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## CAREER COUNSELING IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY\*

**ABSTRACT:** A post-industrial society is a society in which leisure plays a more important role in life than does work as cybernation releases people from routine employment. People in higher-level occupations are freed to concentrate on the more intellectually demanding aspects of their work; others are freed for luxury crafts, service, or leisure activities. At the same time, some young people are rejecting the established work ethic. The counter cultures of history are briefly reviewed, and the conclusion is drawn that systematic effort of some kind is sought by most people, who feel the need for respected roles and for self-fulfillment in such roles. The extent to which leisure as it has generally been used, and as it is used now, can fulfill these needs is examined. The construct "career" is reviewed, and its implications for the multifaceted career counseling made necessary by a post-industrial society are considered. Career counseling is redefined to make it include consideration of ways in which people may, during the course of a lifetime, find outlets for their aptitudes and interests in activities which may be vocational or avocational.

My topic raises two questions. One of these has to do with the term "industrial society": might one better refer to ours as a "post-industrial society," as some people are already doing, and as others predict we soon must? The second question has to do with the term "career": does this denote a life-work, in an era when we know that most people change occupations several times during their lifetimes, and when work-roles are among the less satisfying of the several roles that increasing numbers of people play as adults?

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## OUR SOCIETY: INDUSTRIAL OR POST-INDUSTRIAL?

Whether or not ours is to be called an industrial or a post-industrial, a working or a leisure society is perhaps less important than is our understanding of the nature of the society in which we live and into which our young people move as they leave school or university and seek places in the labor force (those who wish regular work), or in the leisure force (those who reject or are rejected by the work system and are supported by it). What are its guidance-relevant characteristics?

### *Advanced Industrialization*

Ours is clearly an economy which is in an advanced state of industrialization. Unskilled and semiskilled occupations have been on the decline as mechanization and automation have taken over the repetitive and strictly manual functions of workers in agriculture, in industry, and in business. This replacement of men and women by machines is observable not only in the cottonfields and the wheatfields, in the factories and in transportation, but in the offices, the shops, and the restaurants. This tendency to have machines rather than people run machines, this automation or cybernation, has had impact not only on production, assembly lines, and transportation, but also on record-keeping and distributing work in banks, insurance companies, and food services. We may not like the vending machines which have transformed New York City's pioneering Pseudo-Automats into real automats and put them in every town and on every campus, but these food-serving machines stay in business and make money for their owners and concessionaires. We may not like the impersonality of our large chain banks, in which the teller we deal with today is not the teller we saw last week, and we are glad to make use of the automatic teller which, accessible from the sidewalk, can cash a check for us at any time of the day or night in the same way that it did last week and the week before. Cybernation, the control of machines by machines, has displaced unskilled and semi-skilled workers regardless of the color of their collars. It is largely the skilled, and especially the highly skilled, who survive.

Will they continue to be needed, will ours indeed in due course become a post-industrial society, a fully cybernetic economy in which most people are supported in leisure by an automated system of production, distribution, record-keeping, and even services? The evolutionary process has not progressed far enough for anyone to be able to answer that question with certainty.

### *Thesis: The Establishment and the System*

But there are some signs in the operation of the system which suggest answers. Much of the work of skilled craftsmen can already be taken over by automated machinery which uses new materials better adapted to automation than the traditional materials. Thus bricks and stones, stonecutting and bricklaying, are being replaced

by synthetic materials and prefabrication, and the construction industry is becoming one of large assembly machines and a few skilled mechanics and electricians. Now only the luxury trade can afford bricks and mortar, and only a few archaic if not obsolescent craftsmen will continue to cut stones and to lay stones and bricks, craftsmen well supported by those who can afford to support them. Thus, too, the making of business and weather forecasts is being done by computers which have been programmed to handle all the data used by accountants and economists, or by meteorologists and climatologists, in the ways used by these specialists in their work. The trick is in the developing of the data bases to be used, and in devising and debugging the processes for using the data. Thus, too, the making of medical and psychological diagnoses and predictions is becoming a function which computers can be made to perform at least as well as the best human diagnostician: seven years ago, while Dr. Frank Minor of IBM's Advanced Systems Development Division, Professor Roger Myers of Teachers College, and I worked in one wing of an IBM Laboratory developing a computer assisted counseling system which has been in use in and near Flint, Michigan, for the last three years, other computer specialists and some physicians worked in the next wing on a medical diagnosis system.

Since then, I have worked with psychologists and systems analysts at the Psychological Corporation to develop a verbal report of the results of a student's *Differential Aptitude Tests*, a report in which the student's interests in school subjects and activities, his occupational preferences, his educational aspirations, and the educational and occupational validity of the tests are taken into account in making the test interpretations. *The Career Planning Report of the Differential Aptitude Tests*, as the program is called, does not displace the counselor. Neither did ECES, and CVIS, or SIGI, the existing computer-assisted counseling systems. The CDAT, ECES, CVSS, and SIGI organize and interpret data for counselors and students more rapidly and with less chance of error than can be done by an overworked counselor, and they free the counselor from the more routine aspects of his work so that he may concentrate on that which is most demanding: counseling (Super 1970, 1973). Frank Parsons identified one of its processes as "true reasoning" nearly 75 years ago, a process psychologists now call decision making.

### *The Need for People*

A Cassandra might, on the basis of such evidence of the capacity of computers to perform important higher level functions, predict that a post-industrial society will have no need even for highly skilled professional and executive workers. Such a society might function very well with only a few policy makers and a few programmers to make modifications occasionally as policies change. I said a Cassandra, a confirmed pessimist, thus revealing my 19th-century-based belief that work roles are important and that during the transition period many people will be lost, emotionally, without them. But perhaps I

should have attributed such a prediction to an optimist, making the assumption that, despite the Protestant ethic, work is not the only road to salvation, that despite the findings of 20th century vocational and social psychology (Dunnette, 1973; Friedman & Havighurst, 1954; Roe, 1956) other roles exist which can take their place in structuring daily living, in making a person feel needed, and in permitting a sense of mastery of the environment.

At this stage I would not be willing to make such a prediction. Let us take the work of the counselor as an example. Let us assume that computer systems can be perfected beyond their present stage (and Dr. JoAnn Harris is doing this in Illinois, while professors Hallworth and Woodworth are also pressing ahead in Calgary). Let us assume, furthermore, that with large-scale production these systems will become so economical that each school will have a good supply of terminals, that systems will be kept economically supplied with up-to-date data bases, that large computers will be used on a time-sharing basis, and that they will be economically used for multiple purposes in education and administration. We assume, thus, a good computerized guidance system. Students use it. They get good information about schools, colleges, apprenticeships, occupations, and employment opportunities from the computer. Furthermore, the computer relates these data to data about the student himself, his aptitudes, interests, school achievement, extra-curricular activities, work experience, and aspirations. It helps him see the implications of one set of data for another. Is that enough?

A moment's thought tells us that it is not. Three things are lacking: 1) help in dealing with the feelings aroused by the confrontation of facts and of their implications for action, 2) help in implementing the decisions reached by making appropriate plans and taking necessary steps, and 3) help in evaluating the outcomes of actions taken and identifying new issues.

It should be recognized that computers can, at least to some degree, be programmed to perform these functions. Take the first: the student can be asked, in the dialogue with the computer, how he feels about a fact or an interpretation of facts; he can respond by telling the computer (whether in multiple-choice or in natural English conversation) how he feels; and the computer can be programmed to respond, non-directively by reflecting the feeling, or directly with a suggestion or an interpretation. But such programming is extremely time-consuming and therefore costly, and until there is evidence to the contrary (an unlikely development), I think we can assume that expressing feeling to a machine and having it reflected, clarified, or interpreted by a machine is as unsatisfying as kicking the wastebasket in frustration rather than working directly on the cause of the frustration by having it out with the boss. Automated psychotherapy could probably help some, but it would lack the warmth of a personal relationship, it could not convey the feeling of acceptance and of valuing.

Dealing with factual data is a different matter. Our studies of

computer-assisted counseling (Thompson, Lindeman, Clark & Bohn, 1970; Myers, Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Patrick, & Friel, 1972) show that some students like the computer better than a counselor or other adult as a source of facts and of interpretations of facts, and none have resented its impersonality. Computers give straightforward answers to straightforward questions which they help people to formulate, they either know and tell or they don't know and frankly say so; they are free from ethnic and sex biases — all this, of course, assuming that those who plan and execute the programs are themselves able to formulate and answer questions well, and can keep bias out of their systems. I would not, however, be willing to generalize from these findings to systems dealing with emotional problems and designed to do psychotherapeutic counseling.

Some may be inclined to question my optimism concerning the impact of computers on the work of people in the higher level occupations, in the professions, and in top and middle management occupations, and specifically, since that is our field of interest, on counseling. It may therefore be relevant to remember that this is not the first time that a technological revolution has affected a profession. There was one 2000 years ago when the Romans conquered Britain, bringing with them a system for storing and retrieving information which was radically new to the Celtic druids who were then the learned men in Britain. At that time information storage was achieved by rote memory: priests, wise men in training, devoted much of their time to learning by heart the laws of the land and the genealogies that determined who ruled septs, clans, and kingdoms. When justice needed to be done, when inheritances and successions needed to be decided, the retrieval system was put in operation by calling in the wise man and asking him to recall the needed information. Accuracy was sought by consulting more than one learned man.

A similar system prevailed in pre-literate Israel, and the data were later stored in the Old Testament. There the technological transition was apparently gradual, as writing developed. But when the Romans suddenly introduced books into Britain, books in which the wisdom of man was fully and permanently recorded, the threat of technological unemployment must have seemed great to the druids. They must have wanted to shatter the tablets or to burn the parchment on which knowledge was stored, for now anyone could ascertain the laws of the land and verify the lines of inheritance simply by consulting the record. But scholarship did not disappear with the introduction of the technology of storing and retrieving information in books and libraries, learned men did not cease to have a function. Instead, the demand for learning increased, and those who became scholars found their work more rewarding. Freed from rote-memory-work to think about existing knowledge and to develop new knowledge, they and the libraries they accumulated became centers of learning. The knowledge revolution has been proceeding at an ever accelerating rate ever since. Thus it seems likely that counselors will become free to counsel, physicians to serve patients and to develop new knowledge of disease and of its control, and managers to manage.

*Antithesis: The Counter-Culture*

I have said nothing, so far, about the counter-culture, about young people who reject the establishment, whatever its degree and nature of automation, and seek a way of life outside of the existing economic system. What is likely to be the impact of this movement, of this sub-culture which declares its detachment from the main culture?

History tells us that there have been previous counter-cultures. Those of the Middle Ages, the Albigensians and the Hussites, for example, were destroyed by the dominant culture. Those of the 16th and 17th centuries either went underground in countries such as France when the Huguenots lost influence with the successors of Henri IV, or, like the Puritans, emigrated first to Holland and then to the New World, or, like those in Geneva and in Prussia, became the dominant culture by force of intellect or by force of arms. The Protestant Reformation is one of the few counter-cultures which became the dominant culture of a substantial area for a substantial period of time. But Holland is now about equally Protestant and Catholic, Puritan Massachusetts now contains more Catholic Irish, Poles, and Italians than it does English Protestants, and in most European and American countries the two dominant Christian churches show signs of rapprochement.

The counter-cultures of the 19th century were, unlike the earlier forms and like the current versions, social and economic rather than religious, owing their origins to the liberal political thought and to the philosophical utopias of the 18th century. Robert Owen's utopian communities of Harmony and New Harmony flourished briefly and are now just landmarks; the Shaker villages which were so beautifully and so well built prospered for a generation and are now museums; the Amish persist as quaint, but nearly overwhelmed, relics of religio-economic idealism; William Morris' utopian book, *News from nowhere*, got nowhere; and while Karl Marx's *Das kapital* got all over Eastern Europe, most of Asia, and to parts of this hemisphere, the counter-culture of Communism in its oldest establishments looks increasingly like Capitalism as we know it today.

History seems to tell us that counter-cultures blend with the dominant culture. Sometimes they do this by being wiped out as were the mediaeval heresies, sometimes by dying out as did the 19th century utopias, and sometimes by assimilation or accommodation, as in the cases of Protestantism-Catholicism and of Capitalism-Communism. History tells us even more clearly that the isolated attempts of idealists to withdraw from the dominant culture and live their own atypical way of life are doomed to failure. Already, today, we have seen many erstwhile cultural dropouts drop out also from the counter-cultural communes in which they failed to find happiness. In due course they work their way back into the dominant culture to become part of the system, although often in idiosyncratic occupations. It is still early to judge, but this is what happened to the Lost Generation of the 1920s, to the social radicals of the 1930s, to those removed

from the mainstream of society by military service during the early 1940s, and, sometime during the late 1970s we may expect it to happen to the copouts of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

### *Synthesis*

If the establishment is, in Hegel's sense of the term, the thesis and the counter-culture is the antithesis, what is the synthesis to be? What of the future that Alvin Toffler (1970) says is shocking us? Although we do not know what the proportion of *ego-involved* and *society-maintaining workers*, and, to expand Havighurst's (1953) categories, of *society-maintained non-workers*, will be in the automated era which lies ahead of us, it does seem fairly likely that we will become a three-class society. We already know that the highly-trained and very able men and women are very much in demand in the emerging economy; as Anne Roe (1956) pointed out in her landmark book, these are the people who have the longest work-days and the longest work-weeks, for their abilities are so much in demand and they find their demanding work so self-actualizing that they take work home with them and work evenings and weekends. It already seems clear that other workers are needed as skilled technicians to help carry out the designs of the creative members of society and to install, repair, and maintain the automated machinery which will operate and monitor itself, or to attend to the health, aesthetic, educational, and recreational needs of people. These society-maintaining workers will in many cases find their work emotionally rewarding, but for some, at least, the rewards will be the uses to which their work enables them to put their leisure. And it seems that a large proportion of people who are less able to profit from an education, the easily replaced marginal workers in our present economy, is likely to be unneeded in a more advanced economic system and will be maintained by it as a new leisure class.

It is easy enough to visualize the life of the scientist, the philosopher, the physician, the teacher, the millwright, the mechanic, the playground director, the artist, and the woodcarver in the transitional or fully developed society of the future, for we know the nature of ego-involving work and the ease with which many people find the life-structuring and self-expressive potentials of work satisfying. But it is not so easy to conceive of a way of life in which many people work only 15 or 25 hours per week, for only 15 or 20 years, simply because certain kinds of work need to be done, and it is more difficult still to imagine life for a non-working majority. It is hoped that those who work at all will, like those in intellectually and emotionally demanding jobs, find in work, ample opportunities for playing significant roles and for self-expression. But this hardly seems likely, so both they in their extensive free-time and the non-working or new leisure class will need to be helped to find new roles which make life meaningful.

What will these roles be? Surveys of how semiskilled and unskilled workers, and the unemployed, use their leisure are not encouraging.

If they do not moonlight on other jobs, thereby demonstrating the failure of our current system to support them adequately or their own failure to find other satisfying roles in our still-industrial society, they fritter away their time at the local pub or club, or at home, watching television shows that mesmerize. We have known, since the studies of the unemployed made during the 1930s, that not to be needed by the economic system soon results in apathy (Super, 1942). We know from both social history and literature that the leisure classes of the past found it difficult to develop personally meaningful and socially desirable roles: for every Montesquieu who used his society-maintained leisure productively, there were several Tom Jones whose waking hours were devoted to the three f's of fox-hunting, fighting, and flirting, and whose sleeping hours were devoted to sleeping in something other than the usual dictionary sense of that word. When men have no better ways to achieve distinction in the eyes of their fellow men, they think up elaborate rituals for doing easy things the hard way, such as killing foxes with packs of hounds, horses, and men dressed up in pink coats, packs which course at breakneck speed across fields and farmyards; they fight duels at the drop of a hat or a glove, or they go off to foreign wars where ready-made dangers give trying to stay alive some tenuous meaning; and they organize elaborate dances to display their physical and their flirtatious prowess, and they maintain mistresses in styles to which they had not previously been accustomed. The shallow use of leisure changes in specific content, but are bowling, rock and roll, spectator basketball, and camping out in the sylvan slums that, in the United States, we call national parks, really very superior when viewed psychologically and sociologically?

Another way of putting my question, one of the major questions of our changing industrial society, is this: as the Protestant work ethic becomes less meaningful, as ego-involving work roles become less available to the average man or woman, what leisure roles will take their place as ways of giving people status, of giving meaning to their daily activities, of providing them with means of self-expression?

This question has been asked before, especially for those who have dominated paid work, for men. But how many have asked about its implications for women? Women are saying that they want their share of the paid work roles in order to achieve self-actualization, just as the work roles are becoming scarcer, some of them more demanding intellectually and emotionally, and others less meaningful. Judging by the current reports on the percentages of workers who like their work, many a man should be ready to say to the career-oriented woman wanting a job like his: "Here, take it — you're welcome to it!" Certainly the women's liberationists are staking a great deal on a type of role which is changing so radically that they risk finding that they are building their houses on sand. Some of society's creative energies need to go into developing meaningful roles for both men and women in arenas or spheres of life other than that of work. Four that come to mind are the sports arena, hobbies,



community affairs (which range from town planning and service to the schools to public works and recreation), and home and family. Although it was a man who wrote, "Be it never so humble, there's no place like home," and a man may get into trouble nowadays for saying so in this context, the liberated woman may well discover, along with her liberated mate, that the home is one of the best sources of ego-maintaining and self-actualizing roles society can provide. They may also find that, with the community resources for the use of leisure which surround it, it must and can provide the important adult roles for most people.

If this must happen, because of the fading capacity of jobs to do this for large numbers of people, we need to understand these resources. We need to identify the possible roles, find ways of giving them the status in the eyes of others that work roles have given to people in the past and will give to fewer people in the future. We need to develop educational programs which will equip people to play these roles well and with satisfaction. If this is so, we will need to define career education, career guidance, and career counseling as something more than vocational, for the focus will need to be on roles, on roles in which people can find satisfaction in a variety of settings, in employment, in civic affairs, in hobbies, and in the family. We will need to ask of a man, not "what is his job?" but "what is his role?" That could be a rather embarrassing question, for it seems to probe more deeply into the meanings and values of life — and that might not be a bad idea!

A study (Super, 1940) of the relationships between vocations and avocations pointed in this direction. Interested in what some mental hygienists called the theory of balance, I wondered to what degree hobbies resemble work, and what kind of combination of avocation and vocation is most likely to be associated with satisfaction or happiness. The happiest men were those who, interested in some type of activity, pursued it in both their work and in their leisure, in both vocation and avocation. These were the men with *extensive* avocations, hobbies which were an extension of the content of their work into their play. Those whose major hobbies were different from their jobs tended to be less satisfied with their jobs and with life in general, and their measured interests were more like those of men in occupations which resembled their hobbies than like those of men in occupations like their own jobs. That study was done just as World War II broke out; the very concept of leisure soon seemed absurd, and no one has pursued the idea further. But it may turn out to be very important to ask, in career counseling, not "what kind of work might interest you?" but rather, "what kinds of activities interest you, and what kind of role do you like to play?" Soon, no doubt, someone will develop and publish the first *Role Interest Inventory* for use in career counseling.

## CAREERS AND CAREER COUNSELING

*What is a Career?*

This brings us to the question of just what a career is. Is it 1) an occupation (any occupation), 2) an occupation in which advancement up some sort of ladder is possible, or 3) the sequence of occupations and jobs which a person pursues and the series of positions that he occupies during the course of his lifetime?

Webster defines a career as "a course of continued progress in the life of a person... a field for the pursuit of consecutive progressive achievement, especially in public, professional, and business life." The word comes, interestingly enough, from the Latin word *carro*, chariot, which provided the word for racecourse and highroad. Both of Webster's definitions include the concept of continuity, of progress, of achievement, and one of them focuses on only the higher level occupations. The term is therefore not exactly synonymous with the word occupation, but the second definition does denote higher-level occupations. Neither definition takes into account the fact that pursuit is not always one of continuous, progressive achievement, that the life of a person may be characterized by discontinuity or progressive failure, that (if I may play with the word's origins) in chariot races some charioteers were crippled and only one could win a given race.

The behavior sciences are better served by more precise definitions, such as that the Career Pattern Study (Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet, & Warnath, 1967) gave the word, distinguishing it from occupation and taking into account both continuity and discontinuity: a career is the sequence of positions, jobs, and occupations occupied by a person during the course of his lifetime, including the preoccupational role of student preparing for work, the work roles themselves, and the postoccupational role of annuitant or pensioner whose life is now structured by some occupationally-determined and by some nonoccupational roles. Shartle (1959) borrowed this definition in completing his set of terms for the third edition of his book on collecting and analyzing occupational information. It is the individual who supplies the continuity in the career, even when the sequence of occupations is discontinuous, for the career belongs to the person, not to the occupation. Of course, a person can make a career of an *occupation*: thus, most people in well-paid, prestigious, and secure occupations, such as medicine, especially those which require considerable investment of time and money, do pursue a career in those occupations in which the investment is made. But many people make a career of an *industry*, changing occupations as they move up a ladder in banking, in steel, in transportation, or in education (for example, moving from teacher to counselor to principal to director of school finance to superintendent). Many others make a career, by design or otherwise, of changing occupations and industries as economic or climatic conditions make this seem desirable. An example is the deck hand on the warm-weather ore ships of the Great Lakes who works in

an Ohio tire factory some winters or in a Florida lunch counter during other winters. The semiskilled workers who change from one job to another as production workers are needed or laid off, or as wages in or travel to one plant or industry appears better than in another, constitute a third important group of people whose careers are discontinuous occupationally but continuous in that the career is, in fact, the sequence of jobs, the work history, the course of a person's life.

### *Career Counseling*

What, then, do we mean by the term "career counseling"? The term can be used to denote vocational or occupational counseling, counseling concerning the choice of an occupation when a choice must be made. This is indeed how many people do use it, either from the desire to avoid the emphasis on manual work implied by the term "vocational" in "vocational education," or to make it clear they are concerned with continuous, progressive careers in the higher-level occupations. The term career counseling can also be used to denote developmental counseling, counseling that is part of a program designed to guide the development of a person in such a way that educational and occupational decisions will emerge from experience and lead to appropriate new experiences which will themselves provide a basis for the decisions which will be called for at a later life stage. In such guided development broad goals are sufficient early in a career because experience is being planned which will provide a basis both for moving in any one of several directions and for arriving, in due course, at decisions as to which of these directions is most appropriate. Each specific goal, as it is chosen, is viewed as one which may be an end in itself (if it is an occupation), or may itself be a branching point at which more decisions will in due course become possible.

A career is like a tree with a trunk which corresponds to the undifferentiated school years, large branches which correspond to the years of differentiated or focused education in school and college, branches which branch again as education or training become more specialized, and eventually smaller clusters of fruit near the tips of the branches which represent the clusters of occupations which may be reached by people climbing up the educational ladder and making a given series of preoccupational and occupational decisions. Some people enter the occupations which would be predicted for them in view of the path they have followed, but some are path-jumpers, in that having climbed up one series of branches, they then shift over to another branch or to a cluster of occupations which is normally reached by another route. Roe and Klos (1972) and Holland and associates (1972) have demonstrated that these changes, too, have an underlying logic. Although the career trees which best describe the occupational moves of people in the labor force or work system may be different from those which best describe movement

in the educational system, the concept of career trees for the portrayal of pathways and decision points and for use in career as contrasted with occupational counseling is evidently a sound one.

### *Career Development Theory*

Since the early 1950s a number of psychologists have been concerned with providing the theory and the tools which career guidance and counseling need to supplement the methodology and tools provided for use in vocational counseling. My *Psychology of careers* (1957) was one of the early efforts. Since then I have carried further my work on vocational maturity (Super & Overstreet, 1960; Super & Forrest, 1972), an interest shared by various colleagues, by Bert Westbrook (1971), and by my former student, John Crites (1965, 1973). In refining the concept of vocational maturity and in devising readily used instruments for its assessment we have both thrown more light on life stages and their developmental tasks, and made available tools for use in assessing the career progress and concerns of young people and adults (Super, (Ed.) in process).

Although career counseling, in the true sense of the term, is still in need of data, of methods, and of instruments beyond those which occupational psychology made available to vocational counseling, we do have an important knowledge base provided by what some call vocational psychologists, but what others among us call career psychologists. Occupational sociology has also provided needed facts and theories when it has examined occupational mobility. Much of this is work on which I have drawn in my texts (Super, 1957; Super & Bohn, 1970). It is the work on men's career patterns, showing that they may be stable, conventional, unstable, and multiple-trial, while women have two more options, the interrupted and double-track careers. It is the work on the determinants or causes of these differing types of patterns; it is the work on the life stages of growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. It is the work on the developmental tasks with which people cope in each life stage and on the coping attitudes and behaviors which reveal both vocational maturity and career as well as occupational success.

### *Career Counseling in Our Emerging Society*

What, then, is career counseling to do in an advanced industrial society? What is it in an economy in which occupational roles seem destined to be important psychologically and socially to only the ablest segment of our population? What is it in an economy in which the careers of many of those who do work seem likely to include a great deal of technologically produced change? What is it in a society in which the careers of those who work little or not at all seem likely to lack non-work roles which structure life and give it meaning in the way done by ego-involving occupations?

No one can answer such questions with assurance. But we can indicate what may be the answers.

### *Coming of Age*

Career counseling must, in the first place, come of age. That it has not yet done this is made clear by such public facts as the misuse of the term career by many counselors and by many educators, particularly in the United States Office of Education's failure to conceptualize career education while making it the major thrust of new curriculum development work during the past two years. It is made clear by less visible facts, such as the non-utilization of the concept of vocational maturity by counselors assessing the vocational counseling needs of students and clients, and by the lack of guidance materials based on the concepts of vocational life stages and of vocational developmental tasks. These two defects in methods and materials may soon be remedied as vocational maturity inventories and tests are improved and put to use, as the next generation of computerized vocational guidance systems incorporates the concept of career development, and life-career games and decision-making programs and materials are improved and organized into curricula for use in schools and colleges. When the concepts of career development are more widely understood, and when its methods and materials are more visible, career counseling will be recognized, it will have come of age.

### *Multifaceted Careers*

But coming of age is not just an internal matter, it is a function, too, of the society in which age is attained. In a society in which work roles seem destined to play a less important part in the lives of many men and women than our middle class and work-ethic biases have previously led us to believe, career counseling must take into account the many facets of a career, the numerous roles which can constitute a career, and the non-occupational roles which acquire prominence in society as that of occupation diminishes. Counselors will need to think of aptitudes, interests, and values as traits which may be utilized, find outlets, and seek satisfaction in available occupations, in avocational activities, in civic activities, and in family activities. We will need to ask ourselves which roles seem likely to provide the best outlets for each person whom we counsel, and in what combination. We will need to recognize, and to help students to recognize long before choice points are reached, that self-fulfillment takes place in these various roles and that people play different roles in various sequences and combinations. We will need to do what we can, as behavior scientists and as educators, to clarify what the non-occupational roles and combinations of roles are. We will need to contribute, as educators and as citizens, to ascribing honor and importance to appropriate non-occupational roles as they begin to take on more significance in a leisure-oriented society.

Career counselors will in effect ask of their subjects:

What does this person want to get out of life? What might he get, with his abilities and interests? What are the roles in which he might find self-fulfillment? How can he be helped to answer these questions and to make appropriate role choices?

Career counseling will be life-role counseling. Are we up to handling such a job?

RESUME: A mesure que la cybernétique rend archaïque la main-d'oeuvre des emplois routiniers, une société post-industrielle en devient une où le loisir joue dans la vie des gens un rôle plus important que le travail. Ceux qui sont de niveau occupationnel plus élevé peuvent alors se concentrer sur ces aspects de leur travail qui exigent un effort intellectuel; les autres peuvent s'adonner à l'artisanat d'objets de luxe de même qu'aux activités de service personnel ou de loisir. Au même moment, il y a des jeunes gens qui rejettent l'éthique du travail qui prévaut actuellement. Une brève revue des mouvements de contre-culture de l'histoire mène à la conclusion que la plupart des gens s'efforcent de poursuivre un ouvrage systématique d'un genre ou d'un autre, de façon à pouvoir satisfaire le besoin de se sentir respectés dans les rôles et de se réaliser pleinement au moyen de tels rôles. L'auteur examine dans quelle mesure les usages qu'on a généralement fait du loisir dans le passé, et qu'on en fait présentement, peuvent satisfaire ce besoin. La notion de "carrière" est réexaminée et on traite de ses implications pour le counseling multidimensionnel d'orientation aux carrières rendu nécessaire à l'intérieur d'une société post-industrielle. On redéfinit le counseling d'orientation aux carrières de façon à tenir compte des moyens que les gens peuvent utiliser, durant le cours de leur vie, pour trouver dans des activités vocationnelles ou autres des débouchés à leurs aptitudes et à leurs intérêts.

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