

CHAPTER 5

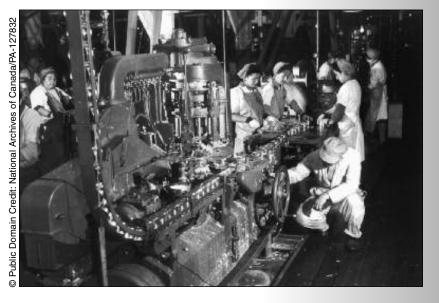
POST-WAR Adjusting TO AN Industrialized Economy AND THE EVOLUTION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

t was in the country's expanding urban centres, for the most part, that the growing prosperity of the post-war years made itself felt. With life in agricultural areas and coastal fishing villages becoming less viable, people continued to migrate to the cities. As the war ended, close to one in four Canadians still lived on farms. Over the next twenty-five years, their numbers would drop to one in fifteen. In the Atlantic fishery, in the '50s alone, the total working population would decline by 40 percent.

Despite such regional contractions, Canada's population continued to grow quickly. In 1946, the total was approximately twelve million. Fifteen years later, it had grown to over eighteen million. More than

four million babies were born during these years and an additional two million new immigrants arrived, the vast majority of them from Europe. So powerful was the industrial job-creating machine, however, that unemployment remained relatively low. In 1956, a typical year, only 3.2 percent of the working population was unemployed.

In most large factories, lowskilled assembly line jobs were still the order of the day. But the increasing complexity of the workplace resulted in a growing demand for more "responsible"



workers with "clear thinking skills" who could be promoted to positions as supervisors, administrators and managers. Attitudes in corporate circles had begun to change and, in a few cases at least, the top-down view of workers as "units of production" was slowly being redefined.¹

Early in the 1950s, a handful of major companies like Westinghouse, Northern Electric and Canadian General Electric (CGE) began to take

"In 1945, when the war ended, the men and women of the services came back, and the need for counselling was tremendous. Because when you take men and women away from their homes and ship them to a foreign country to fight a foreign war, when they come back they need to be integrated into our society.... They need job counselling. But not only them, their wives and children need help... because the man that went away is not the man who came back. And the wife that they left is not the wife that they came back to. And their children have grown beyond all recognition. So there is a great need for counselling."

Frank Lawson

some responsibility for the career path of their workers. CGE, for example, introduced a "personnel assessment program" for employees. A major reorganization had taken place at CGE and this, it was felt, would help settle the corporate waters.

The program was designed by Dr. Herbert Moore, a Toronto industrial psychologist with the consulting firm Stevenson and Kellogg, and Olav Sorenson, a counsellor who had worked with Dr. Gerald Cosgrave at the Toronto YMCA's Counselling Service.

It was Sorenson who decided that the combination of psychological testing and feedback interviews as practiced by the Y's Counselling Service would be valuable to CGE employees as well. Following a daylong battery of tests, there was a "feedback interview" of approximately 1.5 hours. Career assessment of this kind was open to all employees, at their request, and some three thousand CGE staffers took advantage of it during the four years that it was in operation

These early glimmers of a new awareness of workplace needs were little more than that, however. For the most part, people were still on their own when it came to finding their way around in the world of work and nowhere was this more significant than

among young people about to leave school.

The birth of guidance

A new wave had begun to roll, a wave of "baby boomers" (those born after the war) whose needs, desires and appetites would reshape the country's workplace, economy and, ultimately, Canadian society itself. Education remained a world unto itself, however, and there were growing concerns for the future well-being of Canada's youth. In home-andschool association meetings, surveys, news articles and Royal Commission reports, the voices of both parents and employers could be heard calling for improvements in the way young people were taught.

Nationwide enrollment was climbing precipitously as half a million young Canadians reached school age every year. In classrooms throughout the country, however, traditional educational practices continued to hold sway. New buildings were built, additional teachers hired and spending on education spiralled. Teachers' wages tripled as their status in the community grew. School operating costs increased sevenfold and capital spending rose tenfold. But there was little information or counsel available to students trying to plan their working lives.

To businessmen, it was not just a case of workplace skills. Young people represented the future of the marketplace, as well, the nation's "human capital."

52 Counselling Canadians for Work

"By developing our educational system, expanding it and making it stronger, we will be cultivating the greatest of our natural resources, the people of Canada." So said Hugh Crombie, Chairman of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association's Education Committee. "Education increases income, purchasing power and productivity," he told the Maritime Branch of the National Vocational Guidance Association in 1949. Better education meant bigger pay cheques, and bigger pay cheques meant more active consumers.

"The more high school and college graduates there are in this country, the higher the standard of living we all will enjoy...the more prosperous customers business and industry will have."

Education, it seemed, was the new hope of the nation. The federal government, however gingerly, wanted to make its presence felt in education, a sector that the constitution reserved for the provinces. Despite opposition from Quebec, it made grants and funding available to universities. Using "equalization grants," it redistributed funds from wealthy provinces to have-not provinces, helping the governments of the latter afford educational and health care programs and social services more closely matched to those offered by the former.

To some, the lack of career or vocational guidance for Canadian students had been evident for years. As early as 1940, in fact, it had spurred a few visionary people to action. Morgan Parmenter was one. As a guidance teacher at Toronto's Danforth Technical School, he had become increasingly frustrated with the lack of materials available to help students understand the workplace into which they would soon take their first steps. In an attempt to respond to the need in his school, Parmenter had begun writing and mimeographing brief overviews—he called them occupational monographs—of some of the jobs that were open to students in the 1940s workplace.

As Dr. Clarence Hincks was advancing his concept of vocational guidance for young men to the YMCA, he was also lobbying for improvements in high school guidance for young people still in the school system. On discovering what Parmenter had been doing, Hincks encouraged him to continue his work and even helped him to create a small organization, the Vocational Guidance Centre, through which to distribute his monographs to other teachers.

In 1943, Parmenter was appointed Associate Professor of Guidance at the Ontario College of Education and his Vocational Guidance Centre was taken in along with him. A year later, in 1944, the Ontario Department of Education appointed a Director of Guidance and permitted different school boards to appoint guidance officers in secondary schools. And in the years following the war, similar developments occurred in other parts of the country.

Much of the so-called "guidance" of that era was based on IQ tests, which were used to assess a student's overall intelligence level. Developed early in the century, these tests were ultimately discredited, having been seen to reflect cultural and social biases. In the immediate post-war period, however, IQ test results were still used to direct students into different courses of study. Students with lower scores were generally channeled into vocational and technical programs, which did not have the same social status as academic programs.

Vocational guidance available to students in these technical and



Morgan Parmenter, author of Success in the World of Work, You and Your Future and Exploring Occupations and Growing Up.

vocational schools initially tended to focus on the occupations in high demand in the world of work. The quality and quantity of guidance varied considerably however, depending on the school district, the school and, ultimately, the teacher. At its best, when provided by teachers like Morgan Parmenter, vocational guidance included placement assistance, preceded by discussions about high demand occupations, often based on information provided by the skill/craft unions.

Educational guidance, as offered in academic high schools and collegiates, differed considerably. Academic planning for post-secondary education and a student's personal problems or family matters tended to be the primary concerns of educational guidance. In some schools, homeroom teachers were given guidance responsibilities along with their other duties. In other larger schools, guidance committees were set up to bring several teachers together to discuss a student's guidance needs.

At some point in their senior years, academic students would meet with the teacher assigned to be their guidance counsellor. Any who were university-bound usually reported finding these meetings helpful. For students planning to enter the workplace however, the benefits were not always evident. Once again, occupational choice tended to be the primary career concern. "What are you going to be?" was one of the most common questions heard by the young people of the day.

For the most part, happily, the transition from school to work was still relatively easy at the time. Jobs were plentiful. The economy was expanding. And the rather basic career and vocational guidance available was usually sufficient to help young people establish themselves in the Canadian workplace. For Morgan Parmenter however, there was clearly a gaping need in the Canadian school system for accurate career and vocational information. "He felt that students about to make a choice should have information about the world, about jobs and about themselves, about their strengths and weaknesses," recalls his widow, Eleanor.

Along with his occupational monographs and the range of psychological, aptitude and interest tests that had become more available after the Second World War, Parmenter distributed his own publications and the work of others through the Vocational Guidance Centre. He even set up a small publishing company to produce his books, *Success in the World of Work, You and Your Future and Exploring Occupations and Growing Up.*

As a hard working "idea" person, an educator turned teacher of teachers, Parmenter continued for the remainder of his career to try to fill what he saw as a large and growing need. But often he was a lone voice. "The Vocational Guidance Centre became his life's work," Eleanor Parmenter recalls. "He was there until he died in 1968."

Although guidance was still a relatively new and specialized area of education in Canada in Morgan Parmenter's day, it had been available in some schools in the United States since the early 1900s. For the first half of the century, the National Vocational Guidance Association in the United States had defined vocational guidance as "a process of assisting the individual to choose an occupation, prepare for it, enter upon it and progress in it."

The new psychology: A person-centered approach

Vocational guidance, like everything else in the newly prosperous post-war period, was affected by various general social trends. For instance, in the field of psychology and personal counselling, the trend was away from the study of behaviors and testing to what was to be called "client-centered" psychology, with a new focus on self-concept. Theories advanced by developmental psychologist Carl Rogers and famed psychoanalyst Erik Erikson had a dramatic impact on understandings of vocational guidance and counselling across North America. Also at this time, Abraham Maslow was gaining popularity as a motivation and personality theorist. Work like this contributed to the realization that people made not just one choice, but several throughout their work life.²

Redefining vocational guidance

This new definition placed the emphasis on the individual making a choice, rather than on the job that was chosen. For people involved in any kind of vocational guidance, it required a shift in approach. It meant moving from matching the individual to the job, to more client-centered techniques with a greater exploration of individual preferences and motivation.

In schools, the move to provide client-centered counselling had already begun. As introduced by Carl Rogers in the late 1940s, school counsellors had begun to be trained in this humanistic form of counselling and had become available to students.

Rogers was the first psychologist to advocate the importance of emotion and motivation on an individual's behaviour. The primary goals of therapy were self-acceptance and self-understanding. Though his theories evolved in the context of personal counselling, the shift which he advocated to adopt client-centred therapy led to a re-examination of the practice of testing human traits and matching them to job requirements.³

Developmental theories of psychology such as Erikson's eight-stage theory of development which suggested that humans have a number of psychosocial challenges that must be met before advancing to the next stage, influenced career counsellors to adopt a life stage approach.

This new focus on the individual and how he/she derived meaning from work was evident in Eugene A. Friedman and Robert J. Havighurst's 1954 book, *The Meaning of Work and Retirement* (Chicago Press). In it they outlined five ways in which work is meaningful: income, expenditure of time and energy, identification/status, association and as a source of meaningful life experiences.

Donald E. Super, a pioneering educator and career and vocational psychologist at that time, emphasized the psychological nature of career choice and the importance of self-concept in career counselling. His research also suggested that a career was developmental in nature and that vocational choice involved self and occupational understanding. Super said that vocational choice is a process rather than an event, vocation is a way of implementing a self-concept and that vocational maturity was defined in terms of five life-stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance and decline.

Career counselling moves closer to applied psychology

These new theories in developmental psychology may have helped pave the way for career services to align further with the field of applied psychology. The new focus on the individual was applicable to career counselling as an exploration of the psychological dynamics involved in decision-making and studies of the process of development became understood as critical to the career development process.

The nature of career guidance expanded in concert with this focus on the individual. It was also stimulated by the growth in the economy. During the 1950s, education was more available, jobs were plentiful and individuals had more choices about where they would work—a new phenomenon for a century marked by two world wars and an economic depression of global magnitude.

Career counselling broadens

As a result, institutions across the country such as the Placement Centre at the University of Toronto and services offered by Ys in various communities, saw their client base steadily increasing. The U of T Placement Centre became concerned about the need for part-time jobs for older graduates and began moving toward representing men and women of all ages as well as all previous graduates. The Director of the Centre said, in making a placement, that "background experience, academic standing, personal tastes and other factors enter into each recommendation" for a job match.⁴

That definition changed significantly, however, when Donald Super suggested that vocational guidance should dwell less on the demands of the occupation under consideration and more on the skills, abilities and preferences of the individual. Super's theories were similar, in many ways, to the approach taken a few years earlier by Frank Lawson and Gerald Cosgrave when they focused the Toronto YMCA's Counselling Services procedures on the psychology of the individual.

By 1953, the YMCA was already reflecting this new approach to career counselling. A pamphlet, *The YMCA: 10 years of guidance: 1943-1953*, summarized their first ten years of guidance: "The Service aids people to choose vocations or courses of study and to manage their tasks in ways which lead to satisfaction, usefulness and progress. Assistance is based on careful study of the person. He is helped to understand himself, to assess his strengths and weaknesses and, in the light of this knowledge, discover how to apply his resources ably. There is no pressure, authority or criticism. Emphasis is on fitness as opposed to choosing a career for economic advantage alone. The Service has its foundation in the techniques of modern psychology."

The Y's expanded client base reflected a growing recognition of the

need for career counseling throughout the life cycle: "People seek help at critical points throughout life such as entering courses of study, starting the first job, initial adjustment to work, settling into a permanent career, undertaking new responsibilities, encountering disappointments or difficulties, making job changes demanded by health or injury and tapering off as retirement approaches."

By this time, the Y had counselled over eight thousand people, assisted eighteen social agencies and government departments with vocational planning for persons in their care, and had five full-time, professionally trained psychologists on staff.

In 1953, the YMCA was also offering services for personnel planning to employers: "Tests are selected or designed for hiring, placement and advancement of employees. They may be administered by the employer or by the Counselling Service."

Hincks and Cosgrave also started to address career needs of older individuals by 1954, developing a course for people planning retirement through the YMCA. They organized a series of lectures delivered by authorities in public service, small business, arts studies and more, giving retirees a sense of "the horizons that beckon to people who have time to explore." The lectures were to show retired people how they could use their experiences to help others and find new, meaningful opportunities.

The struggle for professional legitimacy boosted through private philanthropy

Canada's small but growing career counselling field was still centred primarily in Toronto at the time, founded on the synergy between people like Frank Lawson, Gerald Cosgrave, Clarence Hincks and Morgan Parmenter. The focal point, in many ways, had been the YMCA. Since they had first opened in 1944, the Y's Counselling Service had welcomed some 12,400 people in search of aptitude testing and vocational guidance. In addition to the students, veterans, disabled workers and retired people being helped to redirect their working lives, a number of guidance teachers and placement and rehabilitation workers had been trained in the counselling techniques developed by Gerald Cosgrave.

From his perspective as chairman of the Toronto YMCA Counselling Service, Frank Lawson was equally aware of the growing need, although he took a somewhat different tack in his attempt to address it. "It became obvious that the problem was a lack of counsellors," he later recalled.

Initially focused on easing the transition for returning servicemen, Lawson had become increasingly concerned with the skills needed to appropriately counsel people in their career choices. He knew and believed in the value of work to a person's identity, but he also understood that the role of government would most likely always be to meet the needs of the market. There was an opportunity for private philanthropy to support the work that community-based agencies were able to deliver. Lawson was so committed to the field that, in 1959, he founded The Counselling Foundation of Canada.

Given the scope of the national need, Lawson was already pushing for a broader solution: Canadian universities needed to begin offering studies in applied psychology as well as experimental psychology. Until and unless that happened, he felt, the growing need for qualified counselling psychologists and better-trained personnel in schools and businesses would not be met within Canada. The YMCA Counselling Service itself needed counsellors, as there simply weren't enough around.

"We began to work with universities and tried to persuade them to set up counselling programs," he said. "But universities are creatures of tradition, they're large organizations and it takes a lot to affect change. Money was especially short. And if counselling programs were going to be set up, then other programs would have to be cut." As private philanthropy often does, The Counselling Foundation pointed the way for governments to consider the need for post-secondary institutions to provide not only career and placement counselling, but also academic support to the study and on-going development of the profession.

Although historically rather removed from the job search process of their graduates, the diversifying job market (where university grads found a wider choice for post-graduate employment) led some universities to become more open to seeing a role for themselves in this field. The University of Toronto established and funded a student placement centre in 1948. And because this centre worked closely with administration, the Students Administrative Council and the alumni association, a range of placement services for students was available shortly after the war; however, the extent to which faculty and university administrators embraced career counselling as a professional discipline worthy of further research and funding was very limited.

Early efforts were seen in the formation of the University Advisory Services which, in 1952, had become the University Counselling and Placement Association (UCPA) and was eventually broadened to become the Graduate Workforce Professions and later the Canadian Association of Career Educators and Employers (CACEE). With the growing number of student services on university and college campuses, a shift suggesting there was a difference between those people providing student services on campus and employer groups recruiting was beginning to take place. This facilitated the development of a new association known as the Canadian Association of College and University Student Services of which the Canadian University and College Counselling Association was a component.

By the turn of the next decade, following an initial rebuff from the University of Toronto, Lawson found a willing partner in Murray Ross, the pioneering president of the younger and less traditional York University. Together they formed the Counselling and Development Centre. What followed was an enormously successful funding partnership between the Foundation and the university sector across the country, to initially establish counselling centres on campus and to urge university curricula that supported the professional development of career counsellors in Canada.

Lawson was a proficient fundraiser, someone who got things done. Being of service to his community, and to young people growing up within it, had been a commitment of his since his own youth. Wellconnected and aggressive, he believed that, "we find meaning in life through service." His example—coupled with his resources and willingness to carve out a new path—was to have a far-reaching effect on the development of the career counselling field into a profession.

Recession and skills shortages

In the minds of most Canadians however, a job was still a job. The prosperity of the post-war years had meant that almost anyone looking for work would have little trouble finding it.

On the country's centre stage, the Liberals had been in office since before the war, Quebec lawyer Louis St. Laurent having taken the helm when Mackenzie King retired in 1948. Together with the venerable C.D. Howe as his Minister of Trade and Commerce, "Uncle Louis" had inspired the confidence of voters and corporate employers alike with his sober and responsible management of Ottawa's affairs. Aside from a couple of brief economic downturns, his government had had the good fortune to preside over continued growth. In little more than a decade since the end of the war, the average industrial wage had doubled.

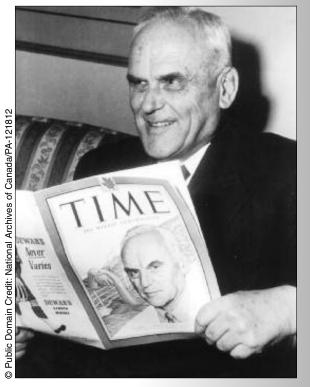
"High and stable levels of employment" had been one of Howe's key promises immediately following the war and for all intents and purposes he seemed to have delivered. Even the massive flood of immigrants from Europe, some one and a half million people between 1945 and 1957 alone, were readily absorbed into the workplace.

The widespread support enjoyed by the Liberals had waned considerably by the mid-1950s, however, and when his government invoked closure during a heated debate over a private gas pipeline, it bottomed out. Disillusioned by the temperamental scrapping among parliamentarians, Canadians were offended at the apparent arrogance of a government that had been in power for more than twenty years. A year later, in the 1957 election, the country shifted its support to the Conservatives, under leader John Diefenbaker.

The thrill of power notwithstanding, the Tory timing could not have been worse. Just a few months earlier, following on the heels of the United States, the country had slipped into the worst economic decline since 1945. Unemployment, which had remained in the 3 to 4 percent range for most of the decade, very

nearly doubled. As manufacturing activity slowed, layoffs, plant closures and bankruptcies became common and the lengths of the lines of unemployed workers in Canadian cities grew.

It was recession with an added sting. For the first time since the end of the war, high unemployment and inflation reared their heads together, leaving the new government in a major quandary. Stimulating the economy to reduce unemployment would further fuel inflation, while tightening the purse strings to control inflation would increase unem-



C. D. Howe, Time Magazine's "Man of the Year" 1952

ployment.

The wind had shifted. With the Great Depression just twenty years behind them, Canadians could be forgiven for feeling nervous about the prospects of a return to hard times. Diefenbaker's government responded on several fronts, directing the Unemployment Insurance Commission to help people find work and introducing a "winter works program," Ottawa's first venture into the employment creation business since the Depression, other than veterans' programs.

Over the next few years, as it struggled to control the fallout, federal government spending would rise by 32 percent. One area to which it began to pay particular attention was the growing shortage of workplace skills. Although combined spending on vocational training was higher than ever before, Canada was still not producing enough trained workers to meet the needs of the labour market.

Published early in 1957, the report of the Liberal-appointed Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects chaired by Walter Gordon highlighted the shortfall of skilled workers and recommended the establishment of new technical and vocational schools, as well as the expansion of existing facilities, at both secondary and post-secondary levels. Later that year, as it struggled to meet the immediate need, the Department of Labour also moved to head off the longer term implications spelled out by the report, offering a new Vocational and Technical Training Agreement to the provinces.

With the leading edge of the baby boom about to enter high school, the educational system was steadily expanding. The fact remained, however, that most Canadians job seekers were still very poorly educated, as many as half having failed to complete secondary school.

CLARENCE M. HINCKS

Problems finding a suitable path in the world of work have not always been recognized as such. Nor are people in need of direction necessarily able to articulate their difficulties clearly. Unless they are dealing with a sensitive and well-trained professional, they can just as easily be identified as misfits, slackers—even, on occasion, mentally unfit.

Fortunately for such people at least one sensitive, well-trained professional became active on their behalf, when Dr. Clarence Hincks began to pursue his particular interest in young people and their "mental hygiene," as it was called early in the 20th century.

Hincks' crusade for the cause of mental health became his life's work. For more than fifty years, he shone light where there had been none and championed the ways in which society could change not just its perceptions of mental health but its methods of treatment and prevention of mental disturbances.

Hincks was himself a survivor of mental illness. As a young man he had suffered from a deep and immobilizing depression. His subsequent recovery made a profound impression on him, proving from first hand experience that mental illness was not necessarily permanent.

He had studied medicine and, as a young physician in the early 20th century, was often called upon to examine "problem" school children. Some, he found, seemed inexplicably troubled, mirroring to him his own life experience. They weren't feeble minded, as was often assumed, but rather were suffering from depressive illness.

A telling opinion poll conducted by the Alberta Social Credit Party in 1956 found that one significant area where government action was seen to be needed was education. Among the many organizations, associations and chambers of commerce expressing their concerns was the Canadian Petroleum Association, which urged "a reduction in pupilteacher ratios in classrooms, more and better qualified teachers, better materials of instruction" and greater efforts to equip young people for "job efficiency in the age of machines."

Growing integration with the U.S. economy and ongoing retooling

In industrial communities across the country, workers attempting to enter or re-enter the labour market were hard-pressed to obtain the training they needed if their skills were not up to date. Probably nobody made the point better than a Windsor, Ontario unemployment insurance official who pointed out at the time that many of the thousands of workers who had been laid off from the auto industry would never work in it again.

"They will never again build autos," he said, "because their jobs are gone. Machines have taken over their jobs. They are, in effect, the possessors of outmoded skills and no doubt history will categorize them with the village smithy, the old lamplighter and many, many others."⁵

Nor was the outdated worker alone. Whole industries were running into similar problems as the pace of economic and technological change quickened. The Royal Commission Report on Canada's Economic

At a medical meeting in Buffalo, New York in 1913, Hincks came across a book that would ultimately change the direction of his life. Written by a young American engineer, Clifford Beers, it recounted Beers' own two-year depressive illness and subsequent recovery. The book and its author had been instrumental in the formation of an early mental hygiene movement in the U.S. Both inspired Hincks to begin a similar movement in Canada in 1918. The organization he founded is well known today as the Canadian Mental Health Association.

Hincks' ability to enlighten and educate people to the true nature of mental illness was to play a catalytic role in the evolution of vocational guidance in Canada. He believed that work—appropriate and suitable work—could help young people resolve some of the problems they encountered. He encouraged Toronto educator Morgan Parmenter to publish and distribute information about occupations and workplace opportunities.

And while the country was still at war, he approached the YMCA and found that some of his ideas meshed with that organization's growing concerns about the pressing employment needs of young men. Vocational guidance, Hincks told the YMCA Board of Governors, would help many young men, some of whom were ending up in Canada's mental institutions simply because they had nowhere else to go.

The Toronto YMCA Counselling Service was established in 1943, another victory for Hincks' crusade and a pivotal moment in the growth and application of vocational counselling as a critical component in successful and fruitful lives.

Prospects had also stressed the growing problems caused by "Americanization" of the economy and urged the government to exercise tighter control over foreign investment.

It was a clear indication of how heavily Canada's economic wellbeing had come to depend on U.S. dollars. The old bonds with Britain had been weakening steadily and exports to other countries had also

"No other country in the world with something like our relative state of development has ever had such a degree of foreign domination. Canada is being pushed down the road that leads to loss of any effective power to be masters in our own household."

> James Coyne, President of Bank of Canada, to Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 1960

declined while Canada/U.S. trade grew. Roughly three quarters of foreign investment in Canada now came from the United States and the U.S. was Canada's largest export customer, consuming roughly two thirds of Canada's goods. The British, on the other hand, were now responsible for only 15 percent of Canada's foreign investments.

In the workplace, the costs of this ongoing realignment were becoming increasingly visible, as the heavy industries established in times of war declined. Perhaps it was inevitable, in a country of fifteen million people perched on the border of a colossus ten times its size. Or perhaps, as historian Desmond Morton suggests, in his book

Working People, Canadians were just not resourceful enough and feeling a bit too comfortable to care.

"Perhaps by ingenuity and hard work, Canada might have built herself a permanent lead. Instead she built on the large short-term benefits of her 'special relationship' with the United States. One by one the technological gains Canadians had built for themselves in wartime industries vanished. Shipbuilding was gone by 1950. The aircraft industry, electronics and communications followed. Canada was returning to her old dependence on the raw materials her people pulled from the ground."

Twenty years after it began, the wartime industrial juggernaut was feeling its age. It would rise again soon enough, albeit in a new, less independent guise. In the uncertain light of the late '50s, however, it looked anything but robust. And the emerging interconnectedness of the North American economies would pose challenges to the career counselling community in Canada, which aspired to form its own professional identity.

¹ Craig Brown, ed. *History of Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2000).

² Edwin Herr, "Career Counselling: a process in process". *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, Vol 25, No 1, 1997.

³ Zunker, Vernon G., Career Counselling: Applied Concepts of Life Planning (Brooks-Cole Publishing, 1998).

⁴ "Placement Service Puts the Right Man in the Right Job," *Varsity Graduate*, Vol 3 No 4, May 1950.

⁵ "Education and Training for the Unemployed" *Labour Gazette*, 1959, pp. 1154 – cited in John Hunter's book, 138.