

up a special program for training women for children's dental care is that personnel thus trained would take a special interest in the work.

Restrictions on the practice of such specially trained auxiliary workers would be needed. Their service could be limited to school programs carried out in clinics under proper supervision. They would be licensed and registered as to where employed and answerable for attendance during working hours.

It would seem to be an obligation of dentistry to explore all reasonable avenues by which more dental service with the greatest attainable economy could be made available to the public. However, the basic question is whether dentistry really belongs in the public health picture. When the public health profession, both administrators and medical personnel, is convinced that it does, ways will surely be found for the solution of the problem.

Vocational Guidance: An Instrument of Social Policy

By DONALD E. SUPER

THE economic and political problems of the past fifteen years have conspired, in different ways at different times, to make those who are concerned with public and individual welfare turn to vocational guidance and ask what contribution it might make to the solution of the problems at hand. In the early '30's it was the problem of unemployment and enforced leisure which focussed attention on vocational guidance, and raised the question as to how it might alleviate the situation by helping individuals make better use of their abilities and by increasing occupational mobility through dissemination of information about opportunities. The result was shown in a number of studies of the vocational adjustment problems of young people¹ and other special groups; in co-ordinated studies of the abilities and attitudes of the unemployed, of employment needs and trends, and of the counseling and retraining of the unemployed,²

and in an extraordinary development of public employment and vocational consultation services.

At the end of the decade the beginning of World War II reversed the situation, and instead of having to cope with a problem of individual vocational adjustment, unused human resources, and a shortage of employment opportunities, we were faced with the problem of the most effective use of abilities and training in industries and military services which were constantly demanding more and more manpower. The question was, then, what contribution vocational guidance could make by working with personnel organizations in order to help individuals put their skills to use where they would be of most value. Many men and women who had been engaged in vocational guidance in schools and universities therefore shifted to personnel work in war industries and in the armed forces, and those who remained in schools and employment services devoted much of their time and energy to facilitating the flow of manpower to the places at which it was most needed. Some organizations whose functions had been in the borderland between vocational guidance and personnel work now became primarily manpower utilization agencies, as indicated by the placing

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1. Bell, H. M. *Youth Tell Their Story*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1938. Eckert, R., and Marshall, T. O. *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.
2. Bergen, G. L., and Murphy, J. F. *One Thousand Clients of the Adjustment Service*. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1935. Morton, N. W. *Occupational Abilities*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935. Paterson, D. G., and Darley J. G. *Men, Women and Jobs*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

of the United States Employment Service under the War Manpower Commission.

With the end of the war in Europe the problems of demobilization and reconversion came to the fore, and with them another challenge to vocational guidance as an instrument of public policy. Large numbers of men and women, some of them handicapped by service-incurred disabilities, needed to be mustered *out* of service and, it was recognized more clearly than ever before, *into* civilian life and occupations. Vocational counselors, placement workers, and personnel men, were called to provide information, instruments, and personnel for the implementation of the largest program of vocational guidance and placement ever carried out, a program so large that thousands of counselors have been trained or assigned without training in order to meet the needs in the armed services, the veterans' organizations, and the greatly expanded civilian agencies. As the writer has pointed out elsewhere,³ this great expansion of vocational guidance services has not been without its bad effects on vocational guidance because of the large numbers of poorly trained and even unethical persons who have entered the field.

In view of the above, this seems to be an opportune time to pause and take stock of vocational guidance, its objectives, its methods, and its agencies. Such a survey may help to correct some misconceptions and to disclose more of its possibilities.

The Objectives of Vocational Guidance

In characterizing vocational guidance as an instrument of social policy one risks incurring criticism from proponents of freedom and of the sacredness of the individual who fear that vocational guidance may become the means of regimenting or at least directing young people into occupations in which the Government

wants them rather than helping them to enter fields which they choose in the belief that they will find success and satisfaction therein. It should therefore be stated at once that any such use of vocational guidance is a reflection, not upon the function or profession itself, but rather upon the Government which misuses it, just as the inhuman medical experiments conducted by Nazi physicians discredit, not medicine as applied science, nor physicians as a group, but rather the Nazi Government and its supporters. The instruments of social policy may be good or bad, depending upon the nature or the policy. If one of the objectives of a society is to help its members make such use of their talents and resources as will lead to the greatest possible degree of personal satisfaction and of social benefit, then helping them to understand the nature and extent of their talents, to know how they may be applied to the opportunities available in that society, and to develop attitudes which make it possible for them to understand and to play their parts effectively, is essential to that policy. It is the objective of vocational guidance to implement that policy in these ways.

It should be clear, then, that two frequently encountered conceptions of vocational guidance are incorrect. The more common of these is that vocational guidance is vocational prescription, that it consists of giving a series of tests and of telling the counselee which occupation he should enter. Tests may be useful in helping a person to understand his abilities and interests, but they cannot tell him the occupation in which he will be most successful: human nature, and the social order, are too complex. A less common misconception is that vocational guidance is synonymous with placement in a job. Important though this is, getting a job is only one step in the long process of making vocational adjustments: it must be preceded by study of oneself and of the world of work, and by counseling concerning the choice of a field of

3. Super, D. E. Reflections on the Vocational Guidance of Veterans. *Occupations*, 1946. 25, 40-42.

education and of work; it must often be followed by counseling concerning adjustment to the work situation, advancement on the job, and similar problems. All of these are the legitimate and necessary concern of vocational guidance.

The Methods of Vocational Guidance

The needs of the depression and of the reconversion periods have been such as to foster especially the development of vocational consultation services for the unemployed in the Depression and for the ex-servicemen and ex-war industry employee in Reconversion. Because clients generally come to consultation services for help in connection with an immediate problem such as the choice of a type of education or of a field of work, and want to, often must, act upon the decision almost at once, the guidance that is offered must be rendered on a short-contact basis. This necessarily limits the type of service to a quick canvassing of the client's general and special abilities, his educational level, his experience, and his interests by means of interviews, questionnaires, and tests; to a discussion of these data in one or two interviews; and to an evaluation of such opportunities as are known to him and to the counselor with little further investigation. There is likely to be little time for exploration of the client's underlying attitudes toward the facts surveyed, and no time in which to try out some of the possibilities and return for occasional discussion of what is being learned from the experience.

This is not to imply that consultation services or guidance centres do not perform a useful function, frequently very well. The point is that they are able to render only certain types of vocational guidance services, and that there are other types which they are generally not able to perform. And, since it is the guidance centres which have been placed in the spotlight by the economic and political events of recent years, there is a danger that another type of vocational guidance

organization, one which is more important because it is able to render all types of vocational guidance services, may be forgotten: This is the vocational guidance program that is part of an educational system.

Education is, literally, the process of *leading out*, that is, of *developing*. And guidance is concerned with guiding this development in such a way as to bring out the best of the latent possibilities in the individual and to enable him to utilize most effectively the available resources. It is obvious, then, that education and guidance must go hand in hand: if education is offered without guidance, the result is human and economic waste; if guidance is offered without education, it too often operates in a vacuum and leads nowhere. This being the case, the most effective programs of vocational guidance should be those which are integral parts of the educational system. By working with boys and girls, with young men and young women, at the time when they are developing most rapidly and when society is making the maximum possible provision for their development, vocational guidance can do the most to help them understand their abilities and interests, the educational and vocational opportunities which may be open to them, and their reactions to these. A boy who seems to have mechanical abilities and interests can be helped to try himself out in this field in time to be prepared for an entry job in it immediately upon graduation and thereby avoid floundering after leaving school: a college girl who may have dramatic ability can be encouraged to include dramatic activities in her extra-curricular or leisure activities and may be stimulated to get Little Theatre experience during the summer, to find out whether or not she should seriously consider this field as a career. If exploration and discussion lead to the conclusion that a particular occupational field is inappropriate, there is generally still time to consider and try out other possibilities under the guidance of the

counselor. In fact, exploration of several fields can generally go on at once, since educational experience, part-time work, and leisure activities are varied and can be selected with exploration and try-out in mind. No vocational guidance centre working with out-of-school youth and with adults can carry on such a well-coordinated orientation, try-out, and counselling program over such a long period of time as can a school or college vocational guidance service, at least, not until the general public has been educated to a quite different concept of vocational guidance. And, even then, it would be wasteful to postpone giving the service until so late in the development and education of most people.

For adequate vocational guidance to be possible, six services must be available. These are the dissemination of occupational information, the collection of data for the analysis of the persons to be counselled, counselling, placement, follow-up and research. Each of these will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Vocational Information Service is concerned with making available to those who need it a variety of detailed information about occupations. This includes providing a library of books and pamphlets about occupations, teaching courses or units on occupations, arranging talks to classes and assemblies, conducting tours of industries and other places of employment, showing movies on occupations, and in other ways helping young people to become familiar with the world of work, most of which is now hidden from them by brick walls and wire fences. Forrester⁴ has described such methods in some detail.

The Individual Analysis Service keeps records of students' grades, extra-curricular activities, and part-time work experience; it administers tests of intelligence, manual dexterity, mechanical

comprehension, clerical aptitude, vocational interests, and educational and vocational proficiency to clients in order to help them survey their assets and liabilities. Bingham⁵ and Traxler⁶ are standard references on these techniques.

The Counselling Service interviews students, and clients, discusses the available facts about their abilities and interests with them, helps them investigate and evaluate possible educational and vocational opportunities, leads them to verbalize and understand their attitudes toward themselves, toward education, and toward occupations, and helps them formulate tentative plans. There are no really adequate treatises of this technique of vocational guidance, although Williamson⁷ has discussed it at some length and Rogers and Wallen⁸ have written about counselling in the field of attitudes in a most helpful way.

The Placement Service registers people who are in need of employment, classifies them according to the types of work they might do, develops and maintains contacts with employers, takes employers' requests for workers, refers applicants according to their suitability, calls employers about applicants in whom they might be interested, and helps applicants to plan their own job-seeking campaigns. This subject has been treated at length by Reed⁹.

The Follow-Up Service is not a distinct entity in itself, as a rule, but rather a function performed by other departments of a vocational guidance bureau. Its aim is to check up on the outcome of the services already rendered, in order to render any further services which may be needed and to evaluate the work done. By so doing it helps to bridge the gap between school and work, between

5. Bingham, W. V. *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing*. New York: Harpers, 1937.

6. Traxler, A. E. *Techniques of Guidance*. New York: Harpers, 1945.

7. Williamson, E. C. *How to Counsel Students*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939.

8. Rogers, C. R., and Wallen, J. L. *Counselling with Returned Servicemen*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946.

9. Reed, Anna Y. *Occupational Placement*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946.

4. Forrester, Gertrude. *Methods of Vocational Guidance*. Boston: Health, 1944.

adolescence and adulthood. The need for such a service is well demonstrated in follow-up studies of high school youth such as that made by the Regents of the State of New York.¹⁰

The Research Service is the information-gathering service. In the field of occupations it analyzes occupational trends, employment trends, and occupational requirements and prepares reports on the labor market, conditions in important industries, and opportunities in various occupations. In the United States, for example, such services are performed on the federal level by the Occupational Outlook Service of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (occupational trends, employment trends), by the Occupational Analysis Division of the United States Employment Service (occupational descriptions, industrial descriptions), and by the Occupational Information and Guidance Service of the Office of Education (occupational briefs). The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, state and local agencies, and commercial organizations, also work in this field. A committee of the National Vocational Guidance Association has summarized this work¹¹. Similarly in the field of individual analysis, the research service or branch of vocational guidance is active in providing information on the vocational significance of existing tests and in developing new instruments for appraising vocational promise. Some of this work is done by federal organizations: in the United States the Occupational Analysis Division of the United States Employment Service has carried on a number of large scale studies for the development of batteries of tests for guidance and placement¹². Much has been done by universities, foundations, and private individuals, two of the out-

standing projects being those of the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute¹³ and of Strong at Stanford University¹⁴. Finally, some research has been carried out to evaluate the effectiveness of different types of vocational guidance programs, particularly by the National Institute for Industrial Psychology in England,¹⁵ although one heavily endowed study¹⁶ in the United States started out ambitiously only to be brought to a rather ignominious close because of poor experimental design.

The Agencies of Vocational Guidance

Although a case has been made for the educational system as the primary agency of vocational guidance, it is not meant to imply that schools and colleges will be the only agencies in this field, nor even that they are now doing more work in vocational guidance than other organizations. In fact, schools and colleges have in many places been so unaware of their responsibilities or so ineffectual in their efforts that other more alert agencies are taking the lead in those communities. The beginning of the vocational guidance movement is generally credited to a social agency in the City of Boston and its leaders have included men and women from settlements, Y.M.C.A.'s, welfare agencies, service clubs, and employment bureaus as well as from schools and colleges. Even in localities in which the schools have developed strong programs of vocational guidance other agencies are active, for vocational guidance is a concern of the whole community and of the whole country. While young people are still in school and college, they need to draw on the first-hand experience of men and women employed in the occupations in which they are interested, and coun-

10. Eckert, R., and Marshall, T. O. *When Youth Leave School*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.

11. Clark, F. E., and Murtland, C. *Occupational Information in Counseling*. *Occupations*, 1946, 24, 451-475.

12. Shartle, C. L., et. al. *Ten Years of Occupational Research*. *Occupations*, 1944, 22, 431-441.

13. Paterson, D. G., and Darley, J. G. *Men, Women and Jobs*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

14. Strong, E. K., Jr. *Vocational Interests of Men and Women*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943.

15. Hunt, E. P. and Smith, P. *Vocational Psychology and Choice of Employment*. *Occupational Psychology*, 1945, 19, 109-116.

16. Kefauver, G. N., and Hand, H. C. *Appraising Guidance in Secondary Schools*. New York: Macmillan, 1941.

sellors need specialized information which can be provided only by employment services, professional associations, unions, and industries. After graduation from school and college young people encounter unforeseen problems, they themselves are changed by their experiences, and further help is needed in finding suitable employment, in obtaining additional training, in adjusting to new working conditions, or in developing attitudes which make it easier to find success and satisfaction in one's work. Human beings and human society are dynamic:

life adjustments cannot all be made while in school. Employment services, social agencies, and consultation services, necessarily have an important and a permanent role to play in improving vocational adjustment. A society in which occupational and social mobility for the best possible use of human resources are a goal, must therefore be one in which educational institutions and social agencies are equipped with the personnel, the information, the instruments, and the philosophy of vocational guidance.

The Effect of Public Policy on Personal Income Distribution in Canada

By L. M. READ,

"Any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich."—*Plato's Republic*.

That individuals and families differ widely with respect to the amount of income at their disposal is one of the most evident, as well as ancient, of social facts. The question, "Why are the rich so rich, and, why are the poor so poor?", has long evoked the attention of social moralists and apologists. Reformers have vented their wrath upon the inequities of co-existent riches and poverty and the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Conservatives have eulogized the contribution of leadership, means and culture of the affluent and have regretted the incapacities of the poor. In the economic world at least men are not equal.

The fathers of modern economics, as economists, were concerned to lift the problem of income distribution out of its moral setting. Their ambition was to state the laws of the economic world that determine the flow of income to the

various factors of production. In their emphasis upon distribution by factos shares, concern with the results in terms of personal incomes fell somewhat into the shadow.

The twentieth century, however, has brought in its wake political, social and economic problems which have evoked a new orientation toward the problems of distribution. Trends toward business combination and labour unionization have brought into being new forces whose primary purpose is to maximize the returns of one or other of the factors of production. Periodic industrial crises and especially the experience of the great depression of the 1930's have stimulated concern not only with the problem of scarce resources but also with the scarce use of available resources. Much current diagnosis focuses attention on the tendency of savings to outrun investment—or on its corollary a low propensity to consume. Since personal income-size distribution is one of the key factors determining the pattern and level of consumption and savings, the nature and effects of unequal distribution are being subjected to more careful scrutiny.

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