tests would have it. The counselor, in some of these illustrations, seems to take a "bands-off" attitude toward test selection, unwittingly creating an unpleasant or frustrating experience for the client. This may be the source of some of the dissatisfaction occasionally expressed by clients with whom client selection of tests has been tried.

Using Test Results in Counseling

If the client is to use the results of tests, he must (1) understand them and (2) be able to accept them. There are several implications for test interpretation in these requirements.

First, the emphasis is primarily upon the understanding of the client, not of the counselor. For this reason, the term "interpretation" is best restricted to the counselor's understanding of the meaning of the test results. Goldman, in Chapter Seventeen of this volume, uses the term in this way. The emphasis is upon the activity of the counselor. But we should perhaps be more concerned about the activity of the client, and, to describe this, "communication of test results" might perhaps be a better phrase than "interpretation of test results." For communication to be successful there must be understanding on the part of the client. The counselor must of course be sure that the client does understand.

We shall not discuss here the detailed methods and procedures for communicating test results to clients, since this is a matter for courses on the use of tests in counseling. Among others, the Bixlers, Bordin, Tyler, and Goldman have discussed test interpretation in the counseling interview." (46) But the matter of technique involves a general principle derived from the conditions under which the client is able to use test results: The results must be communicated objectively, that is, without the introduction of judgments or evaluations by the counselor. The

results of the tests must be allowed to speak for themselves after adequate explanation of the meaning of the scores by the counselor.

An illustration of what is meant by objective presentation of the results is the interpretation of a score on a college aptitude test. The statement "Three out of four persons with scores like yours do not complete the first year of college" is objective. The statement "Your score indicates that the chances are three out of four that you will not complete the first year of college," while apparently objective, is somewhat loaded. But the statement "With a score such as yours you should not attempt college" is definitely evaluative and judgmental and goes beyond the presentation of information to the client.

A third consequence of the requirements for adequate use of test results by the client involves the conditions under which the results will be accepted by the client. Test results may not be received as information by the client in a logical or rational manner. Any information about the self has emotional implications for an individual. Unfavorable information may be particularly threatening. Test results, then, may be reacted to emotionally. They may not be accepted as accurate, they may be rejected, or they may be rationalized.

In presenting test results to the client, "the significant elements with which the counselor deals are the emotional attitudes of satisfaction, doubt, or fear which the test creates. It is not the factual test results but the attitudes of the client toward the test results which are important in the counseling process." (47) The counselor, then, must be prepared to deal with strong attitudes toward test results. If, in addition to the emotional reactions which the client already has to the objective results, the counselor also arouses emotional reactions toward himself by introducing his own judgments and evaluations, the situation becomes more difficult to handle; the outcome may be the failure of counseling or the breaking off of the counseling relationship by the client. The objective presentation of the results is thus important. But more than this is necessary. The counselor must recognize and deal with emotional reactions to the test results.

The fact that the client is emotionally involved in his test results, and may react against them, leads to several suggestions for communicating test results in counseling: (1) The client should not be abruptly faced with the test findings, nor should they be presented all at once or too rapidly. He should have time to absorb their meanings and implications. (2) The client should be given opportunity to express and discuss his reactions and feelings. It might be well to begin by obtaining his reaction to the testing experience in general before presenting any results. Some such question as "Well, what did you think of the tests?" might elicit some feelings and attitudes and serve to prepare the counselor for specific emotional reactions. (3) When feelings are expressed, the counselor should recognize them and respond to them in a therapeutic manner. They should not be ignored or passed over. Nor should resistance to acceptance of test scores be handled by defense of the tests, or of their reliability and validity, by arguments, reasoning, or persuasion. Resistance or objections must be allowed expression, accepted by the counselor as feelings and not reasoned with. Only by such acceptance and therapeutic handling by the counselor is the client likely to come to accept the results and to integrate them into his self-concept. The counselor is not a therapist, but be must be prepared to deal with feelings therapeutically rather than rationally. This approach to test interpretation involves the active

participation of the client in the process. It is not a one-sided presentation of results. There is some evidence that client participation in test interpretation is effective in counseling. (48)

   We may summarize this section by stating that the results of the performance of a client upon a test or series of tests constitute information which has implications for his self-concept. Such information, therefore, has emotional components which must be recognized when tests are used in vocational counseling. The counselor should be alert to the emotional reactions of the client to the results of tests and prepared to work with these reactions therapeutically.   The communication of the test results to the client is thus not a simple matter but requires considerable sensitivity and skill on the part of the counselor.

OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION IN VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

   Counseling includes the development in the client of an understanding of his environment as well as of himself. In many counseling situations lack of knowledge of the environment is not a major problem, but in some instances the instructional program of the school has not met informational needs and requires supplementation. In the area of knowledge and understanding of the world of work (or occupational information, as it is usually called) the standard curriculum may be supplemented in two ways. One involves the addition of courses or course units on occupations or the scheduling of special classes or sessions dealing with occupational information. (See Chapter Twenty in this volume, by Bennett, on the presentation of occupational information through classroom instruction.) The second way to supply the information is through the counseling process. This section is concerned with the utilization of such information in vocational counseling.

Counseling Uses of Occupational Information

   While students apparently have some general perceptions about occupations and the world of work, they are often vague, if not erroneous, and reveal a lack of specific information. Students often have very limited ideas of the wide variety and range of occupations and of the requirements and preparation for specific occupations. Unless encouraged to survey the field and plan for the future, many students evidently make no preparation for entering the world of work but leave the decision to chance or to local and current opportunity. It does little good for a school to have an extensive testing program aimed at determining the abilities and potentialities of students if attention is not given to assisting students to develop opportunities for their use. The counselor, working with the student on problems of vocational choice and development, must be able to help him acquire a picture of how he can adequately utilize his assets and abilities.

   There have been a number of discussions of ways of incorporating occupational information into the counseling process. (49) Yet attempts to analyze its use in relation to systematic approaches to counseling have been few. Brayfield noted that despite the "early recognition of the importance of occupational information in counseling, . . . one searches the literature almost in vain for any systematic consideration, on other than a technique level, of the use of

occupational information. . . Discussions of basic principles underlying their application are conspicuous by their absence." (50)

Hoppock takes the position that it is not the purpose of counseling to recruit clients for particular occupations, or to direct them away from other occupations, or to select students for college. Occupational information is used in counseling "to help the client to clarify the goal that he wants to reach and to move in the direction in which he wants to go, so long as the goal and the means of obtaining it are not injurious to others." (51) This is consistent with the point of view of the writer.

Occupational Information in the New Approach to Vocational Counseling

As was pointed out earlier, the belief that testing and the giving of information are necessarily inconsistent with a client-centered approach is based on the questionable assumption that the techniques used with clients having personal adjustment problems are the only ones which are client centered. But information may be given in vocational counseling without violating the basic philosophy and attitudes of client-centeredness. The pertinent questions are when and how to incorporate information, specifically occupational information, in the counseling process. The following views on these questions appear to be consistent with client-centered principles.

1. Occupational information is introduced into the counseling process when there is a recognized need for it on the part of the client. This need may be directly expressed, or it may be inferred by the counselor. In the latter case, the counselor makes known the existence and availability of information, which the client may then decide to obtain and use.

Two problems may arise in regard to this principle. First, the client's request for information may be, or appear to be, premature. He may not be ready for the information; he may not have an adequate understanding of himself or his aptitudes and abilities, or may have some personal problems which would interfere with the use of the information. In such a situation, should the counselor withhold information? Our point of view would agree with the conclusion of Baer and Roeber: "Even though the counselee seeks occupational information without adequate information concerning himself, be is in a real sense ready for information the moment be seeks it." (52) The counselor starts with the client where he is, with his immediate problem. He is sensitive, however, to the attitudes and feelings of the client which may lead to the discussion of other problems.

Second, suppose the client appears to be in need of occupational information but does not request it or manifest any interest in obtaining it. Should the counselor impose it upon a reluctant client? Again, the client-centered counselor would not take this course. In a school situation, where the client is referred to the counselor to "straighten out his thinking" in connection with an unrealistic occupational choice, such avoidance may be difficult to maintain and to defend. It is generally agreed that counseling is a voluntary activity on the part of the client, that he has a right not to enter into it. To press information on a resistant client may destroy the chances that he might later recognize the need for information and seek it from the counselor.

2. Occupational information is not used to influence or manipulate the client. Some of the uses of occupational information which have been proposed either overtly or implicitly condone putting pressure on the client to abandon an apparently unrealistic goal. The counselor does not protect the client from reality but accepts the assistance of reality. There is a line, however, between objectively providing the client with information and opportunity for reality experiences, on the one band, and, on the other, manipulating him toward a predetermined outcome of the "counselor knows best" variety.

In the vocational counseling process, the counselor may use his knowledge of occupations to bring to the attention of the client possibilities which, though apparently appropriate, have not occurred to the client. He might, as Strang points out, raise such questions as "Have you considered journalism as a profession?" (53) He uses occupational information and its tools to assist the client in exploring occupational possibilities. (54) In other words, be supplies information where it is needed and desired by the client who is engaged in the process of choosing an occupation. The guiding principle, however, is that the counselor avoids any evaluative uses of information. He presents information, directly and as it arises from the combination of items, including data about the client (e.g., test scores) and about the occupational environment. But he always treats it objectively not as an interpretation or judgment or recommendation.

The use of information, or any technique, for the purpose of directing the client to a specific goal violates the principle of self-determination inherent in most methods of counseling. It opens the way for the biases and prejudices of the counselor to influence the selection and presentation of information.

3. The most objective way to provide occupational information, and a way which maximizes client initiative and responsibility, is to encourage the client to obtain the information from original sources, that is, publications, employers, and persons engaged in the occupations. This approach is rather widely recommended and practiced. In principle it seems to be highly desirable. It not only capitalizes on the responsibility of the client but avoids the subjectivity, selection, bias, and error which may be introduced by the counselor.

There are, however, some difficulties involved. It is not always possible or desirable to refer the client to printed sources of occupational information. The material must be suitable for the client, in terms of reading level, as well as nontechnical in nature. Much occupational information is prepared and written for counselors and is not useful to clients because of its reading level. (55) Thus counselors cannot turn clients loose in an occupational library without assistance. Furthermore, much of the printed occupational information has faults or deficiencies which do not recommend its use by students or clients--datedness, inaccuracies, biases, and incompleteness.

There are also items of occupational information which may not be accessible to clients, or not accessible with a reasonable amount of effort or inconvenience. Sometimes local occupational information is not easily available because it changes rapidly and is not permanently recorded.

All this points to the need to have the counselor provide some occupational information in the counseling interview. In order to avoid the inaccuracies of a faulty memory and counselor bias, he should review the pertinent sources prior to the interview. Better yet, in some situations at least, is the suggestion of Callis, Polmantier, and Roeber that the counselor read the information aloud with the client. (56) The discussion can then supplement the printed information and clear up any misinterpretations or misunderstandings.

4. The client's attitudes and feelings about occupations and jobs must be allowed expression and be dealt with therapeutically. As we have indicated before, vocational choice is not entirely a rational or cognitive process but involves affective or emotional elements which go beyond emotional reactions to information about the client himself. Occupational information may be reacted to emotionally; the client's attitudes and feelings about the social status and prestige factors in occupations are important.

The principle of vocational choice as an implementation of the individual's self-concept is pertinent here. The self-concept influences the way in which one perceives the world of work and particular occupations. As Rusalem points out, "it is not what exists 'in reality' in a vocation which enters into occupational thinking, but what comprises the individual's personal perceptions of it. (57) Samler treats this same point in some detail under the sixth proposal in Chapter Eighteen in this volume when he hypothesizes that "the [occupational exploration] process is psychological in the sense that the client's perceptions are taken into account." Information, including occupational information, has various meanings to different individuals; (58) it is reacted to in terms of these individual perceptions and meanings, in terms of how it relates to the individual's concept of himself. Because information has emotional significance, it is not enough that it be imparted to a client. Once again, therefore, we can see that the vocational counselor must be prepared to work therapeutically with emotional reactions and attitudes to (apparently) objectively presented information. Information which is inconsistent with the self-concept may be rejected, ignored, forgotten, and sometimes not even beard (perceptual defense). In such instances, intellectual reasoning or argument is not likely to be effective. A therapeutic counseling approach will be more effective.

The operation of emotional factors in occupational choice is sometimes subtle, and not clear to the counselor, or even to the client himself. As Hoppock notes, "Because of the difficulty, sometimes perhaps the impossibility, of bringing all emotional needs and desires to the conscious intellectual level, the client will sometimes make what is for him a wise choice, although it may appear unwise to everyone, including himself. Strong feelings are sometimes a better guide to action than strong intellects." (59)

SUMMARY

For the first forty of the past fifty years, vocational counseling (or vocational guidance, as it was more commonly designated) became attached to a rather rigid formula of matching individuals to jobs. The process, following Parsons, was conceived essentially as a logical, rational one, in which the feelings, attitudes, and aspirations of the individual tended to be neglected.

During the last decade this concept has changed, with increasing emphasis upon feelings and emotions fostered by the development of psychotherapy and therapeutic counseling. Indeed, there has been some concern about whether vocational counseling as a specialty has any place because of the view that all problems are essentially emotional or attitudinal in nature. In addition, the emphasis upon psychotherapy has led to a feeling in many counselors that discussion of vocational issues with a client is a lower-level activity, not worthy of their efforts and skills.

But with the recognition of the significance of attitudes and feelings in general, there has developed the realization that vocational choice and vocational development are also involved with emotional components. The emerging interest in the self-concept as an important influence in behavior has led to the recognition of its importance in vocational development and choice. Super has been the outstanding exponent of the point of view that vocational development and choice are essentially to be viewed as the implementation of a self-concept.

This conceptualization has led to some far-reaching changes in the nature and goals of vocational counseling. The process of vocational counseling has drawn closer to therapeutic counseling and has become psychological rather than logical or rational. An extreme point of view, sometimes identified with client-centered counseling, has been that in such counseling there is no place for tests or the provision of educational and occupational information. The position developed in this chapter is that the client-centered approach is essentially a set of attitudes, rather than a group of techniques, and that these attitudes are applicable to vocational counseling as well as to counseling in the area of personal-social-emotional problems. The implementation of this approach has been delineated, and the present discussion may serve as an integrative statement about a developing point of view.

The resulting concept of vocational counseling requires a professionally trained and highly skilled counselor who is more than a technician. Rendering assistance to individuals in the process of vocational development and choice is a function calling for the most talented of counselors if it is to be performed in a manner befitting the importance of this area of experience in the life of the individual.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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 The first text to be oriented throughout toward the actual use of tests in the counseling process.

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