



AN EMERGING Profession AND THE Growth OF THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT SECTOR

In 1961, the Economic Council of Canada had calculated that nearly 30 percent of Canadians earned incomes low enough to qualify them as poor. Billions of federal and provincial dollars were funneled into regional development programs involving subsidies to businesses that established in impoverished areas, often with less than impressive results. From a forestry complex in northern Manitoba, to a heavy water plant in Cape Breton to New Brunswick's notorious Bricklin auto maker, there were numerous examples of failed giveaways that left holes in the public purse.

With the objective of helping disadvantaged workers in the expansive mood of the '60s, the Pearson government stole an idea from Lyndon Johnson and decided to wage a War on Poverty. One campaign in that war would have far-reaching implications for career counselling in Canada. The man who came up with the idea was a relative newcomer to the federal government, a man with a diverse background in psychological counselling, training, human resources and business by the name of Stuart Conger.

In many ways, Conger represented a new breed in the evolving field of workplace counselling—the professional who crossed the sectoral divides, applying expertise gained in one context to problems in quite another and in the process bringing about a cross-fertilization that ultimately benefited the field as a whole. He was an idea man, committed to seeing that career guidance infiltrated as many operations as possible.

From his early work as a rehabilitation psychologist, Conger had opted to work in the private sector. For a decade, he worked for organizations such as Canadian General Electric, as a counsellor in its personnel assessment program; and Ontario Hydro, in human resources

training. Early in the 1960s, he joined the Department of Trade and Commerce to set up a national small business training program.

In 1965, Conger's training program had been absorbed into the Department of Labour and Ross Ford, Director of the Technical and Vocational Branch in the department, invited Conger to throw a few of his ideas into the hat.



S. Conger

"He asked me to work up some programs for the War on Poverty," Conger recalls. "He asked me to set up a task force, which I did. We looked at a number of things going on in the States, in the war on poverty there, and made a number of proposals." The one that caught the attention of Ford and the others in the Technical and Vocational Branch was a program called Canada NewStart. From the outset, it was a fish from a different kettle, a quirky departure from bureaucratic business as usual. It had been designed "to test innovative ways of improving the use of the labour force and reducing poverty in selected areas" while exercising a certain degree of "flexibility and autonomy from established procedures" in the process.

The idea, says Conger, was to set up a series of experimental laboratories across the country "to invent new methods of counselling and training adults who were disadvantaged as to their educational level." Many of these people had neither the necessary skills to work in new jobs being created nor

the problem-solving skills needed to maintain them.

Despite the appeal and the unique approach implicit in his idea, Conger's superiors were all too aware that it would never be accepted unless it could somehow work within the framework of Canada's complex federal-provincial relations. Conger, with unprecedented success, would implement what had since 1913 been the federal government's perception of federal/provincial collaboration. After a year of negotiations with the provinces, NewStart Programs were set up in six provinces: Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, PEI and Nova Scotia. Each was given an initial grant of \$100,000, then further funding for a period of five years. "Each had a different set of projects," according to Conger, "although some were overlapping."

Of the products and initiatives generated in the NewStart "laboratories," several outlived the five-year program. From NewStart Nova Scotia came DACUM, a competency-based training curriculum development model that has since been adopted by educators worldwide. And from Saskatchewan came curricula for literacy and career planning, individualized learning programs, a recreational program designed to teach English as a second language and the enormously successful Life Skills program, originally conceived in New York under the U.S. anti-poverty program, Training for Youth.

The workplace was becoming ever more complicated, an arena of many converging and competing interests. In many different ways, behind the scenes, in small pockets of regional activity such as those of Canada NewStart, the federal government was becoming much more

active in addressing workplace needs. Somewhere in the innards of Parliament Hill, a decision had been taken, a responsibility had been accepted for the development of the country's human capital.

Aware of Conger's background in guidance, Ross Ford asked him to look into vocational counselling. He was especially concerned, Conger says, about the lack of career guidance Canadian students received in high school. Ford told Conger of an extensive study currently underway. The provincial Departments of Education and the federal Department of Labour had combined their efforts to survey some one hundred and fifty thousand students in close to four hundred secondary schools across the country. Raymond Breton from the University of Toronto had been commissioned to write the final report.

The study indicated that most high school students had no idea what they were going to do the day they left school, Conger recalls. "We need a national position paper on career guidance in technical and vocational education," Ford told him. "Can you put a team together and do one?"

Conger approached Gerald Cosgrave, newly appointed as Counselling Director of The Counselling Foundation of Canada. Conger remembered the work Cosgrave had contributed to the Canadian General Electric personnel assessment unit and asked him to sit on the committee and author the report. Educational and Vocational Guidance in Technical and Vocational Education by Gerald P. Cosgrave was widely distributed in 1965 to support guidance services and build awareness of the need to serve the Canadian labour market.

The report recommended the development of initiatives to enhance a student's understanding of their own skills, interests and competencies, and the development of a personal plan to gain the further education and training the student required. The report also noted that a twenty-minute interview with a guidance counsellor every year or so wasn't sufficient to meet an individual student's guidance needs.

It proved to be a provocative document. Some high-school guidance counsellors saw it as threatening, or at least critical of their efforts. They turned out in large numbers to the founding meeting of the Canadian Guidance Counsellors Association (CGCA) at which Cosgrave was a speaker.

"For some incomprehensible reason, the guidance counsellors took that report as a reflection that they weren't doing a proper job and were very angry about it," says Conger. Cosgrave, who Conger remembers as "a very gentle man," was both shocked and astounded by their antagonism." But the good thing was it bought a lot of counsellors to the founding meeting of the association and got it off to a good start," says Conger.

In 1965 the YMCA had launched a Counselling Service Practicum and support course for university students, upon which in due course various universities would fashion their own undergraduate, graduate and doctoral programs. This had met with tremendous resistance though, as each sector ducked any potential role they might play, preferring to suggest that someone else – like school boards or the newly created community college networks – should take this on.

Also in 1965 the Canadian Guidance Counselling Association was formed. This professional body began as an informal networking organization of teachers providing guidance services in schools. The CGCA became an avid participant in the early NATCON events influenced by the emerging sense of community and shared identity forming within the career counselling field. Today, this organization is known as the Canadian Counselling Association (CCA).

Choosing partners

In 1970, Stuart Conger was in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, having taken over as Director of the Training and Research Development Station (TRANS) previously known as the Saskatchewan NewStart Program.

In the spirit of his innovative program, Conger had decided to pursue a special interest of his own. Life skills training had captured his attention because it provided a concept of teaching people to be competent in managing their own lives and, under his direction, a Life Skills division was established.

Dr. Winthrop Adkins and Dr. Sidney Rosenberg, the American creators of the Life Skills concept, had been invited to come to Canada to spend six weeks with the Saskatchewan course writers, coaches and researchers, out of which had come a second generation of Life Skills lessons.

Over three years, the Saskatchewan Life Skills team devoted forty person years and half a million dollars to the development of their new, improved model of the curriculum, designed to teach problem-solving skills and the management of life in such areas as self, family, use of leisure time and work.

Aware that a Toronto branch of the YWCA hoped to pilot a Life Skills project for women with low levels of education, Conger turned once again to the CFC's Gerald Cosgrave, this time to ask for his support for the development of a new program.

"It would appear that the Department of Manpower and Immigration is prepared to fund the development of new counselling methods (for both youths and adults)," Conger wrote. "But it can fund the use of the methods only in adult training programs. Presumably the schools can do the same for in-school youth. The gap then, is for women who are planning to re-enter the labour force and for men and women who are now in the labour force but need and want better vocational guidance...for these people, there is not only a lack of a good guidance program, but also the lack of a delivery system."

It was Conger's proposal that the Counselling Foundation of Canada play a unique funding role to help bring the Life Skills program to the public. TRANS would train YWCA personnel in the Life Skills process and in turn the CFC agreed to provide a grant to the YWCA to create the Life Skills program for single mothers as a pilot project. An extensive Life Skills manual was created as well, the first of a series of such manuals that would support a "life-skills movement" in the counselling field that continues to this day.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the Life Skills program was its affirmation, perhaps for the first time in "official" circles, of the whole person as part of the vocational counselling process. Through the efforts of the YWCA and the TRANS team, the abstract, so-called "soft" skills that people need to manage their lives and their careers were recognized as important to an individual's chances of career success.

The changing workforce

The '60s and '70s ushered in other social developments which had a tremendous impact on the workforce. Initially during the immediate post-war period, European refugees and immigrants arrived in Canada and formed close-knit support communities through which they adapted to Canadian life and found work. Gathering principally in the larger cities where family members may have preceded them, some of these networks were informal; others were organized by culture. For example, in 1961 the Centre Organizzativo Scuole Tecniche Italiane (COSTI) formed to help place skilled tradespeople, originally from southern Europe, into the burgeoning construction industry. Using immigrant labour was a tradition in Canada, where both railroads had been built with the assistance of workers of primarily Asian origin. But the labour market of the latter part of the century proved to be more volatile as did the adjustment needs of arriving workers. Agencies like these formed across the country; for example, the United Chinese Community Service (Vancouver, 1973); and Employment Services for Immigrant Women (Toronto, 1978). In the 1980s, COSTI went on to merge with the Italian Immigrant Aid Society, thereby becoming the country's largest career and employment agency serving immigrants.

Of course, the other startling change to the Canadian workforce of the '60s and '70s was the addition of thousands of women who, having won their equality rights some fifty years before, were now liberated from the confines of motherhood and encouraged by the popular culture to have a career too! The injection of female workers was to have a tremendous impact on the Canadian workplace. In government and community-based programs, women became what was then called a "target group," meaning that specialized career counselling services would be provided to ease their transition into the labour market.

Another group that became an obvious priority for government and agency career counselling programs were people of aboriginal descent—or First Nations as they would eventually choose to be referred. Marginalized by decades of government policy which disenfranchised First Nations from their land and way of life, by the 1970s Canadians and their governments had come to realize that First Nations' people would require very specialized career counselling to assist their entry into the labour market. For the most part, these specialized counselling programs were developed by First Nations' communities themselves, with support from government, corporate sponsors, and/or private philanthropy.

Labour market information and technology

Equally important to an individual's success, suggested employment policy pioneer Bryce Stewart, when he put forward his vision of the National Employment Service, was accurate educational and occupational information. Not until the 1970s, however, would a branch of the federal government, the Manpower Information and Analysis Branch, be equipped to provide comprehensive labour-market information.

Just as the development of tests and psychometric assessments had

advanced the field in the years following the Second World War, the development of quality sources of information advanced it even further. Publications and assessment tools were produced by the department including The Canadian Occupational Forecast and Occupational Monographs and the Canadian Classification And Dictionary Of Occupations (CCDO). While specific to Canadian requirements, the government's earliest productions of this kind were adapted from American products, especially the U.S. Department of Labour's Dictionary of Occupational Titles.

Many of the products and initiatives produced by this department were targeted to young people and distributed through Canada Manpower Centres. Nudging into provincial jurisdiction, they were also made available to high schools across the country. Most teachers, struggling to keep up with changing requirements, were happy to receive them, as there were few Canadian career resources available at the time.

That would soon change. Increasing levels of unemployment, growing concern about the lack of career planning among Canadian youth and employers' complaints about shortages of skilled workers were beginning to have an impact.

The fledgling field of career counselling and development had begun to find a place in the Canadian labour market initiatives of the federal government. In its inimitable way, Ottawa had been planting seeds and some of them ultimately bore fruit. Career and labour market information was being collected and published. Career materials and products were being created. New partnerships were being forged to deliver these to the people who needed them.

The human potential movement

During the 1960s, we saw further evolution in psychology. There was an increased emphasis on existential and humanistic theories and people were looking for meaning in their lives. This became known as the human potential movement, which was reflected in career counselling as an emphasis on achieving a greater awareness of one's experiences and potential, thus increasing one's chances for self-assertion and self-direction. Accompanying this shift was increased research on motivation and personality within psychology, together with a greater emphasis on self-assessment and encouragement of the individual to find work that would be personally meaningful.

Training professionals for the field

As the needs became more obvious and the field began to grow, the lack of specific training for counsellors continued to be a matter of concern for many, including both Gerald Cosgrave and Frank Lawson. Graduate studies in vocational guidance and counselling were still rare in English Canada in the early 1960s.

A few guidance teachers and a number of placement and rehabilitation workers had made arrangements to study under Cosgrave in his years with the YMCA's Counselling Service. Other teachers had attended Morgan Parmenter's summer courses in guidance at the Ontario College of Education in Toronto.

Graduate studies in educational counselling or psychology were available in the United States at the time, recalls Myrne Nevison. In 1960, Nevison, who had been a Burnaby, B.C. guidance teacher, moved to the U.S. to attend the University of Minnesota where she earned both an M.A. and a Ph.D. in educational psychology.

“The Cold War was underway at the time and the American government had put money into educational psychology to ensure that American children received proper counselling so they could fight the Russians,” she recalls with a chuckle. “I guess Canadian politicians didn’t worry about such things.”

In Canada, specialized courses and programs in advanced psychology began to slowly appear in the 1960s to address a growing demand for longer and more careful preparation of the nation’s teachers. While a year of Normal School was adequate teacher preparation in the 1950s, by the mid-1960s, school boards, particularly in urban areas, were insisting that prospective educators have full university degrees.

In 1965, in Ontario, the Toronto YMCA had launched a Counselling Service Practicum for university students and began offering a course to counsellors called “A Sound Academic Introduction to Theory and Technical Aspects of the Counselling Process.” Neither the practicum nor the course were greeted with much enthusiasm by Ontario educators, however. Education of this kind, it was generally believed at the time, should be offered within the traditional educational system, either at universities, in the new Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, or in-house by local school boards. F. J. Clute, Ontario’s Assistant Superintendent, Curriculum Section (Guidance), stated his objections in a letter to the YMCA in 1967:

“I am less happy about your proposed counsellor training course... In the Ontario system, only teachers with at least one hundred hours of instruction are able to assume scheduled counselling duties in the schools...with the advent of the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, with the increase in the number of available extension courses provided by the universities, and with the establishment of in-service courses by local school boards, there would appear to be plenty of recognized training institutions to set up necessary courses for prospective counsellors.”

Such feelings notwithstanding, it would be many years before professional development for vocational or employment counsellors would become readily available in Ontario’s post-secondary educational system.

Ultimately, as it turned out, the YMCA practicum would be used by under- and post-graduate students from York University in Toronto, McGill University in Montreal and Waterloo University in Waterloo, Ontario, as well as Toronto’s Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

The Counselling Foundation of Canada continued to promote post-secondary educational programs in applied psychology. Ultimately, more than twenty Canadian universities would benefit from Counselling Foundation grants to support the teaching of applied psychology and improve the quality of counselling services and educational programs.

In 1965, Myrne Nevison returned to British Columbia to become an Associate Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia, where she initiated a graduate program in educational psychology, the first in western Canada. In Montreal, McGill University began studies in educational psychology about the same time; interestingly, francophone educators in Quebec had had a three-year program in career counselling at Laval University since 1950.

At the University of Victoria, a graduate program was introduced in the 1970s. Vance Peavy, who would go on to become one of the field’s

best known theorists, had recently arrived at the University, migrating north from Oregon.

In his earliest days at U Vic, as it is affectionately known, Peavy found not a single course in counselling. He sought and won the approval of the University of Victoria's academic board to begin building courses in educational counselling into the curriculum. A graduate program for a master's degree in counselling followed. Peavy also established a Counselling Centre for the university's student population. And ultimately, he added a Ph.D. in counselling to the university's offerings.

Those interested in teaching careers sometimes took a diploma in education after completing another degree; however, in the 1970s, four-year teaching degrees became more common. The teaching faculty in these programs, generally younger educators themselves with advanced degrees, proved to be open to establishing new fields and approaches. Enrollment in these faculties grew rapidly as those with education as a specific career goal began to increase the number of years they studied educational theory and practice.

Liberation, revolution and the hidden costs of a “grant boom”

If the contrary inclinations of youth were a wakeup call for educators in the '60s, by the time the '70s rolled around they had begun to challenge the entire society. The leading edge of the boomer wave began to spill out of high schools, colleges and universities, and thousands of young people flooded into Canada's cities in search of work.

For the most part, Canadians and their governments were still in an optimistic mood. Tax revenues were up. Prices were relatively stable and social spending had increased significantly, improving living standards in rural areas, providing assistance for the ill and making life easier for the aged. The economy continued to grow and the average worker had never been

so well off.

The Canadian workplace continued to transform itself. Millions of Canadians now depended on American corporations for their incomes, making the national economy more vulnerable than ever to economic downturns originating south of the border. The makeup of the national workforce was changing too, with the proportion of women to men having doubled in the past twenty years.

In keeping with the anti-establishment mood of the young, it was a time of “liberation,” a word that encompassed everything from bohemian wardrobes to psychedelic drugs to gay rights to terrorist threats to “the pill.” Feminism, environmentalism, even campus Marxism had become trendy, as there was hardly an ism that affluence couldn't afford.

The Liberals were still in power in Ottawa, now under a new prime



The frenzy for Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, was called Trudeaumania.

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minister, the dashing and youthful Pierre Elliot Trudeau. Swept into office in 1968 on a euphoric upwelling of Trudeaumania, the elegant bachelor seemed to embody the era, with his easy flouting of convention and glib dismissals of political orthodoxies. The ecstasy proved to be short-lived, however, as the realities of politics and the shifting tides of Canada's contradictory culture caught up to the young philosopher-king and his subjects. Paradox was the order of the day and the glittering surfaces of Canada's soaring office buildings and indoor malls concealed disturbing undercurrents.

Unemployment, nationwide, had fallen to less than 4 percent. The percentage of idle youth, however, hung stubbornly near double that. And by the summer of 1970, the problem of unemployment had become largely a question about what to do with young people. Over half a million students had descended on the labour market and large numbers of "transient youth" were making life difficult for city authorities in many parts of the country. The federal government did its best to ease the situation by turning armouries into "crash pads," but the remedy fed the unease, in Vancouver at least, when a group of young militants occupied the armoury and refused to vacate.

Idle and disaffected young people had already caused disruption during the '60s in Europe and the United States. The federal government had begun looking for ways to channel the energy and exuberance of the country's youth, at the same time helping them develop some of the skills they would need to manage their working lives.

An active manpower policy, once again, was seen as the best possible approach. In the spring of 1970, some seventy-five Canada Manpower Centres for Students were opened across the country, with a primary objective to match youthful workers with employers looking for summer help. Over 130,000 student placements were made the following summer as young Canadians found their way into jobs with the military, the public service and the business community.

Projections for the summer of 1971 suggested that even greater numbers of young people would be looking for work. Knowing that there were not enough jobs to go around, the federal government decided to expand its youth employment efforts, allocating \$58 million to programs for the coming year.

Canada Manpower's Employment Centres for Students were expanded and upgraded, as they would be every summer thereafter. Aware that the centres were likely to handle only a fraction of the need, Ottawa began to cast about for new and different ways to provide employment opportunities for Canadian youth.

The first such initiative, known as Opportunities for Youth (OFY), was announced in March, 1971, by none other than the prime minister himself. "The government believes," Pierre Trudeau said, "that youth is sincere in its efforts to improve society and that young people are anx-



Youth Employment Services (YES) opened in 1968 in Toronto as the first youth employment counselling centre in Canada. Shown here are early staff members including Norma Penner (far right) the Executive Director from 1975-1989.

ious to work and to engage in activities which are intended to make Canada a better place in which to live...we intend to challenge them to see if they have the stamina and self-discipline to follow through on their criticism and advice.”

Canadian youth were encouraged to propose make-work projects of their own invention. Once approved, these projects were supported by cheques from the federal government and young people across the country went to work on the “clearing of hiking paths, cleaning of river beds and care of the elderly and children.”¹

It paved the way for another program of a similar nature, this one not restricted to youth. In the most interventionist approach it had ever taken to the workplace, the federal government went on to establish Local Initiatives Programs (LIP) for workers of all ages. Over the course of the decade, hundreds of millions of public dollars would be spent on job creation projects of this sort. “Fitting the man to the job” became, in these instances at least, “paying people to do the work they wanted to do.”

Programs like LIP and OFY marked the beginning of a massive shift in the ways in which the federal government would be involved in the working lives of Canadians. No longer did government initiatives for the unemployed feature only income replacement and a labour exchange to match jobs and workers. There were funds for job-training programs, mostly through educational institutions, although also on the job. There were programs to teach people how to look for

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Conceived and born in the summer of 1968—the “summer of love”—the Youth Employment Service (YES) was an idea whose time had clearly come. In cities and towns across the continent, streets and parks were filled with young people; a great wave of post-war babies was (almost) all grown up and many of them had nowhere to go. They might have had flowers in their hair, but Wally Seccombe, a young YMCA youth worker in Toronto, saw that for many of them, living in the streets and parks wasn’t about freedom and fun. It was about being unemployed.

“I said to my dad that the biggest thing that most of them needed was a job,” Seccombe remembers. “And he just got going on this.” His father, the late Wally Seccombe Sr., a successful businessman and member of the Rotary Club, approached the problem with vigour. His fellow Rotarians bought into his vision as soon as he pitched it.

“I still remember those businessmen sitting around our basement,” Wally Seccombe recalls. “They set up a committee and they exerted pressure on one another to give young people jobs. Guys just phoned around to other guys in business. The really interesting thing about YES was how it just took off.”

YES did take off, but unlike many other innovative ideas of the era, this one stayed aloft. While the Rotarians and their ad hoc committee networked, the late Grant Lowery, an energetic and visionary youth services supervisor at the YMCA, put the organization in place. Very quickly, YES became the template for a distinctive form of storefront employment office, refer-

work and referrals to specialized counsellors for those with severe employment problems.

Far from the mean-spirited workhouse policies of yesteryear, the federal government was running a publicly funded, multi-service organization to support Canadian workers with a broad range of local labour market assistance.

Expanding the partnerships

Yet another initiative to come out of this era of big-spending government was Ottawa's Outreach Program, which, over the years, helped to finance the development and delivery of services provided by the not-for-profit sector. Encouraged by federal funds, many community agencies and organizations integrated community based training opportunities into the services they offered.

For most of the century, since before Etta St. John Wileman's day in fact, not-for-profit organizations and agencies had relied on volunteers, local fundraising campaigns and philanthropic grants and donations to cover their operating costs. Now, under the banner of its active manpower policy, Ottawa began to earmark funds from programs like Outreach specifically for community-based training and employment initiatives.

The number of Canadian not-for-profit organizations had grown

ral service and vocational guidance and counselling centre aimed specifically at young people. "It became a powerful model," says Seccombe, now a professor of sociology at the University of Toronto. "It was creative, synergistic. It worked." Thirty years later, it would continue to work, recognizing and addressing the unique problems faced by youthful job-seekers. YES was never simply about finding a volume of job vacancies and putting young people into the slots. "They needed counselling too," says Seccombe. "A counsellor who could help them and keep them going."

This tended to work both ways. Employers knew they had access to the counsellors as well and were not simply left with a youthful employee who might have an erratic work history or who might be dealing with social problems. Very often, remembers Wally Seccombe, the results were astonishing. "Lots of these kids had never had a job for longer than three months," he says. "Then once in this, they change their orientation to work. All of a sudden you've got these kids and their lives are changed. Magic is happening."

As the first Canadian youth employment centre, Ontario-based YES served as the model for similar services across the country. Delegations from Britain, Japan, the West Indies, the Netherlands and Australia have observed the YES model and incorporated features of the program into their own youth programs. The remarkable success of this model for intervention and vocational guidance might be best summed up and explained by the final line of the YES mission statement: "The mission of YES is not simply to find a job for the client. It is essentially an effort to assist young people and others to identify their capabilities and assist them to become productive members of society."

considerably over the course of the 20th century, especially since the Second World War. Many had come into existence to assist and advocate on behalf of people with special needs in a variety of geographic, economic and cultural communities. As often as not, these needs included training, employment assistance and some form of career or vocational counselling.

The Trudeau government wanted programs that could respond quickly to the changing needs of people in the workplace, especially those who had trouble adapting and finding work. Community agencies were close to the communities they served and sensitive to the barriers encountered by the employment-disadvantaged. And because not-for-profit organizations could often complement government resources with philanthropic contributions, they were seen as good investments and appropriate partners.

Some of these organizations were large and had a national reach, like the YMCA and YWCA, which had had offices in Canada since the mid-19th century. Others, like Big Brothers and the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, were established in the early decades of the 20th century. During the Great Depression, the John Howard Society was founded in Vancouver to help men as they were released from prison. After the Second World War, branches opened in most other major cities. The Elizabeth Fry Society sprang up in British Columbia and Ontario in the '50s & '60s to help women and girls who were in conflict with the law.

Ottawa's funding of job creation programs was a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it undeniably helped to expand the career related programs and services offered by the not-for-profit sector. Not-for-profit employment programs, dramatically increased the assistance available to those with special needs. It is also true, however, that the restrictions and conditions placed on the grants meant that programs had to be constantly customized to fit the government's shifting objectives and priorities. And because applications for funding had to be made within each fiscal year, it tended to make longer term planning and staffing more difficult. As such, federal funding was not targeted at building an infrastructure of services but rather one-shot short term programs to meet specific needs.

Standing on his shoulders

In the mid-1970s, Gerald Cosgrave retired from the Counselling Foundation of Canada to his apple orchard outside Toronto, although he remained active for some years writing and consulting in the field. Ultimately, Cosgrave added seven publications to the growing body of Canadian-published career and employment resources.

Cosgrave's contributions to the field had been recognized by the Canadian Psychological Association as early as 1972 and, a couple of years later, by Toronto's YMCA Counselling Service, of which he had been Executive Director for twenty years. It was at the YMCA awards ceremony that Cosgrave met Bill O'Byrne, a young graduate in clinical psychology from the University of Ottawa who had recently joined the YMCA Counselling Service. He became both a friend and a mentor,

O'Byrne recalls, and eventually Cosgrave asked O'Byrne to revise a couple of his books.

O'Byrne was honoured by the request. "If there is one person in this country who turned career counselling into a respected entity," he says, "it was Gerald Cosgrave. He was a humble man, he was very Canadian in that way. But I think he was powerfully influential. It was Cosgrave who made the difference. He did it by doing the work. People came back or they told their friends and then they started telling their kids. Gerald Cosgrave is the person I am standing on the shoulders of," says Bill O'Byrne, with a note of both respect and quiet pride. "I'm picking up his torch."

In 1984, Frank Lawson died and his son, Donald, assumed the chairmanship of the Foundation and established an active board of directors to govern it. "We took over a foundation that been a private giving fund of father's," recalls Donald Lawson. "We had about \$1.5 million per year to give away wisely. And the first thing the board had to do was set its own goals and objectives and then find some projects that fit within those."

Elizabeth McTavish, who had been with the Foundation since 1970 to assist Gerald Cosgrave, was named Counselling Director when Gerald Cosgrave retired. McTavish, at the time, defined the role of the Foundation's Board of Directors as the "provision of grants designed to improve the quality and quantity of counselling." Until the mid-1990s, the university sector was to remain the primary recipient of grants from The Counselling Foundation of Canada. The most intense involvement was at York University where McTavish also functioned as director of the university's Career Counselling Centre which the CFC had helped implement and had supported for many years.

Foundation funding was also targeted at campus student services. Demand for counselling, career and placement-related guidance had grown throughout the 1980s. As governments retrenched, Canada Employment Centres on university campuses had been closed. While this had little impact on the handful of Canadian universities, including the University of Toronto which had developed its own career-related student services, other post-secondary institutions had to scramble to replace the centres.

During this period, more than twenty Canadian universities would receive multi-year funding from The Counselling Foundation of Canada to establish or enhance on-campus career services for students. This was a critical time on university campuses as universities for the first time had to decide whether they would internally fund career and placement centres. Transitional funding from the federal government was provided as a negotiated arrangement between universities and the federal government. Federal funding for on-campus services was not to last, though, making the quest of career counselling to be seen as having a legitimate place within a university community all the more challenging.



Elizabeth McTavish

Oil shock, “stagflation” and a shift in economic wisdom

In the mid-1970s, in a sobering demonstration of the growing economic power of Professor McLuhan’s global village, the Trudeau government’s big spending policies ran smack into a wall of brand new realities.

Too unpopular to finance through taxes, the Vietnam War was paid for by an expanded money supply. The resulting inflationary crisis prompted the American government to cut spending and tighten credit, with the result that unemployment figures in the United States began to climb. Washington responded by imposing trade restrictions and the impact was quickly felt north of the border.

At the end of 1973, an oil crisis in the Middle East added to the havoc already plaguing economies throughout the western world, sending prices soaring at the gas pumps in Canada as well. The dreaded vortex of inflation came spiralling not far behind.

At the same time, the numbers of Canada’s unemployed also began to climb. The combination of higher prices and fewer jobs was a new phenomenon, or at least one not seen in the thirty years since the end of the war, for which the new name “stagflation” was coined.

In 1975, with inflation raging over 10 percent, the Governor of the Bank of Canada announced a return to “tight money” policies as the only way to control inflation and achieve economic growth.

The days of deep-pocket government intervention were numbered, it seemed. Accepting the new economic wisdom, the Trudeau government imposed wage and price controls within the year, signalling a shift away from its preoccupation with the unemployed and focusing instead on price stability. Over the next several years, inflation did come down. So, however, did the productive output of the country. Failing to recognize the confusion in its policies, Ottawa continued to spend, driving its own balance sheet into the red. At the same time, unemployment climbed to over 8 percent, making the need for a variety of assistance programs more obvious, among them some form of career and employment assistance.

For much of the century, however compelling the need in which it was rooted and however dedicated the efforts of the professionals driving its evolution, the field of career counselling grew in relative obscurity, unrecognized beyond the specialized sectors of the economy in which it was being nurtured. To those fortunate enough to receive its attentions, it was a resource of considerable value. To society at large, however, the field of career counselling had next to no identity.

It is a matter of debate just when the branching shape of the field first became visible. There are many possibilities as there are particular points of view. Whatever the defining moment, it clearly happened in the post industrial era, when the widespread need for some form of individualized assistance for Canadian workers and Canadian students became impossible to ignore, and governments began to respond.

¹ John Hunter, *The Employment Challenge* (Ottawa: Government of Canada).